

Housing the Stranger in the Mediterranean World

Lodging, Trade, and Travel in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages

OLIVIA REMIE CONSTABLE



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Lodging, Trade, and Travel in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages

The Greek *pandocheion*, Arabic *funduq*, and Latin *fundicum* (*fondaco*) were ubiquitous in the Mediterranean sphere for nearly two millennia. These institutions were not only hostels for traders and travelers, but also taverns, markets, warehouses, and sites for commercial taxation and regulation. In this highly original study, Professor Constable traces the complex evolution of this family of institutions from the *pandocheion* in late antiquity to the appearance of the *funduq* throughout the Muslim Mediterranean following the rise of Islam. By the twelfth century, with the arrival of European merchants in Islamic markets, the *funduq* evolved into the *fondaco*. These merchant colonies facilitated trade and travel between Muslim and Christian regions. Before long, *fondacos* also appeared in southern European cities.

This study of the diffusion of this institutional family demonstrates common economic interests and cross-cultural communications across the medieval Mediterranean world, and provides a striking contribution to our understanding of this region.

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OLIVIA REMIE CONSTABLE

University of Notre Dame



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For Giles and Sam

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Acknowledgments

It is a curious fact that when one turns one's attention to something, the object of interest suddenly appears, as if out of nowhere, in all sorts of likely and unlikely places. For instance, once one has decided to purchase a house, "for sale" notices seem to pop up along every street. The same has been true of my decision to find out more about the institutions of the *pandocheion*, *funduq*, and *fondaco*. Once I began to look for them, these hitherto inconspicuous commercial buildings turned up everywhere: in chronicles, legal texts, pilgrim accounts, notarial contracts, diplomatic treaties, royal charters, merchant letters, geographical treatises, and other types of sources from all areas of the medieval Mediterranean world. I rapidly came to realize that these commercial spaces for lodging, storage, and trade were ubiquitous in cities throughout the region, in both Muslim and Christian spheres. A traveler in 1300, or a few centuries before or after, would have encountered these facilities in almost every port that he or she visited. I too found them mentioned in all kinds of texts, in many languages and from many different contexts. In some cases, these references were in books that it would never have occurred to me to consult, in manuscripts from archives that I could not visit, or in languages that I did not know. Because of this, I owe many debts to colleagues, students, librarians, and numerous other friends who have provided help along the way.

This book is the result of a long process of hunting and gathering. Once people found out that I was working on this project, they began to pass along references that they had run across in their own work. I am deeply grateful for their assistance and generosity, and their names appear in footnotes throughout the book. I am likewise indebted to those who pointed me toward new questions, problems, and resources for my work. This book is the richer because of their contributions. Inevitably, however, gaps will remain in a project of this size. There will always be more *pandocheions*, *funduqs*, and *fondacos* waiting to be discovered in the archives and elsewhere, as well as a number that have not been cited in this text simply because

they fit into broader patterns or were duplicated by other citations. More is not always better. Eventually, one must choose and buy a house, or finish writing a book.

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INTRODUCTION

A culture of travel: words, institutions, and connections

In the late fifteenth century, a German pilgrim visiting Alexandria became lost in the city's unfamiliar twisting streets. After wandering for a period, he appealed to a local Muslim for guidance, using Latin because he knew no Arabic. "Fontico Cathalano" he said, probably speaking loudly and clearly as travelers often do in a foreign land, asking to be taken to the Catalan *fondaco*, the hostel in which he was lodging with other European pilgrims.¹ To his great relief, he was immediately conducted to the desired location since the word he used – *fontico* – was very similar to the Arabic term, *funduq*, designating the same place. In fact, the two were cognates, and shared a long heritage going back to the classical Greek word *pandocheion*, an inn or hostelry.

This book traces the history of these closely related words and, more importantly, of the institutions to which they refer, from late antiquity until the eve of the early modern period in the Mediterranean world. It examines their evolution across time, space, and culture, looking at both continuities and changes. What happens to a family of institutions that endures for such a long period, in so many different places? Why does it survive, and what does this survival reveal about the thing itself and the world in which it existed? These questions can only be answered through analyzing these words and institutions within their particular cultural and chronological contexts.

This family of institutions (*pandocheion*, *funduq*, *fondaco*) lends itself particularly well to these questions because there is data from so many different periods and places in the Mediterranean world. There are very few words or institutions outside the realm of scientific and philosophical terminology that have left a more extended record of their progress across

¹ Felix Fabri, *Evagatorium in terrae sanctae, Arabiae et Egypti peregrinationem*, ed. C. D. Hassler (Stuttgart: Soc. Lit. Stuttgardiensis, 1843–1849) III, 174 [134b]; French trans. *Le Voyage en Egypte de Félix Fabri*, trans. Jacques Masson and Gisèle Hurseaux (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire, 1975) II, 715.

linguistic, cultural, and religious frontiers. It is relatively easy to trace the one-step adoption of many words from Greek into Arabic, or from Arabic into Latin. In the economic realm, for example, one might cite the relationship between *dīwān* and *douane/dogana*; *apotheke* and *bodega*; *denarius* and *dinar*; not to mention the countless proper names for foodstuffs and commodities. However, the evolution of *pandocheion*, *funduq*, and *fondaco* is longer and more complex, since we can trace connections from Greek into Arabic, and then from Arabic into Latin and other western European languages over a period of many centuries.

Pandocheions, *funduqs*, and *fondacos* (in some form) were ubiquitous in the Mediterranean sphere for nearly two millennia. These protean institutions had common ties, yet they took many forms, serving not only as hostels, but also as commercial depots, warehouses, emporia, tax-stations, offices, taverns, prisons, and brothels.² A late medieval traveler in the Mediterranean sphere would have encountered *fondacos* in most cities around the sea – whether Venice, Ragusa, Damascus, Alexandria, Tunis, Palermo, Seville, Barcelona, Marseille, Pisa, Naples, or elsewhere. Before this, in the early medieval period, the *funduq* had taken root throughout the Muslim world following the rise of Islam in the seventh century. During late antiquity, there were cognate terms in Aramaic, Hebrew, and Syriac, not to mention the original Greek version. The earliest references to the Greek *pandocheion* date to the Athenian world of the fifth century BCE. The long-term survival of this institutional family, and its adoption and adaptation over the centuries by distinct yet closely related Mediterranean societies, testifies to its ongoing utility, familiarity, and relevance.

The continuity of the *funduq* and its cousins in the Mediterranean world not only indicates the importance of these particular institutions, but it also speaks to the nature of their milieu. From its earliest history, the Mediterranean has been the realm of travelers – merchants, warriors, pilgrims, sailors, ambassadors, and vagabonds – moving by land and sea from one

² Versions still survive today, since *funduq* means “hotel” in modern Arabic, and a *fondaco* is a “warehouse” in modern Italian. For convenience, and largely reflecting medieval linguistic practice, this study will use the word *funduq* to designate the institution as it existed within the Islamic world (*Dār al-Islām*), where it was patronized by Muslims, Christians, and Jews from within this sphere. The word *fondaco*, in contrast, may apply either to “national” facilities for foreign Christian traders in Islamic cities (although these continued to be called *funduq* in Arabic) or to the institution as it appeared in southern European cities. Where applicable in Europe, local terms will also be used (*alhóndiga* in Castile, *fondech* in Catalan-speaking regions, *fondaco* in Italian, *funda* or *fonde* in the Crusader states, etc.). Cognates in Greek, Syriac, Hebrew, and other languages present fewer ambiguities and are transliterated as appropriate. English plural forms are used throughout, hence *funduqs* rather than *fanādiq*, *fondacos* rather than *fondaci*, and so forth. Although the word *caravanserai* often translates *funduq* and *fondaco* in English, it comes from a different root.

region to another. Even for periods once thought stagnant, recent work has revealed a profusion of movement and communication across and around the Mediterranean.³ In this region, like anywhere else, travelers needed shelter, food, security, and other amenities to make their voyages possible. As Fernand Braudel has succinctly observed, “there would be no routes if there were no stopping places.”⁴ Around the Mediterranean, travelers’ needs were accommodated, at least in part, by the ubiquitous presence of *pandocheions*, *funduqs*, and *fondacos*.

These facilities both exemplified and facilitated the existence of a coherent Mediterranean world in the period between the decline of Roman power and the rise of early modern empires. This group of closely related forms demonstrates not only the commonalities of cultural origins, circumstances, needs, and understandings in the Mediterranean sphere between the second and the sixteenth centuries, but also the evolution of new religious and political divisions, commercial rivalries, and conceptions of self and other in this period. As the institution shifted from one realm of political, religious, and linguistic dominance to another – from the pagan, Jewish, and early Christian milieu of the late Roman period, into an Islamic context, then later into the Latin Christian sphere of southern Europe – it was both a point of common understanding across cultures and mediation between them.

This family of institutions illustrates the synchronized cultural rhythms of the Mediterranean, so compellingly depicted in the work of Braudel, yet also demonstrates the importance of context and contingency in creating change. Analysis of the *pandocheion*, *funduq*, and *fondaco* reveals a consistency to the late antique and medieval Mediterranean world that would largely disappear – along with this particular institutional group – in the early modern period. The longevity and ubiquity of these facilities before the sixteenth century, in contrast to their relative lack of importance after this period, is a measure of the rift between the medieval and early modern periods. Shifts in the role of these commercial spaces are evidence that the early sixteenth-century Mediterranean of Philip II and Sulaymān the Magnificent was a world on the brink of change.

The geographical diffusion of the *funduq* and *fondaco* coincided closely with the shores of the Mediterranean, yet these facilities also served universal needs. A medieval traveler venturing far from the sea – to London,

³ Michael McCormick, *The Origins of the European Economy: Communications and Commerce AD 300–900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

⁴ Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II* (New York: Harper & Row, 1972) 1, 277.

Novgorod, Baghdad, or Sijilmasa – would have encountered other types of accommodation, with similar functions but dissimilar names and different histories. In the terms of economic anthropology, facilities of this type are characteristic of ports of trade or gateway communities throughout the world.⁵ Philip Curtin has also drawn attention to the fact that specialized hostels for lodging wayfarers and merchants, and for promoting trade, can be found wherever there was long-distance travel and commerce.⁶ Thus, the *fondacos* and their cousins in the Mediterranean world had contemporary parallels in the Hanseatic establishments in London and the Baltic, and later ones in the warehouses established in ports in the Caribbean and China Sea.⁷ Yet the convergence of form and utility does not obscure regional distinctiveness. Although they conformed to a widespread pattern, *funduqs*, *fondacos*, and other members of this institutional group had their own unique family history.

It is difficult to hit a moving target, or to identify and describe a subject that constantly shifts its name and form. Even when something went by one widely recognized name, as with the late Roman *pandocheion*, contemporary references indicate a diversity of understandings of the term. Although this word was always applied to a place where travelers lodged, in return for money, some were simple hostels hosting a variety of respectable guests, while others doubled as taverns, brothels, gaming houses, and haunts for murderers and thieves. Some were in town centers; others were located along rural routes. Some were established by the government for lodging employees on official business; others were in private hands. Not unlike the modern word “hotel,” one can envision a spectrum of rather different facilities all going by the same name.

The problem of identity becomes more complex when one word splits into several variants, reflecting its adoption into new linguistic and cultural contexts. Sometimes, these were coeval with their original, as with Aramaic references to *pundāqs* in Palestine in the second century. If a contemporary Greek speaker had encountered one of these hostels, he would have recognized it as a *pandocheion*. In other instances they were sequential, either directly (as when Byzantine Syria came under Umayyad rule in the seventh

⁵ See summary of the work of Karl Polanyi, K. G. Hirth, and others in Richard Hodges, *Dark Age Economics. The Origins of Towns and Trade, AD 600–1000* (London: Duckworth, 1982) 23–24.

⁶ Philip Curtin, *Cross-Cultural Trade in World History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984) 78.

⁷ On Hanseatic *kontors* in the Baltic and the Steelyard in London, see P. Dollinger, *The German Hansa*, trans. D. S. Ault and S. H. Steinberg (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1964) 98–106. Also, on facilities for visiting traders in Ghana, P. L. Shinnie, *The African Iron Age* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971) 55–56.

century and the Arabic *funduq* replaced the *pandocheion*, or when Christian armies conquered Muslim cities in Spain and local *funduqs* became known as *alhóndigas* or *fondechs*), or indirectly (as with the appearance of *fondacos* in Italy not long after Italian merchants encountered *funduqs* and *fondacos* in Egypt and North Africa). In these sequential examples, it is often – but not always – clear that contemporary people would have acknowledged the connections between the originals and their evolved forms. Unlike medieval observers, we have the advantage of a broader view that permits us to discern the links across time and space between both contemporary and sequential versions of the institution.

In many cases, these connections are based on the terminology used to refer to particular institutions in different settings. Words are important, and tracing a spreading network of cognate terms is more than merely an exercise in philology. People use words to indicate specific things and to convey ideas. Thus, the use of a particular word – and especially the adoption and integration of a word from one language and context into another – demonstrates its utility and relevance as a referent. At the same time, the regular choice of a particular word, especially a new or imported word, indicates a contemporary function and understanding of the thing to which it refers. Throughout this study, I assume that when medieval writers used a particular word, without further explanation, they expected most of their readers to recognize what it meant, even when its meaning was multivalent.

Words matter because most of the data for this project come from written sources. Mention of *pandocheions* and their later cousins in anecdotes, hagiography, geographical literature, letters, chronicles, contracts, inscriptions, law codes, and other texts situates these hostels within both the everyday reality and the thought-world of their period. Wherever possible, material sources have also been employed to shed light on the history of the *pandocheion*, *funduq*, and *fondaco*. Art, archeology, and the architecture of surviving buildings all add detail to the story told by written texts.

The connections created by words and language are valuable tools for comparative history. Tracing the word *pandocheion* and its cognates provides a rare opportunity, since it allows the comparison of institutions that were genuinely related to each other rather than merely similar. The simple observation of likeness, as between hostelries in the Baltic, the Mediterranean, and the China Sea, can only be pressed to a certain point, and rarely results in more than a somewhat vague – though often intriguing – catalogue of analogies. In contrast, the comparison of institutional cousins with ties to a common ancestor is much more fruitful. The analysis and

comparison of their relationships, similarities, differences, and evolution can lead not only to a deeper understanding of the institutions themselves and their individual settings, but also to a comprehension of their broader common context, and of the process of intercultural contact and transfer in history.

Cross-cultural exchange – of both words and things – will occur wherever two groups come into contact, but it is most evident in areas where there is long-term contact or some degree of shared heritage. The more that is held in common, despite dissimilarities and even hostilities, the greater the chance of meaningful adoption. The medieval Mediterranean world provided an ideal scenario for such exchange. Communications and ongoing contact around the sea were fostered by a shared heritage of both monotheism and Greco-Roman culture. It is no accident that both the Arabic *funduq* and the Latin *fonticum* sprang from a Greek root, and that the latter came into Latin by way of Arabic, not directly from Greek.⁸ Both medieval institutions shared aspects inherited from their classical ancestor, but their form and function were influenced by their subsequent use, heritage, and circumstance.

It is important to consider context and agency, since words and ideas cannot move from place to place on their own. Instead, they are transferred, borrowed, and adapted by people who find them useful. For example, after western Christian merchants and other travelers encountered *funduqs* and *fondacos* in Islamic cities, and brought the idea back to their home cities, people in Europe found it worthwhile to recreate local versions. Even within one region, it is unlikely that an institution will survive over time, especially through periods of political and cultural upheaval, unless it has ongoing relevance. Thus, *funduqs* in the early Islamic milieu came to be somewhat different from preexisting *pandocheions*, yet they also preserved many similarities. People in Syria in the seventh and eighth centuries were evidently familiar with the Greek institution, and they found it sufficiently valuable to maintain and adapt it in the new Arabic and Islamic context.

What was so useful about this family of institutions, and which aspects were preserved over the centuries? The lodging of travelers was the first and most universal point of long-term continuity and utility, but even this changed over time. By the later middle ages, for example, *fondacos* tended to store goods rather than house people. Second, the provision of space for commerce and storage was another highly durable characteristic from

⁸ The Latin cognates *pandochium* and *pandox* did come directly from Greek, but were very rare in medieval European usage.

the early Muslim period onward. Merchant activity became central to the *funduq*, but had been less vital to the late antique *pandocheion*. A third common feature was the frequency of intervention by local governments in the function and administration of these facilities. Medieval rulers and governors in both southern Europe and the Islamic world rightly perceived them as serviceable and lucrative assets. They incorporated *funduqs* and *fondacos* within their fiscal policies. Hostels, commercial sites, and warehouses were often established and overseen by local administrations in order to facilitate official communications, to monitor the movement of people and goods, to collect taxes and fees, and to profit from trade. Together with linguistic ties, the common features of lodging, trade, and intervention provide vital clues for tracing connections between related institutions over time and space.

Alongside these common themes, the story of this institutional group is filled with diversity and variation. In order to tell this tale, chapters in this study are organized both chronologically and regionally. Chapter 1 addresses the complex role of the *pandocheion*, and its shifting identity in late antique life and imagination. In the period from the first to the seventh centuries, these inns were utilized by pagan, Jewish, and Christian travelers in the eastern Roman Empire. The word itself – *pandocheion* – means “accepting all comers.” References in Greek, Hebrew, Aramaic, and Syriac indicate that *pandocheions* provided paid lodging for all sorts of people, as well as being notorious as sites for drinking, revelry, prostitution, and crime. Although they certainly lodged merchants, they were not designed as commercial facilities; unlike their later counterparts, there was little emphasis on security or storage. Indeed, their open doors and seedy reputation may have discouraged commercial travelers.

With the arrival of Islam, in the seventh century, the *pandocheion* merged into the Islamic sphere as the *funduq*. This became a characteristic facility in Muslim cities from Syria to Spain, and served the lodging, commercial, and fiscal needs of traders, pilgrims, and rulers. Chapters 2 and 3 examine the evolution and dissemination of *funduqs* in the southern Mediterranean world from the Umayyad to the Ayyūbid periods (seventh to thirteenth centuries). While the *funduq* preserved important functional aspects of its Greek predecessor, it also evolved to fill new charitable and mercantile roles in the Islamic world. People from all walks of life stayed in *funduqs*, but these hostelries increasingly catered to the needs of commercial travelers, often becoming associated with certain groups of traders and particular types of goods. At the same time, rulers and local governors took an interest in these facilities, seeing not only their fiscal capacity as points for

the control of trade and collection of taxes, but also their charitable and religious potential as sites for lodging pilgrims and poor wayfarers. These shifts are evident not only through the many references in Arabic and Judeo-Arabic texts, but also in archeological and architectural data. Meanwhile, *pandocheions* became less common in regions still under Byzantine rule. In the eleventh century, however, a new commercial and regulatory facility called the *foundax* appeared in Byzantium. This was modeled on the contemporary Arabic *funduq* rather than on the earlier Greek *pandocheion*, and it demonstrates the ongoing ability of words and institutions to be transferred back and forth across linguistic and cultural borders.

Western European merchants encountered the *funduq* when they began to do business in Muslim markets in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. As discussed in chapter 4, the arrival of foreign Christian traders led to the development of specialized facilities (*fondacos*), modeled on the *funduq*, to accommodate, regulate, and segregate western business in Islamic ports. These new *fondacos* facilitated commercial exchange, profit, and taxation, provided space for foreigners' lodging and storage, ensured security for both Europeans and local communities, and gave foreign communities autonomy under the oversight of Muslim authorities. Although *fondaco* buildings were owned and maintained by local administrations, western merchants were allowed to practice their faith, follow their own customs, and even drink wine within *fondaco* walls. At the same time, their movement was restricted outside these buildings, and both European merchants and their goods were locked inside the *fondacos* at night.

Western *fondacos* in Muslim cities were critical elements in enabling the cross-cultural exchange that fueled the medieval commercial revolution in Europe, and their presence helps to explain why European Christians were able to operate in an Islamic context, while Muslims rarely visited Christian ports. Because of their access to *fondacos*, Christian traders found it both profitable and congenial to do business in Muslim markets. The system allowed western merchants in Alexandria, Damascus, Tunis, or other Islamic ports to lodge with fellow Europeans, while enjoying their own food-ways, languages, habits of hygiene, legal traditions, and religious rites. In contrast, European cities were not well adapted to providing for the needs of non-Christian traders. With few exceptions, a visiting Muslim in Mediterranean Europe would have had nowhere to stay that was acceptable both to himself and to the local population, nor any of the religious and dietary facilities necessary to make his visit comfortable.

Starting in the eleventh century, at the same time as Christian commercial growth in the Mediterranean world, Christian political and military

expansion in Spain, Sicily, and the Latin east brought Islamic cities and their urban institutions (including the *funduq*) under new Christian governments. Christian rulers, like their Muslim counterparts, immediately perceived the utility of *funduqs* and judiciously preserved elements of their fiscal and regulatory function. Chapter 5 details this process in the Iberian Peninsula through the late thirteenth century, when Ferdinand III and Alfonso X of Castile, and their contemporary James I of Aragón, incorporated *alhóndigas* and *fondechs* within the economic administration of their newly expanded kingdoms. Chapter 6 takes up the story of this phenomenon in the central and eastern Mediterranean. Similar integration occurred in the wake of political change in Sicily and south Italy, where rulers from Robert Guiscard to Frederick II took advantage of preexisting *funduqs* by reforming them to fit current needs. In the Crusader states too, *fondes* and *fondacos* in Acre, Tyre, Antioch, and other cities played an important role in the commercial and fiscal administration of the realm.

In regions still under Muslim rule, *funduqs* for Muslim merchants continued to flourish in the later middle ages, as did *fondacos* for western Christians. Nevertheless, changes in trade routes, merchant interests, and state oversight of commerce, particularly under the Mamlūk regime in Egypt and Syria (thirteenth to fifteenth centuries), led to the advancement of other facilities for commerce and lodging. Although *funduqs* continued to be popular in the late medieval Maghrib, they gradually lost ground to rival commercial spaces – especially *wakālas* – in Mamlūk realms. When the new port region of Cairo, Būlāq, was developed in the fifteenth century, Egyptian merchants almost universally chose to build *wakālas* rather than *funduqs* to accommodate their business activities. Meanwhile, the burgeoning success of the *fondaco* system was fueled by growing numbers of European merchants seeking access to Muslim markets. Over time, this solidification of the *fondaco* would erode the traditional identity of the *funduq*. The shifting array of commercial spaces, new and old, in the late medieval Muslim Mediterranean is the subject of chapters 7 and 8.

The final chapter, chapter 9, examines the *fondaco* as it took root in southern Europe in the later middle ages (twelfth to fifteenth centuries). Although preexisting local institutions had been adopted in the wake of Christian military conquests in Spain, Sicily, and south Italy, in other regions of Mediterranean Europe the *fondaco* was imported from abroad through trade and diplomacy. This was particularly evident in cities in southern France, northern Italy, and the Dalmatian coast, where new *fondacos* for lodging, commerce, and storage began to appear by the twelfth century. Merchants, urban administrators, and diplomats were instrumental in introducing the

word and the idea into its new European context. In most cases, these transplants quickly shed their association with hospitality, in part because the lodging needs of traveling merchants were already accommodated by other indigenous facilities. Instead, late medieval European *fondacos* became more concerned with securing commodities than people, and they served as warehouses and depots. In some regions, *fondacos* became important government tools for the control, taxation, and distribution of staple goods, while in others they were simply private merchant storehouses. By extension, the word was sometimes used for money held in an account, or for a branch of a merchant firm. Meanwhile, the locus of merchant daily life and business activity shifted to other structures, particularly the *loggia*. Both the heritage and the architecture of the *loggia* emphasized openness and access, as opposed to the strong walls and locked doors of the traditional *funduq* and *fondaco*. The turn to the *loggia* mirrors concurrent shifts in commercial practice toward greater freedom of trade.

In only a few European cities, most notably in Venice and Valencia, was the *fondaco*'s role in lodging and regulating foreign traders preserved. Here, politics, trade, and geography combined to create *fondacos* that were almost identical to their counterparts in Muslim cities. In both cases, this may have had ramifications for later urban institutions promoting religious segregation and for enhancing the identity of certain groups in these cities as "other." These trends are evident in the continuation of Valencia's Muslim quarter (*morería*) in the fifteenth century, and in the development of the ghetto for Venice's Jewish community in the sixteenth century.

There was a coherency and continuity in the evolution of the *pandocheion*, *funduq*, and *fondaco* in the late antique and medieval periods that disappeared in the early modern era. The same was true for the Mediterranean world in which these institutions had flourished. After 1500, the discovery of sea routes to India and the New World, the rise of new commercial powers in northern Europe and the Ottoman Empire, developments in maritime and military technology, more rigid conceptions of self and "other" in terms of both politics and religion, and the early manifestations of European colonial interests all combined to de-center the Mediterranean and diminish the relevance of longstanding Mediterranean ideas and institutions. The *funduq* and *fondaco* continued to exist, and variations still survive today in southern Europe, North Africa, and the Near East. But these modern versions have lost the importance, versatility, and ubiquity that they once enjoyed in late antiquity and the middle ages.

CHAPTER I

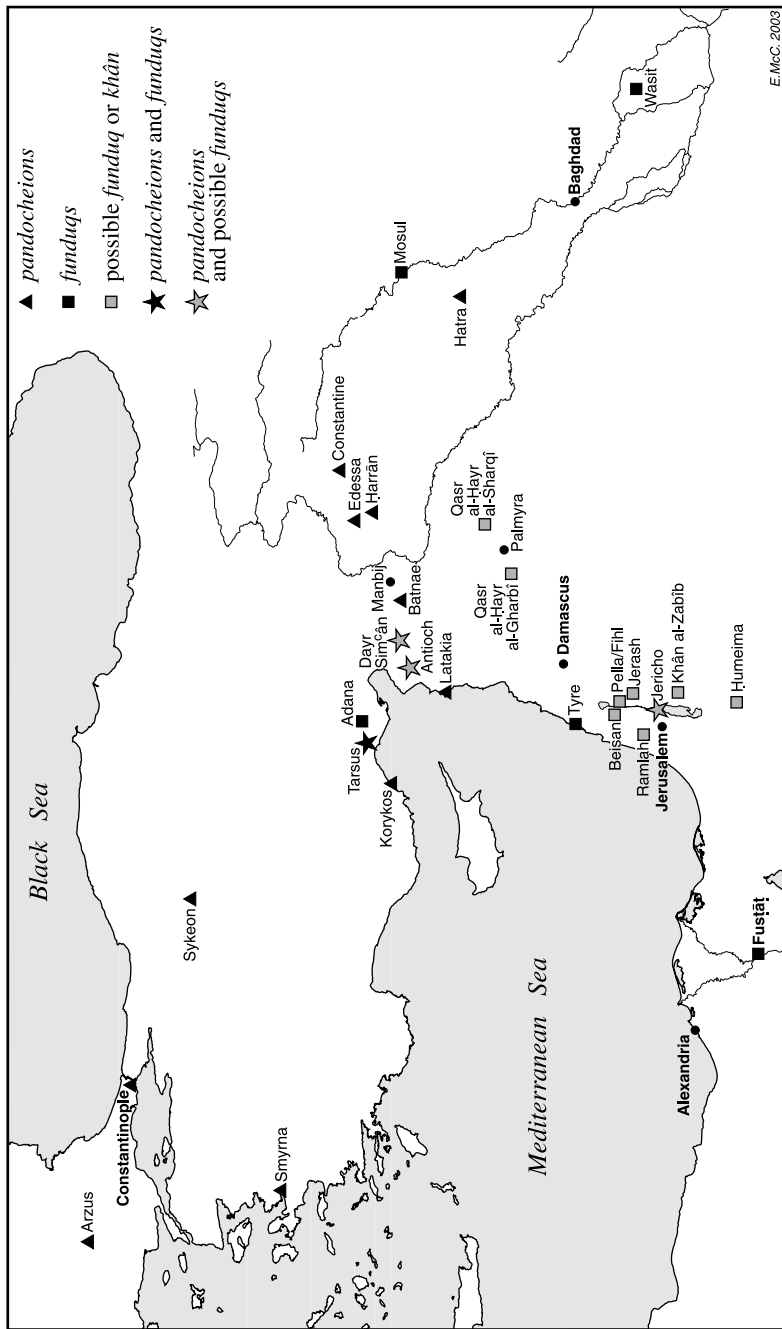
“Accepting all comers”: a cross-cultural institution in late antiquity

THE GOOD SAMARITAN

In the gospel of Luke, the parable of the Good Samaritan (10:30–35) tells the tale of a traveler who was robbed, beaten, and left half-dead by thieves on the road from Jerusalem to Jericho. This unfortunate wayfarer was rescued by a passing Samaritan, probably a merchant, who salved his wounds, mounted him on one of his animals, “brought him to an inn (*pandocheion*, πανδοχεῖον), and looked after him. Next day, he produced two silver pieces (*denarii*) and gave them to the innkeeper (*pandocheus*), and said ‘Look after him; and if you spend more, I will repay you on my way back.’”

The parable’s use of the term *pandocheion* helps illuminate the landscape of lodging and travel in the eastern Roman Empire during the early centuries of the Common Era. This chapter surveys this multicultural terrain, looking at the shared and divergent understandings – both metaphorical and literal – of the *pandocheion* and other related hostelries in the pagan, Jewish, and Christian communities in the period from roughly the first to the seventh centuries. It first examines the meaning of the word *pandocheion* and related cognates in early sources, then situates this type of hostelry within the broader sphere of archeological and written evidence for the accommodation of travelers in late antiquity.

The Greek word *pandocheion* literally means “accepting all comers,” and these hostels were common along the highways and byways of the late antique world. The word had very ancient roots, going back to at least the fifth century BCE in Attica, and later Greek writers used it to refer to inns in Greece, Italy, and elsewhere. Gradually, however, its geographical distribution diminished, so that by the first and second centuries CE, *pandocheions* were concentrated in Palestine, Syria, and southern Anatolia. They were found especially in the area bounded by the cities of Antioch, Edessa, and Tarsus, the region which would see the earliest rise of Christianity and which was, indeed, the probable homeland of the gospel writer



E.McC., 2003

Map 1. Distribution of the *pandocheions* and *funduqs* in the eastern Mediterranean (second to tenth centuries)

Luke.¹ Although this apparent concentration may result in part from the distribution of sources referring to these hostelries, especially early Christian writings, there is a striking absence of references to *pandocheions* in contemporary Egyptian papyri, in records from northern Anatolia and Constantinople, or in sources from the western Roman world.²

Despite its diminishing geographical range, the term *pandocheion* had diffused into a number of other languages by the first century CE. Luke recounted the tale of the Good Samaritan in Greek, presumably because this was the language in which he, as a Greek-speaking Syrian, wrote most comfortably. Yet even if the parable was originally told in Aramaic, it is likely that the teller employed a closely related word. There were contemporary cognate terms in local Semitic languages – Hebrew, Aramaic, and Syriac – a fact which indicates the ubiquity of such hostels. These inns served all travelers, of all faiths and from all walks of life, provided they were willing to pay for their food and lodging. Notably, the word was never widely transferred into Latin, though cognates did exist, and its diffusion was mainly confined to Greek-speaking regions of the eastern Mediterranean. Even St. Jerome (d. 420), living and writing in the Greek east, chose an unrelated Latin term, *stabulum*, in his translation of the tale of the Good Samaritan.³ Eventually, by the seventh century, the prevalence of the term *pandocheion* and its Semitic cognates in Byzantine Syria and Palestine would be critical in the transference of the word and its referent into an Islamic context, as the Arabic *funduq*.

The ubiquity of these hostelries in Roman Syria is attested in the strong parallels in their portrayal in both Jewish and early Christian texts. A tale not unlike the parable of the Good Samaritan, about an ailing wayfarer

¹ Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke* (Garden City, NJ: Doubleday & Co., 1981) 1, 45–46. The second-century grammarian Phrynichus Arabius, writing in Bithynia, included *pandocheion* in his compilation of old Attic words in contemporary use (*The New Phrynichus, Being a Revised Text of the Ecloga of the Grammarian Phrynichus*, ed. W. Guignon Rutherford [London: Macmillan, 1881] 362).

² The lack of a Coptic cognate is likewise relevant. *Pandocheions* were not integrated within the wider network of Roman way-stations. The word does not appear in the list of *vocabulaire des stations* in R. Chevallier's *Les Voies romaines* (Paris: Picard, 1997) 281–282.

³ *Stabulum* shared many of the same rather unsavory overtones as *pandocheion*, particularly as regards being a brothel. A story from the *Vitae Patrum*, for example, told of a prostitute doing business in a *stabulum* (*Patrologia Latina*, ed. J. P. Migne, LXXIII, col. 654–656). Jerome also employed other words for hostelries, mentioning that the pilgrim Paula stayed in a *hospitium* in Bethlehem (declining the local proconsul's offer that she lodge with him), and he used the term *xenodocheion* a number of times. See Denys Gorce, *Les Voyages, l'hospitalité et le port des lettres dans le monde chrétien des IVe et Ve siècles* (Paris: Editions Auguste Picard, 1925) 137, 140–141; Enrico Coturri, "Strade e ostelli per mercanti nell'Italia medioevale," *Mercanti e consumi organizzazione e qualificazione del commercio in Italia del XII al XX secolo (I° Convegno Nazionale di Storia del Commercio in Italia)* (Bologna: Istituto Formazione Operatori Aziendali, 1986) 276.

seeking refuge on the road to Jerusalem, appears in the Jewish Mishnah (compiled *c.* 200 CE from earlier material), and also in both the Palestinian and Babylonian versions of the Talmud (completed during the fifth and sixth centuries).⁴ In the Mishnah account, one of a group of traveling Levites

fell sick by the way, and they brought him to an inn [*pundāq*, a cognate of *pandocheion*]. When they returned thither, they asked the mistress of the inn (*pundaqit*), “Where is our companion?” She answered, “He is dead, and I buried him.” And they suffered his wife to marry again. The Sage said to Rabbi Aqiba [d. 132 CE], “And should not a priest’s wife be [deemed as trustworthy] as the mistress of an inn?” He answered, “Only when the mistress of an inn could be deemed trustworthy!” [For in this case] the mistress of the inn brought out to them his staff and his bag and the scroll of the Law that had belonged to him.⁵

As in Luke’s narrative, a sick traveler was brought to a roadside inn and left in the care of the proprietor. In both stories, the integrity of the innkeepers was of particular importance, since they were entrusted not only with care of the invalid, but also with money and possessions, and, if necessary, arrangements for and witness of proper burial.

Subsequent rabbinic commentary on this passage particularly stressed two issues: first, the question of whether this hostelry was a Jewish or Gentile establishment; and second, weighing the trustworthiness of the female innkeeper, and debating whether she was actually a prostitute (her title, *pundaqit*, was often synonymous with the Hebrew *zonah*).⁶

The first matter was an enduring topos in Jewish commentary and responsa literature, mostly stemming from passages in religious texts where the *pundāq* figured as a meeting point or a site for cross-religious interaction, sometimes benign and sometimes not. Jews, for example, should not stable their cattle in a *pundāq* belonging to a Samaritan or a Gentile lest the beasts come to harm (particularly sexual harm), and humans should also take care in lodging in such an establishment.⁷ Likewise, the question arose as to whether Jews might stay in an inn on the Sabbath if the Gentile owner were also in residence.⁸ Similar concerns may have also been inherent

⁴ On dating of these texts, see discussion in H. L. Strack and Günter Stemberger, *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1992) 133–139, 171, 192–194.

⁵ *The Mishnah*, Yebamoth 16.7; trans. Herbert Danby (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1933) 245.

⁶ In the Aramaic translation of Joshua 2:1, the title of Rahab, a prostitute (*zonah*) in Jericho, is given as *pundaqit*. See also Daniel Sperber, *The City in Roman Palestine* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998) 17.

⁷ The warnings about stabling cattle occur in several places, including the Jerusalem Talmud (Abodah Zarah, 2:1) and the Tosefta (comp. *c.* 400) Abodah Zarah 3:1–2, trans. Jacob Neusner (New York: Ktav Publishing House, 1981) 318.

⁸ Babylonian Talmud, ‘Erubin, 65b–66a.

in the parable of the Good Samaritan, which occurs immediately after a story of how Jesus and his disciples were denied lodging in a Samaritan village (Luke 9:52–53). Whether or not the innkeeper who provided lodging and care for a Jewish traveler in the subsequent parable was himself intended to be a Samaritan has been the subject of later debate.⁹ This seems plausible, however, given the rabbinic context of debate over the non-Jewish *pundāq*, as well as the original all-embracing meaning of the term in Greek.

Inns, by their very nature, were points for meeting and exchange between people, whether of the same or different religious beliefs. Often, these roadside spaces provided the imagined venues for tales of unusual encounters, interaction, and personal change that may on some level have reflected real possibilities in actual hostelries. They could be places outside the law, as locales for unruly, criminal, or illicit sexual behavior, or they could be beyond the law, as sites for moral or religious exempla. In this regard, further parallels suggest themselves in rabbinic literature between the Aramaic *pundāq* and the *pandocheion* in the gospel of Luke. One story from Midrash told of two merchants who despised each other, until one had difficulties with his pack animals while on a commercial journey, and received much-needed assistance from the other. Both men then went to a *pundāq*, where they ate a pleasant meal together and were reconciled through the recollection of the good deed that one had done for the other.¹⁰ Just as the Good Samaritan acted as a true neighbor by helping a wounded traveler and bringing him to an inn, so too these merchants came to brotherly love by way of a roadside accident and reconciliation in a hostelry. A tale from the Babylonian Talmud told of another chance meeting of two travelers in an inn, stressing their diverse origins and fundamental incompatibility. Not only did one man come from the south and the other from the north, but they wished to share a table in the inn while one ate meat and the other ate cheese. The forbidden conjunction became permissible in this special context,

⁹ J. Duncan M. Derrett, "Law in the New Testament: Fresh Light on the Parable of the Good Samaritan," *New Testament Studies* 11 (1964–1965) 23. On relations between Jews and Samaritans, see John R. Donahue, "Who is my Enemy? The Parable of the Good Samaritan and the Love of Enemies," in *The Love of Enemy and Nonretaliation in the New Testament*, ed. W. M. Swartley (Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1992) 137–156.

¹⁰ *Midrash Tanhuma-Yelammedenu*, trans. Samuel A. Berman (Hoboken, NJ: Ktav Publishing House, 1996) 474–475 (commentary on Exodus 21:1 "Now these are the judgements"). This text may date to the ninth century, but much of its substance is much earlier (Strack and Stemberger, *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash*, 305). A very similar story also using the word *pundāq* occurs in the Midrash on Psalms, commenting on Psalm 99, trans. William G. Braude (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959) 144–145. The date of this text is disputed. It may be as late as the ninth century, though most of its material dates to the Talmudic period.

so long as the food came from separate containers.¹¹ Dio Chrysostom, a pagan author writing in the late first century, likewise pointed out how the happenstance of travelers thrown together in a *pandocheion* might lead to friendship between them.¹² This vision of the inn as a site for chance encounters, often leading to conversion and reform, would soon also be reflected in early Christian writings, as will be discussed below.

The second issue of debate in the Mishnah story, concerning the relationship between inns and brothels, was a similarly persistent theme in pagan, Jewish, Christian, and eventually Muslim writings. *Pandocheions* and other hostelries (especially the Latin *stabulum*) were frequently associated with prostitution, together with all manner of other disreputable activities, including theft, drunkenness, and even murder. The Jewish historian Josephus, writing in Greek in the first century CE, added female keepers of *pandocheions* to the list laid out in Leviticus 21:7 of women whom priests may not marry (along with harlots, slaves, prisoners of war, and hawkers).¹³ Although many such inns must have been perfectly reputable, it is perhaps not surprising that Luke chose the word *katalyma*, not *pandocheion*, to refer to the more famous hostelry with no vacancies in Bethlehem (2:7). The inn in Bethlehem was apparently a respectable establishment, a place suitable for a man to bring his pregnant wife.¹⁴

A third issue, addressed in both the parable and the Mishnah tale, was the relationship between *pandocheions*, sickness, and death. Travelers often fell ill on the road, and it must have been common to take them to roadside inns when they could no longer continue their journey. Some, like the Levite, died in these hostelries, and *pandocheions* had a consequently bad reputation in both reality and metaphor. The second-century author Artemidorus wrote in his book on the interpretation of dreams that to dream of “an innkeeper (*pandocheus*) portends death for the sick. For he resembles death in that he receives everyone. But for all other men, he foretells afflictions and distress, movements and trips. And the reason is obvious. What need is there, then, to explain something so clear? And an inn (*pandocheion*) has

¹¹ Babylonian Talmud, *Hullin*, 107b.

¹² Dio Chrysostom, *Discourses*, v, trans. H. Lamar Crosby (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1951) 234–235.

¹³ Josephus Flavius, *Jewish Antiquities*, ed. and trans. H. St. J. Thackeray (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1928; repr. 1998) III, 276, 451.

¹⁴ See discussion of *katalyma* below. Luke also employs the same word for the house in which Jesus and his disciples partook of the Last Supper (Luke 22:11). See Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke*, I, 408. Jerome, notably, chose the Latin word *diversorium* to refer to the hostelry in Bethlehem. For more on this inn, see Elmer A. McNamara, “Because there was no Room for them in the Inn,” *The Ecclesiastical Review* 105 (1941) 433–443.

the same meaning as an innkeeper.”¹⁵ *Pandocheions* were also sites for the spread of disease, and a traveler was as likely to contract an illness in a hostel as to convalesce in one. Thus, a gospel fragment from the middle of the second century told of Jesus healing a leper who said that he had become sick after “journeying with lepers and eating with them in a *pandocheion*.”¹⁶

Pandocheions were “for profit” facilities open to any person willing to pay the fees for lodging and food. The expectation of payment is expressed clearly in the parable of the Good Samaritan, as it is in another story from Midrash telling of two travelers, one righteous and the other wicked, who stopped for a meal in a *pundāq*. An abundance of fare was available, but the two men differed in what they ordered because they could not agree over whether the menu was *prix fixe* or *à la carte*. Thinking that one paid by the item, the righteous man ordered a meager bowl of lentils and bread, then paid his small tab, while the wicked man (assuming a fixed price) ate more sumptuously, then quarreled with the innkeeper over the unexpectedly large bill.¹⁷ The historian Polybius (writing c.129 BCE) remarked on costs of food and lodging in Italy, where a fixed price was apparently common, so that travelers “who put up in *pandocheions* do not bargain for each separate article they require, but ask what is the charge *per diem* for one person. The innkeepers, as a rule, agree to receive guests, providing them with enough of all they require for [a mere] half an *as per diem*.”¹⁸

The fees and varied clientele characteristic of *pandocheions* contrasted with the more philanthropic and restrictive nature of some other hosteleries, most notably the early Christian *xenodocheion*, which served not only a specific religious community but often offered food and lodging freely for the love of God. A fifth-century Syriac version of the Nicene canons specifically identified the *xenodocheion* as an urban hostel intended for pilgrims, the sick, and the poor.¹⁹ By this period, *xenodocheions* were often established within monastic complexes or in association with churches, and many were built at the behest of emperors and other wealthy patrons seeking to do good

¹⁵ Artemidorus Daldianus, *Artemidori Daldiani Onirocriticon libri V*, ed. Roger A. Pack (Leipzig: Teubner, 1963) III.57, 229; trans. Robert White as *On the Interpretation of Dreams* (Torrance, CA: Original Books, 1990) 176.

¹⁶ Harold I. Bell, *The New Gospel Fragments* (London: British Museum, 1955) 12, 30.

¹⁷ Midrash on Psalms (Book 1, Psalm 4) 78–79.

¹⁸ Polybius, *The Histories*, ed. and trans. W. R. Paton (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1922) 276–277 (II.15.4–6). On Roman hotel bills, see also Ludwig Friedländer, *Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms in der Zeit von Augustus bis zum Ausgang der Antonine* (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1919–1921) I, 347–351; trans. Leonard A. Magnus as *Roman Life and Manners under the Early Empire* (New York: Arno Press, 1979) I, 290–293.

¹⁹ *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, ed. Giovan Domenico Mansi (Florence: Expensis Antonii Zatta Veneti, 1759–1798) II, 976, canon 70.

works. The differences between these two forms of lodging, *pandocheion* and *xenodochion*, affected their development within the early Christian community, and would influence their differential transference across religious borders between pagan culture, Judaism, Christianity, and Islam.

LODGING THE CLASSICAL AND EARLY CHRISTIAN TRAVELER

The *pandocheion* was only one among a number of different types of hostelry available to travelers in the classical and late antique world, both in cities and in villages along rural routes.²⁰ Even in a very early period, however, some *pandocheions* were prominent and well-known establishments. When Demosthenes (384–322 BCE) mentioned the *pandocheion* in front of the Temple of the Twins in Pherae (in which Philip of Macedon exacted an oath of allegiance from local people before marching on Athens), he added that “any of you who have been to Pherae will know the place.”²¹ An Athenian inscription dated 358 BCE mentions a *pandocheion* among buildings sacred to Apollo which, like the hostelry in Pherae, may have been located near a temple.²² Larger towns would have boasted a number of inns for travelers to choose among, while others had few. Aeschines, a contemporary and enemy of Demosthenes, remarked that when the latter was traveling with a party of ambassadors, no one was willing to eat with Demosthenes, “nor even to lodge at the same inn (*pandocheion*) with him as we journeyed.”²³

Several Greek authors also mentioned early *pandocheions* in Italy, though perhaps they applied the term to hostels that went by another name locally. Strabo (c.18 CE) indicated that these hostelries flourished in Italy, noting the “*pandocheions* of the Pictae” near the small city of Algidium.²⁴ Appian (writing in the second century CE, but describing the civil wars in Rome in 89 BCE) told a tale of the assassination of the praetor Asellio in a *pandocheion*

²⁰ W. A. McDonald, “Villa or Pandokeion?” in *Studies Presented to David Moore Robinson*, ed. George E. Mylonas (St. Louis: Washington University Press, 1951) 366; W. C. Firebaugh, *The Inns of Greece and Rome* (Chicago: Pascal Covici, 1927) 53, 55.

²¹ Demosthenes, *De Falsa Legatione*, ed. and trans. C. A. Vince and J. A. Vince (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1953) 347 (section 158).

²² Ulrich Koehler, *Inscriptiones Atticae aetatis quae est inter Euclidis annum et Augusti tempora*, *Inscriptiones Graecae* (Berlin: G. Reimcrum, 1877–1895) II.2, 284–285, no. 817A, line 30. See also L. Soverini, “Il ‘Commercio nel tempio’: Osservazioni sul regolamento dei χάρπηλοι a Samo (seg. xxvii, 545).” *Opus* 9–10 (1990–1991) 91–92.

²³ Aeschines, “On the Embassy,” in *The Speeches of Aeschines*, ed. and trans. Charles Darwin Adams (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988) II.97, 232–233.

²⁴ *The Geography of Strabo*, ed. and trans. H. L. Jones (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988) II, 410–411 (5.3.9).

“in the midst of the forum” in Rome, next door to the Temple of Vesta. At first the mob thought that he had taken refuge with the Vestal Virgins, but when they realized that he was only in the *pandocheion* nearby, they ran inside and killed him.²⁵ As with the earlier reference from Demosthenes, Appian indicates that these inns were sited in the center of cities, in the vicinity of temples and markets, so that worshipers and businessmen could stop for a drink, for a meal, or to spend the night. They were often rough places, however, and a client might have to put up with noise, revelry, and even bodily harm.

The association of *pandocheions* with low life and criminality was common in late antique literature. The novelist Achilles Tatius, probably writing in the early second century, described travelers who stopped in a *pandocheion* on the road to Smyrna, and during their conversation one of them confessed to the murder of a young girl (though the deed had taken place elsewhere).²⁶ A century later, the apocryphal *Acts of Thomas*, written in the region of Edessa in the early third century, described how the apostle Thomas restored life to a young woman who had “lived outside the city in a *pandocheion*” (i.e. a prostitute) and was killed by her angry lover when she refused to live with him in chastity, as had been urged by Thomas.²⁷ Later, the distraught young man appealed to Thomas and they went together to view the body: “when they arrived in the *pandocheion* they found her lying [there] . . . and [Thomas] commanded her to be brought into the middle of the inn. And they put her on a bed, carried her out, and laid her in the middle of the court of the inn. And the apostle laid his hand on her” and restored her to life, upon which she and others present confessed their sins and followed him. Here, prostitution and murder were combined within

²⁵ Appianus of Alexandria, *Bellorum civilium*, ed. Emilio Gabba (Florence: La “Nuova Italia” Editrice, 2nd edn., 1967) 160 (I, para. 237); trans. Horace White, *The Roman History of Appian of Alexandria* (New York: Macmillan, 1899) II, 38.

²⁶ Achilles Tatius, *Le Roman de Leucippé et Clitophon* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1991) VII.2–5, 188–189.

²⁷ Both Greek and Syriac versions of the *Acts of Thomas* exist. The Greek text (*Acta Philippi et Acta Thomae*, ed. M. Bonnet, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, II.2 [Leipzig, 1903; repr. Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1990] 167–168) uses the word *pandocheion*, while the Syriac uses the cognate *putqā* (ed. W. Wright, *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles* II [London: Williams & Norgate, 1871] 201). The English translation here is from W. Schneemelcher (ed.), *New Testament Apocrypha*, trans. R. M. Wilson (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1965) 471–472. The word *pandocheion* also occurs earlier in the text when Thomas and his master, Abban the merchant, arrived in the port of Andrapolis and took “quarters in a *pandocheion*” (*Acta*, 105; English, 444). Andrapolis is generally taken as being in India, but Huxley has proposed that it may actually be the city of Hatra, a trading city on the caravan route between Edessa and the Tigris Valley (George Huxley, “Geography in the *Acts of Thomas*,” *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 24 [1983] 72–73). For a general discussion of this text, see A. E. J. Klíjn, *The Acts of Thomas, Supplements to Novum Testamentum*, v (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1962) and Schneemelcher (ed.), *New Testament Apocrypha*, 425–442.

one hostelry, though the open courtyard of the building later became the site of redemption and conversion. Scholars have noted the influence of Hellenistic romances in the *Acts of Thomas*, so these two stories of foul play associated with *pandocheions* may be indirectly related.²⁸ Despite literary tropes, however, there must have been some truth behind the *pandocheion*'s reputation. A Greek inscription on a Christian gravestone found in northern Syria, near Antioch, recorded the death of two cousins "murdered in the *pandocheion* [*sic*] of Theodoros near Laodicea" in 342 CE.²⁹

Even if travelers did not fear for their lives, they were often uncomfortable in the rowdy and crowded atmosphere of a *pandocheion*. Philostratus, writing in the third century, described how travelers approaching the gates of Rome "put up at a *pandocheion* close to the gate, and were taking their supper, for it was already eventide, when a drunken fellow . . . turned up as if it were for a revel."³⁰ Aelian, a Roman writing in Greek in the early third century, told another tale with a similar message, relating how a musician called Stratonicus accepted an invitation to stay in a private home while traveling, but became increasingly irritated as more and more other guests arrived. When he realized "that the house was more or less open to anyone who chose to stay in it, Stratonicus said to his servant: 'Boy, let's leave; we seem to have found a ring dove instead of a pigeon, a *pandocheion* instead of a home.'"³¹ However, Plutarch (d. c.120 CE) advised that, even when other guests were intimidating and rude, a traveler ought not to worry about speaking, eating, or taking exercise in their presence. One should not feel timid in the company of "sailors, muleteers, or innkeepers" and "neither traveling nor stopping in a *pandocheion* ought to be made an excuse for silence, nor even if everybody there deride one."³²

Innkeepers could be either male or female, and Ptolemy (161 CE) classed them with workers in other service industries (including servants, publicans, ferry-men, and the assistants at sacrifices).³³ As already noted, women working in *pandocheions* were notorious for pandering and procuring.

²⁸ Klijn, *Acts of Thomas*, 19.

²⁹ Georges Tchalenko, *Villages antiques de la Syrie du Nord: le massif du Bélus à l'époque romaine* (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1953–1958) III, 31–32. The spelling of the word may reflect local pronunciation.

³⁰ Philostratus, *The Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, ed. and trans. F. C. Conybeare (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1912) I, 440–441 (IV, 31).

³¹ Aelian, *Historical Miscellany*, ed. and trans. N. G. Wilson (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997) 462–463 (14.14). Stratonicus' confusion may have stemmed from the fact that, structurally, there was almost no difference between private houses and hostelries, a point that will be discussed below.

³² Plutarch, *Moralia*, ed. and trans. Frank Cole Babbitt (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1956) II, 258–259 ("Advice about keeping well" 130).

³³ Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos*, ed. and trans. F. E. Robbins (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1980) 385–387 (IV, 4).

Given this reputation, it is not surprising that the probity of the female innkeeper in the Mishnah was doubted, especially in regard to the remarriage of the wife of the deceased. This theme dates back to the earliest appearance of these hostels, and even the hero Hercules came to grief, according to Palaephatus (fourth century BCE), after his prolonged dalliance with a beautiful female innkeeper in a *pandocheion* alienated his traveling companion.³⁴ Polyaeus (writing in the second century CE, but describing a much earlier period) remarked that when Philip of Macedon was marching against Thebes, two leaders of his army “brought a harp girl from a *pandocheion* [and] led her into the camp. The fact did not escape Philip’s notice, and having learned of it, he banished both leaders from the boundaries of his kingdom.”³⁵ Strabo also told of “a brothel-keeper [who] had taken lodging in the *pandocheions* [in a village in Phrygia], along with a large number of women, [when] an earthquake took the place by night, and . . . he, together with all of the women, disappeared from sight.”³⁶ It is unclear whether Strabo considered this a moral consequence or merely a startling event. Somewhat later, the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (a Judeo-Christian text written c.200) reflected the image already familiar from the contemporary Mishnah and *Acts of Thomas*, in its description of how the widow Tamar “adorned herself with bridal array, and sat in the city of Enaim by the gate of the *pandocheion*. For it was a law of the Amorites that she who was about to marry should work as a prostitute for seven days by the gate.”³⁷

The worldly aspects of the *pandocheion* took on metaphorical significance in Greek and Jewish philosophical texts, notably in the writing of Philo (c.15 BCE–c.50 CE) and Epictetus (c.50–c.130 CE). Their interpretations drew on earlier imagery, from the Talmud and elsewhere, comparing this world to an inn, while our true home is in the world to come.³⁸ The image would later be adopted by Christian authors such as John Chrysostom and Clement of Alexandria. Both Philo and Epictetus compared the *pandocheion* to the

³⁴ Palaephatus, *Peri Apiston*, in *Mythographi Graeci*, ed. N. Festa, III.2 (Leipzig: Teubner, 1912) XIV (XIV1) 67. This excerpt only survives in a fragment, possibly copied in the Byzantine period. My thanks to Emily MacKil for the translation.

³⁵ Polyaeus, *Strategematon, Libri VIII*, ed. Edward Woelfflin (Stuttgart: B. G. Teubner, 1970) 159 (IV.2.3).

³⁶ Strabo, *Geography*, 12.8.17, v, 512–513.

³⁷ *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, trans. R. H. Charles (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1908) 81 (Judah, XII.1–2). Minor changes have been made to the translation. This is either a Christian work or a Christian redaction of a Jewish text. The version that mentions the *pandocheion* is in a fourteenth-century hand (Bodleian MS Barroccio 133), but is presumably a copy of an earlier text.

³⁸ For example, from the Babylonian Talmud: “This world is an inn, and the next world is our permanent home” (Mo’ed Qaṭan, 9b).

physical man, whose weak, temporal, and fallible existence contrasts with the superior permanent entity of the rational mind. Philo, drawing on the contemporary reputation of the *pandocheion* as a place of excess and debauchery, likened the mind of a fool to an inn, remarking that “he who is unlike [a wise man] does not have even his own house or a mind of his own but is confused and is treated contemptuously like those who, as it were, enter a *pandocheion* only to fill themselves and vomit in their passions.”³⁹ The Stoic Epictetus also deployed the image of an inn as a temporary home, comparing those things given briefly to us in this life with the things in a *pandocheion* that are for the use of travelers, but not owned by them.⁴⁰ He employed a similar image in another work, the *Discourses*, in which he exhorted his readers to keep their eyes and minds on more than just this life, and to strive for morality and virtue.

Men act like a traveler on the way to his own country who stops at an excellent *pandocheion*, and since the *pandocheion* pleases him, stays there. Man, have you forgotten your purpose; you were not traveling *to* but *through* it. “But this is a fine *pandocheion*.” And how many other inns are fine, and how many meadows – yet simply for passing through.⁴¹

Data from archeology and epigraphy (fourth century)

In contrast to these textual descriptions, which suggest the function of *pandocheions* and attitudes towards them, surviving inscriptions and the physical remains of buildings give a better idea of the foundation and date of actual hostelries in the late antique period. Yet without an inscription to identify a particular building, it is often impossible to distinguish hostelries from other public and private structures – a fact that apparently caused as much confusion to late antique travelers such as Stratonicus as it has to modern scholars. One structure at Olynthus (a site that was destroyed by Philip of Macedon in 348 BCE) has been tentatively identified as a *pandocheion* because the building seems larger and more complex than a

³⁹ Philo, *Supplement I: Questions and Answers on Genesis*, ed. and trans. Ralph Marcus (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1953) 308; James R. Royse, “A Philonic Use of *Pandocheion* (Luke x 34),” *Novum Testamentum* 23 (1981) 193.

⁴⁰ Epictetus, *The Enchiridion*, ed. Henricus Schenkl (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1916) xi, ii; trans. Thomas W. Higginson (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1955) 21.

⁴¹ Epictetus, *The Discourses as reported by Arrian*, ed. and trans. W. A. Oldfather (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1959–1961) 416–417 (ii, xxiii.36–38). Elsewhere in this work, Epictetus contrasted worldly things granted temporarily to men by the gods (things such as land, wealth, farms, houses, *pandocheions*, or slaves) with those things that are truly a man’s own: “the qualities that make him a human being, the imprints which he brought with him in his mind” (*ibid.*, 336–337 (iv.15)).

private villa. It had a sizable kitchen, public rooms, and storage chambers on the lower floor, and at least ten bedrooms upstairs.⁴²

Other later examples are less problematic, as with one *pandocheion* built in a complex of three caves in the north Syrian province of Osrhoene, on the road between Batnae and Edessa, by the Roman prefect and governor of the region, Aurelius Dasius, around 260 CE. According to a Greek inscription by the door of the inn, the governor made “in this place a *pandocheion*, a well, and caves so that travelers may enjoy refreshment and repose.”⁴³ Two other inscriptions, one in Latin (a direct translation of the Greek) and another later one in Arabic, are carved near the Greek text. The caves appear to have been used for storage and stabling, since one has a row of mangers, while the *pandocheion* proper would have been a free-standing separate building of which no trace remains.

Inscriptions from the fourth century record the foundation of other *pandocheions* in Syria. Two were described as “public *pandocheions*” suggesting that they had been founded as civic works for the purpose of lodging wayfarers and strangers, and with the desire of gaining the remembrance and gratitude of future guests. Some were founded by local officials or governors, perhaps for the convenience of state officers or post-riders. One inscription, dated 397, recorded that “in exchange for great good will and memory, by the forethought of Maximus Ogezus and Malichathos and Ameros and Priscus the procurators, a public *pandocheion* was completed.”⁴⁴ Other *pandocheions* were constructed as private good works, including one built in Ḥarrān, southeast of Edessa, also in 397. This building had an inscription in very poor Greek to the effect that “as a mark of gratitude and remembrance, by [the] plan of Gurf [or Gurp], [son] of ‘Aum, and ‘Udharān, [son] of Bassus [or Bas], and ‘Amir, [son] of Wahb’el, and An’am, [son] of Marcianus, was completed the public *pandocheion*.”⁴⁵ The names of these men are Semitic, and not obviously Christian, though one of them, An’am, was apparently the son of a Roman – or Romanized – father. A third, and undated, Syrian inscription from Rimet-Hazīm also recorded a

⁴² McDonald, “Villa or Pandokeion?” 367–372. McDonald uses the generic term *pandocheion* simply to distinguish between hostel and home.

⁴³ Cyril Mango, “A Late Roman Inn in Eastern Turkey,” *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 5 (1986) 227–229; see also Jacques Jarry, “Inscriptions syriaques et arabes inédites du Ṭur ‘Abdin,” *Annales Islamologiques* 10 (1972) 246–247; Hans Petersen, “A Roman Prefect in Osrhoene,” *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 107 (1977) 265–282.

⁴⁴ William Henry Waddington (ed.), *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie* (Paris: F. Didot, 1870) 562 (no. 2462).

⁴⁵ *Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expeditions to Syria in 1904–5 and 1909*, ed. Enno Littmann, David Magie and Duane Reed Stuart, III, Section A, Greek and Latin Inscriptions, Southern Syria (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1921) 413–414 (no. 794–1).

private foundation, noting that “Diomedes the God-fearing son of Mooros founded the *pandocheions* for the sake of [his] memory.”⁴⁶

In many cases, the foundation of *pandocheions* in this period was intended to promote both public good and the renown of the founder. The interests of the state could also be a factor, as emperors and local officials funded the building of roads, hostelries, and customs houses to promote travel, trade, and communications throughout the empire. The revenues from these facilities went to the imperial treasury.⁴⁷ In 61, the emperor Nero ordered the procurator of Thrace to construct *tabernae* and *praetoria* along the main roads of the province, and it was common for regional governors all over the empire to take responsibility for building public works of this type. The foundation of *pandocheions* was thus often part of a more general endeavor under government sponsorship.⁴⁸ Various sorts of hostelries were under official oversight, including new barracks built for Roman soldiers in order to avoid the necessity of billeting them with local inhabitants.⁴⁹ State officials may also have taken advantage of local or private facilities, as when an imperial messenger – of whom more below – stopped for the night in a *pandocheion* in Sykeon, a small town west of Ankara.⁵⁰ Although there may have been early *pandocheions* in Italy, it appears from inscriptions that the building of new facilities in the third and fourth centuries was increasingly restricted to Greek-speaking regions of the eastern Roman Empire, especially Syria and southern Anatolia.

Pandocheions continued to be founded in the eastern Roman Empire into the seventh century, when the arrival of Islam in Syria and Egypt would bring changes to this and other local institutions. John Chrysostom (347–407) reported that *pandocheions* existed along many roads, as places where travelers and their animals could lodge and rest, just as there were apparently “many *pandocheions*” along the route to Arzus, in Thrace, according to the anonymous *vita* of St. Alexander of Rome.⁵¹ Most of these were roadside

⁴⁶ Waddington, *Inscriptions grecques et latines*, 548 (no. 2408). Waddington’s translation “fearful” has been changed to “God-fearing.”

⁴⁷ McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*, 399.

⁴⁸ Petersen, “A Roman Prefect in Osrhoene,” 269, 281.

⁴⁹ Benjamin Isaac, *The Limits of Empire. The Roman Army in the East* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, rev. ed. 1992) 136, 177–178, 182–184, 297–298.

⁵⁰ *Vie de Théodore de Sykéon*, ed. André-Jean Festugière, *Subsidia Hagiographica* 48 (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1970) 1, 3 (Greek text), 11, 7 (French); also V. J. O. Rosenqvist, “Der Text der Vita Theodori Syceotae im Cod. Atheniensis BN 1014,” *Eranos* 78 (1980) 165–166; E. Dawes and N. H. Baynes, *Three Byzantine Saints. Contemporary Biographies translated from the Greek* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1948) 88.

⁵¹ John Chrysostom, Homily 11, *Patrologia Graeca*, ed. J. P. Migne, 1v1, 111; Dimitre P. Dimitrov, “Le Voyage de Saint Alexandre de Rome à la travers la Thrace,” *Bulletin de l’Institut Archéologique Bulgare* 8 (1934) 155.

hostelries, established at regular intervals along well-traveled routes, or just outside city gates, rather than in the center of towns. They must have been relatively common, to judge from fifth- and sixth-century data from the necropolis at Korykos, a small coastal town in Cilicia, southwest of Tarsus. Here, at least seven funerary inscriptions record the deaths of men and women listed as innkeepers (*pandokos*) or the children of innkeepers.⁵²

Hostels in Christian imagery and imagination

Beginning in the fourth century, with the conversion of the emperor Constantine, patterns of patronage and the foundation of public facilities began to shift in the eastern Roman world. Certain institutions, particularly the *xenodocheion*, gained greater prominence as the focus of pious endeavor and charitable lodging, while others, including the *pandocheion*, melded new functions with older reputations. In a Christian context, the *pandocheion* continued to be envisioned as a worldly institution, a conception drawing on the same imagery tapped by earlier Jewish and pagan philosophers such as Philo and Epictetus. Thus, early Christian writers and hagiographers often called upon the image of the *pandocheion* to represent earthly concerns, or to serve as the sites in which young would-be saints encountered fleshly temptations. At the same time, John Chrysostom and others also promoted the *pandocheion* as a potential focus of Christian charity. Interestingly, interpretations of the *pandocheion* in the parable of the Good Samaritan put it in neither of these camps. Early commentators including Origen and Augustine interpreted the inn in the story as a symbol for the Church itself, thereby privileging an allegorical interpretation over the actual meaning and reputation of the word.⁵³

John Chrysostom mentioned *pandocheions* in a number of contexts, and he was probably familiar with the term from his childhood growing up in Antioch in the middle of the fourth century. In one of his sermons, he exhorted his listeners to open their doors to strangers and to let their houses serve as “*pandocheions* for Christ.”⁵⁴ Here, as in several earlier citations, there is the implication that any private house could serve as a

⁵² *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua*, ed. J. Keil and A. Wilhelm (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1931), III (nos. 459B, 576B, 602B, 674C, 675B–C, 704C, 768). See also Frank R. Trombley, “Korykos in Cilicia Trachis: The Economy of a Small Coastal City in Late Antiquity (saec. v–vi),” *The Ancient History Bulletin* 1 (1987) 16–23.

⁵³ Robert H. Stein, “The Interpretation of the Parable of the Good Samaritan,” in *Scripture, Tradition, and Interpretation: Essays Presented to Everett F. Harrison*, ed. W. Ward Gasque and William Sanford LaSor (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1978) 279–80.

⁵⁴ Chrysostom, Sermon 45, *PG*, LX, 319.

pandocheion, but Chrysostom is unusual in linking the term to Christian charity. Nevertheless, the tenth-century Byzantine hagiographer Symeon Metaphrastes described how a patrician named Theodoricos heard John Chrysostom preaching, and after “the saint had spoken, straight away he gathered all of his wealth, except a remainder from which he and his children might live, and gave it to the *pandocheion* of the church as an act of expiation.”⁵⁵

Elsewhere, Chrysostom turned the same image to very different metaphorical use and compared the temporal world to a *pandocheion*, repeatedly driving home this image as he asked his audience:

Do you not know that the present life is a journey? Are you not a citizen? You are a traveler. Do you understand what I said? You are not a citizen, but a traveler and a wayfarer. Do not say, “I have this city and that one.” No one has a city. The city is above. These present things are a road. We travel now, every day, while nature runs on. He who is on the road puts away money; he who is on the road buries his gold. Whenever, therefore, you come to a *pandocheion*, tell me, do you embellish the inn? No, but you eat and drink, and then hasten to leave. The present life is a *pandocheion*. We have come to it, and we bring the present life to an end. We hurry to depart with good hope, nor do we leave anything there, so that we do not lose it. Whenever you come to an inn, what do you say to the boy? “Mind where you place our things, lest you leave something behind here, so nothing is lost, not even anything small or cheap, so that we may take everything back home again.” So we speak about the present life: we look upon it as a *pandocheion*, and we leave nothing in an inn, but take everything back to our home city. You are a traveler and a wayfarer, of less worth than a traveler. How? I shall tell you. At one time this traveler comes to a *pandocheion*, and then he leaves it. He is the master of his own departure, just as he is of his arrival. I have come to this inn, that is, to this present life, but I do not know when I shall leave it.⁵⁶

John Chrysostom was forthright, but by no means innovative, in his adoption of the *pandocheion* as a potent symbol for the earthly abode. This had been a common metaphor in early Christian writing and thought since the second century. Clement of Alexandria (c.150–c.215) quoted the second-century gnostic theologian Valentinus’ comparison of the impure heart to a worldly inn:

Through him [Christ] alone can the heart become pure, when every spirit has been driven from the heart . . . I suppose the heart’s experience is like a *pandocheion*. It too has holes bored in it and dug in it and is often filled with filth when people

⁵⁵ Symeon Metaphrastes, *Vita S. John Chrysostom*, PG, CXIV, 1129.

⁵⁶ *Homilia de capto Eutropio*, v, PG, LII, 401. Every “inn” here is a *pandocheion* in the original. Translation by Emily MacKil.

stay there and behave outrageously with no consideration for the place, as if it were nothing to them. The heart also, unless it takes care in advance, experiences something similar, being unpurified and a home for many spiritual powers.⁵⁷

Elsewhere, Clement deployed a related image in his own discussion of “How the Perfect Man treats the body and things of this world,” describing how the soul ought to be respectful of the body, yet be willing to leave when the time for departure arrives. “The elect lives his life as a guest, knowing that all things are to be acquired and rejected . . . But also for the body, as one sent on a long journey uses *pandocheions* and houses on the road; he cares for worldly things at the place where he pauses; but he leaves the house and property” without regret when the time comes to depart.⁵⁸ These observations were echoed by Clement’s contemporary, Hippolytus (c.170–c.236), who described how “the Creator made bodies with souls from a material and devilish substance . . . This material man, according to them, is like a *pandocheion* or dwelling place at one time of a single soul, at another time of the soul of devils, at another time the soul of words.”⁵⁹ In the next century, the Alexandrian theologian Didymus the Blind (c.313–398), a contemporary of John Chrysostom, also compared the temporary abode of this world to a *pandocheion*.⁶⁰ The continuity of this comparison suggests both the potency of the image and the ongoing familiarity of the *pandocheion* to a late antique audience.

A variant image, linking a *pandocheion* to earthly temptations, occurs in a Syriac description of the “narrow and difficult” road traveled by Christ and other Christians in this world:

Its ascents are rugged and it stretches though the midst of the sea. To the right and left of the road pirates are waiting like innkeepers (“beskima d-putqaye”) who beckon and say to all who are passing by: “It is not for you, O travelers on the road. Turn aside, turn aside to us and spend the night. For the road of your journey is hard and there is no place for you to stop and no resting place.”⁶¹

Clearly, the metaphor of the worldly *pandocheion* and its temptations translated effortlessly into the Syriac-speaking context of Christian Syria.

⁵⁷ Clement of Alexandria, Fragment from *Stromatum* III, *PG*, VII, 1271–1272; trans. John Ferguson, *Stromateis* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1991) 232.

⁵⁸ Clement of Alexandria, *Stromatum* IV, *PG*, VIII, 1375–1376.

⁵⁹ Hippolytus, *Refutatio omnium haeresium*, ed. Miroslav Marcovitch (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1986) 247 (VI.34. 4–6).

⁶⁰ Didymus the Blind, *De Trinitate*, *PG*, XXXIX, 780.

⁶¹ *S. Martyrii, qui est Sabdona quae supersunt omnia*, ed. Paul Bedjan (Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1902) 44–45. My thanks to Joseph Amar for this translation.

Temptation was an ongoing motif, and many Christian hagiographers adopted the image of the profane *pandocheion* to mark a step or test along the road to sainthood or celebrity. Theodore of Sykeon (d. 613) was conceived in a hostel run by his mother Mary, together with her mother and sister. This *pandocheion*, which may have also served as a station for post-horses, was located on the highway running through Sykeon, “and these women lived in the inn and followed the profession of courtesans.” One day, an imperial messenger passed through Sykeon, “stayed for some time at the *pandocheion*,” and conceived a child with Mary.⁶² In a similar topos, legend reported that Helena, the mother of the future emperor Constantine, also worked as a prostitute in a *pandocheion* owned by her father.⁶³ The image was persistent, and a later saint, Nicholas the Monk, who served in his youth as a soldier under Emperor Nikephoros, spent the night in a *pandocheion* as he went to join a campaign in 811. During the night, the innkeeper’s daughter, driven by “satanic lust,” tried to seduce him three times. Nicholas resisted, and his moral purity later protected him in battle. He subsequently retired from military service and became a monk.⁶⁴

Since sources so often report that monks and other religious stopped in *pandocheions*, just as did secular wayfarers, many of these facilities must have provided reasonably respectable, though perhaps rough, lodgings. The *Apostolic Constitutions*, a collection of canons probably compiled in Syria in the third or fourth century, prohibited monks from visiting taverns, but permitted them to stay in *pandocheions* when necessary.⁶⁵ Yet their questionable reputation persisted, as indicated in a tale in the *Vitae Patrum* telling of the downfall of a young monk, Marinus, who was accustomed to stop in a *pandocheion* while carrying goods between his monastery and the nearest market. This hostel was apparently not a brothel, though at least one traveler may have thought that it was, for the innkeeper was furious when he discovered that his virgin daughter had been seduced and impregnated by a guest. Although the real culprit was a passing soldier (a trope reminiscent of the tale of Nicholas, above), the young monk was blamed and expelled from his monastery for five years. Later, after his death,

⁶² *Vie de Théodore de Sykéon*, 1, 3; II, 7.

⁶³ François Halkin, “Une Nouvelle vie de Constantin dans un légendier de Patmos,” *Analecta Bollandiana* 77 (1959) 74.

⁶⁴ Nicholas the Monk, *Vita*, AASS Novembris Propylaeum (1902) 341. The text was composed between the ninth and the thirteenth centuries.

⁶⁵ *Die Kanones der Wichtigsten Altkirchlichen Concilien nebst den Apostolischen Kanones*, ed. Friedrich Lauchert (Freiburg and Leipzig: Akademische Verlagsbuchhandlung von J. C. B. Mohr, 1896) (Canon 54) 8; trans. as *Apostolic Constitutions*, ed. Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, Ant-Nicene Christian Library 17 (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1870) 265.

Marinus was exonerated when it was discovered that “he” was actually a woman in disguise, thereafter St. Marina, and thus incapable of fathering the child.⁶⁶

Pandocheions might also serve as sites of redemption, drawing on a similar theme to that in the *Acts of Thomas*, perhaps because they were logical places where the holy and the profane could come into contact. In a story from the *Pratum Spirituale*, compiled around 600, two elderly religious men encountered a prostitute in a *pandocheion* while traveling from Aegaion (near Korykos) to Tarsus. When one of the travelers began to read from the gospel, the woman drew near to listen, saw the error of her ways, followed them, and subsequently entered a female monastery near Aegaion.⁶⁷ The tenth-century *vita* of Paul of Latros described a rather unsavory *pandocheion* that provided yet another locus for salvation. Here, a traveling monk was insulted by another guest, who developed a painful tumor soon after. The ailing lout was cured by the monk, and subsequently became a reformed character.⁶⁸

Archeology and epigraphy (fifth–sixth centuries)

The fifth and sixth centuries marked a period of renewed building activity and urban growth in Roman Syria, with a new emphasis on patronage of Christian structures, as opposed to secular buildings such as baths and hippodromes.⁶⁹ Archeological data and inscriptions from this period provide some support for John Chrysostom’s association of *pandocheions* with Christian hospitality, since several were established near pilgrimage shrines. Most, however, were located in small towns in northern Syria, especially in the region inland from Antioch, and few have any indication of a philanthropic purpose. Indeed, only a handful of these buildings have inscriptions explicitly identifying them as *pandocheions* or indicating their dates of foundation.

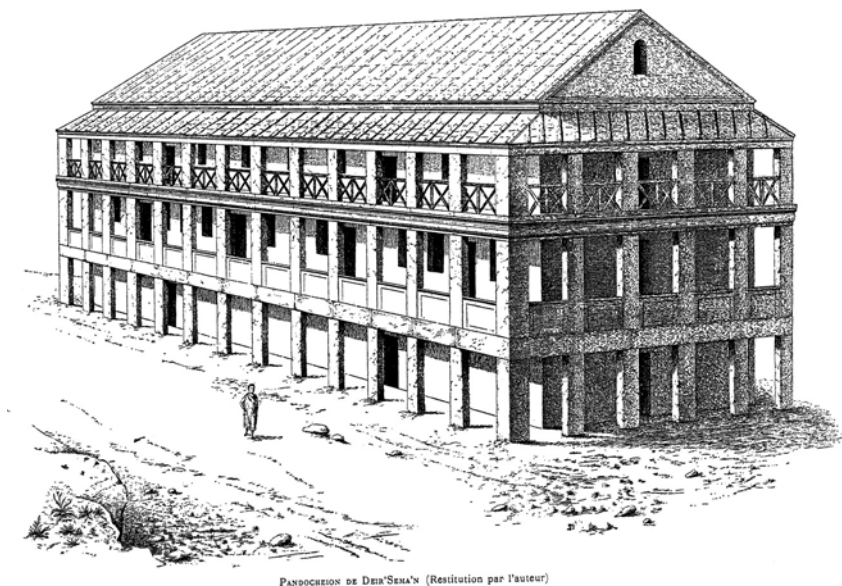
Two buildings at the site of Dayr Simʿān, where pilgrims came to visit the shrine of Simon Stylites, were called *pandocheions* in inscriptions. Both were

⁶⁶ This anonymous work probably dates to the sixth century. Versions of this tale, part of the Life of St. Eugenius, exist in both Latin and Greek. The Latin version (*Vita Sanctae Marinae*, PL, LXXIII, cols. 693–695) provides a rare example of the cognates *pandocheion* and *pandox*.

⁶⁷ John Moschus, *Pratum Spirituale*, PG, LXXXVII.3, 2879–2880; trans. John Wortley, *The Spiritual Meadow* (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1992) 22.

⁶⁸ Paul of Latros, *Vita*, ed. Theodor Wiegand, *Der Latmos* (Berlin: G. Reimer, 1913) 128.

⁶⁹ Rebecca Foote, “Umayyad Markets and Manufacturing: Evidence for a Commercialized and Industrializing Economy in Early Islamic Bilād al-Shām,” Ph.D. dissertation (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 1999) 152–155.



1 Reconstruction of the larger *pandocheion* at Dayr Simʿān (from Beylié, *L'Habitation byzantine*, 44).

built in 479 (nineteen years after the death of the saint), in the same area of the site, and presumably housed pilgrims visiting Simon's column, church, and monastery. These *pandocheions* were long rectangular buildings, one considerably larger than the other, with facilities for lodging and stabling. The larger inn had two (or possibly three) stories, each with exterior porticoes, and a large central interior room with smaller rooms at each end.⁷⁰ It has been suggested that the smaller hostelry (no longer standing) may have been customarily leased out *in toto*, to rich clients, while the larger space of the other was given over to communal lodging for less affluent travelers.⁷¹

The inscription on the larger *pandocheion* at Dayr Simʿān, while overtly Christian, is not dissimilar in its memorializing intent to the inscriptions

⁷⁰ *PPUAES*, ed. H. C. Butler, II, Section B, Architecture, Northern Syria (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1920) 268–278. Depictions of reconstructions of the *pandocheions* at Dayr Simʿān and Tourmanin were made by Charles J. M. de Vogüé, *Syrie centrale. Architecture civile et religieuse du I^{er} au VII^e siècle* (Paris: Noblet & Baudry, 1865) plates 114, 130, 131. These are also reproduced in L. M. E. Beylié, *L'Habitation byzantine: recherches sur l'architecture civile des Byzantins et son influence en Europe* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1902) 46.

⁷¹ Tchalenko, *Villages antiques de la Syrie du Nord*, 1, 209. In the eleventh century, the Christian Arab doctor Ibn Butlān (d. c.1066) mentioned hostleries at Dayr Simʿān, indicating that travelers still visited this site (Yāqūt, *Mūjam al-buldān* [Beirut: Dār al-Šādir, 1956] II, 517).

on earlier non-Christian *pandocheions* in roughly the same region of Syria: “Christ born of Mary. The *pandocheion* was built in [July 479]. O Christ, help us! Symeones, son of Marōn built it: may he be remembered.”⁷² The second, smaller, building bore a more prosaic inscription, recording that “this *pandocheion* was built in [October 479]. Health to its masters and gain!”⁷³

Other hostelries were founded in much the same period, either for pilgrims or secular travelers. One, not far away from Dayr Simʿān at Kafr Nabū, was built in 504–505 to fulfill a vow to St. Zacchaeus. This may have been a *pandocheion* patronized by pilgrims on their way to and from Dayr Simʿān.⁷⁴ Another contemporary *pandocheion* was founded in 513–514 by a bishop at Constantina, in the north-Syrian province of Osrhoene – the same region where Aurelius Dasius had founded a *pandocheion* in the third century.⁷⁵

When interpreting archeological and architectural data, scholars have disagreed about the number and ubiquity of *pandocheions* founded in Syria during this period. Some, particularly Georges Tchalenko and Howard Crosby Butler, deemed them a common feature of Syrian towns, and identified a number of sites where these buildings may have existed.⁷⁶ In many cases, these hostelries were associated with both commercial and religious centers, perhaps following along the earlier tendency of locating *pandocheions* in the heart of the forum. According to Tchalenko, the remains “of markets and hostelries have been particularly well preserved in the region between Antioch and Aleppo, sometimes with the remains of whole city quarters” dating to the fifth and sixth centuries.⁷⁷ At Bāʾūdeh, a large market town in northern Syria, for example, Butler noted the “strictly commercial character” of its ruins, adding that some structures must have

⁷² *PPUAES*, ed. William Kelly Prentice, III, Section B, Greek and Latin Inscriptions, Northern Syria, Part I (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1908) 169–170 (no. 1154). This inscription was also published in Waddington, *Inscriptions grecques et latines* (no. 2691) and Thomas Sternberg, *Orientalium More Secutus. Räume und Institutionen der Caritas des 5. bis 7. Jahrhunderts in Gallien* (Munster: Aschendorff, 1991) 180–181.

⁷³ Alternately, the last phrase could be read: “Health to its masters is gain” (i.e. the health of the patrons is gain to the proprietor). *PPUAES*, ed. Prentice, III, 172–173 (no. 1155). This inscription was also published in Waddington, *Inscriptions grecques et latines* (no. 2692).

⁷⁴ *PPUAES*, ed. Butler, II, B, 297–298.

⁷⁵ H. Leclercq, “Hôpitaux, hospices, hôtelleries,” *Dictionnaire d’archéologie chrétienne et de la liturgie*, ed. H. Leclercq, F. Cabrol, and H. I. Marrou (Paris: Letouzey & Ané, 1924–1953) VI.2 (1925) 2758; Carl Maria Kaufmann, *Handbuch der altchristlichen Epigraphik* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herdersche Verlagshandlung, 1917) 416; Victor Chabot, “Antiquités de la Syrie du Nord,” *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 26 (1902) 200–201.

⁷⁶ Possible hostelries have been identified at Waqm, Tourmanin, Bāʾūdeh, Babisqa, Dār Qitā, Dānah, and Serjilla.

⁷⁷ Tchalenko, *Villages antiques de la Syrie du Nord*, I, 21.



2 Remains of a probable *pandochion* at Tourmanin (from de Vogüé, *Syrie centrale*, plate 131).

been bazaars, while “others were certainly inns.”⁷⁸ However, Georges Tate was skeptical, seeing many of the arguments used to set hostelries apart from other structures as unconvincing and “sans valeur.”⁷⁹ Tate’s warnings should be taken seriously, especially for the period after the early sixth century when solid evidence of hostelries – and especially *pandochions* – becomes exceedingly slim.

Special difficulties arise from the fact that even where there are inscriptions, these usually note only a date without stating a purpose or naming the structure. Thus, it is necessary to determine usage from analysis of form, structure, and other physical evidence. Architectural historians have compared anonymous buildings with those at Dayr Sim‘ān, and with other fairly clear examples of *pandochions*, in order to identify other hostelries. This is a tricky process, since in most cases, as later in the early Islamic world also, there was almost no difference, in basic form, between private houses

⁷⁸ PPUAES, ed., Butler, II, B, 161–162.

⁷⁹ Georges Tate, *Les Campagnes de la Syrie du Nord du IIe au VIIe siècle. Un Exemple d’expansion démographique et économique à la fin de l’antiquité* (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1992) I, 78–81.

and public hostleries.⁸⁰ The latter were not necessarily larger, although they may have had different internal divisions, and possibly a separate area where the proprietor and his family could sleep apart from the guests. They probably had a greater percentage of space dedicated to stabling and storage, and Butler has pointed to mangers and cupboards on the ground floors of such buildings.⁸¹ One two-story building that he identified as an “inn” was founded at Dār Qītā, in 436. “The entire space of [its] lower story is longitudinally divided by a row of sixteen mangers . . . The upper story may have been divided by wooden partitions, or there may have been one long apartment for the accommodation of guests.” This structure also lacked basic features, such as a garden area, which one might expect in a private home.⁸² Some buildings thought to be hostleries seem to have included space for a small chapel.⁸³

The surviving *pandocheions* at Dayr Simān, and other probable hostleries of roughly the same period, were generally built on a rectangular plan, with two or three stories, sometimes with external porticoes and stairs. Their internal divisions varied, and some had central courtyards while others did not.⁸⁴ This basic design was repeated in later Byzantine drawings of *pandocheions*, showing buildings with several levels, windows, and multiple doors.⁸⁵

This architectural form was strikingly distinct from the typical layout of later Arab hostleries built in the same region. Muslim *funduqs* and *khāns* in Syria were usually built on a square plan, with one or two stories facing into a large central courtyard, without exterior windows and accessed by a single gate. As with *pandocheions*, the ground floor was often devoted

⁸⁰ Tchalenko, *Villages antiques de la Syrie du Nord*, 1, 22.

⁸¹ Butler points to “niches, like cupboards or lockers” in a building that might have been an inn at Waqm, which was built at public expense in 316 CE (*PPUAES*, ed. H. C. Butler, II, Section A, Architecture, Southern Syria (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1919), 417–418). He notes that the “ample accommodations in the matter of stabling” with lots of mangers in a early sixth-century building at Kafr Nabū “convinced me that it was an inn” (*PPUAES*, II, B, 297–298). Tate believes, in contrast, that this latter structure was a private house (Tate, *Les Campagnes de la Syrie du Nord*, 79–81).

⁸² Butler designates a building at Dār Qītā, built in 436, as an “inn” (*PPUAES*, II, B, 188–189).

⁸³ Butler thinks it likely that a large building at Dānah, with three stories, porticoes, and a small chapel, was a *pandocheion* (*PPUAES*, II, B, 141–142). Rebecca Foote notes possible hostleries at Palmyra and another “so-called *khān*” at Sergiopolis/Rusāfa which probably had Byzantine origins (Foote, “Umayyad Markets,” 162–163).

⁸⁴ One possible hostelry, part of a third-century Roman *vicus* at Lejjūn, consisted of rooms built around a central courtyard space (Patricia Crawford, “A Building in the West *Vicus* of al-Lejjūn,” in *The Roman Frontier in Central Jordan: Interim Report of the Limes Arabicus Project, 1980–1985*, ed. S. Thomas Parker [London: B.A.R., 1987] 385–398).

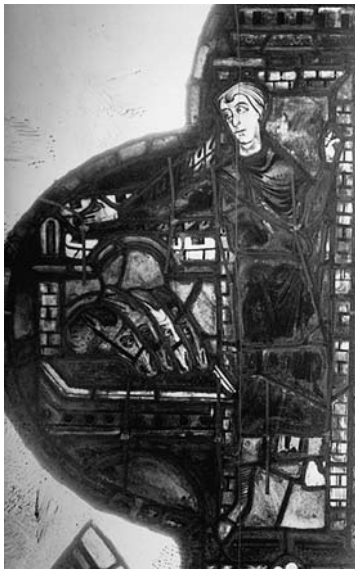
⁸⁵ Two Greek gospel manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris illustrate the tale of the Good Samaritan, and show his arrival at the *pandocheion*: BN gr. 923, fol. 320v (ninth century) and BN gr. 74, fol. 132r (eleventh century).



3 *Pandocheion* in the tale of the Good Samaritan. Detail of Greek manuscript from the ninth century. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale gr. 923, fol. 320v.



4 *Pandocheion* in the tale of the Good Samaritan. Detail of Greek manuscript from the eleventh century. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale gr. 74, fol. 132v.



5 *Pandocheion* in the tale of the Good Samaritan. Detail of the Good Samaritan window at Chartres Cathedral, thirteenth century. Note how the *pandocheion* (translated as *stabulum* in Latin) has changed from a hostel to a stable in the western European imagination.

to stabling animals and storing goods, while guests lodged in rooms on the upper levels. This basic shape was not uncommon for buildings in the ancient and medieval Mediterranean world, whether inns or not, but the most notable difference in the structure of late antique *pandocheions* and medieval *funduqs* was the relative lack of security in the earlier buildings. *Pandocheions* were designed for ease of access, while *funduqs* had thick walls, few windows, storerooms, and a gate that could be locked. This distinction in form emphasizes the fact that *pandocheions* were open to all kinds of travelers, while *funduqs* would increasingly cater to merchants.

Commercial travelers must have stopped in *pandocheions*, but unlike their later descendants, the *funduq* and the *fondaco*, these hostleries were never particularly associated with trade in the late Roman world. It is notoriously difficult to collect data on merchants in this period, or to determine where they lodged, since they rarely caught the attention of late antique authors. However, inscriptions from Palmyra do mention groups of merchants trading in the city in the second century. In several instances, hostleries were noted in connection with their commercial business, but these were called *katalyma* – not *pandocheion*.⁸⁶ It is possible that this term, which was also used by Luke for the inn in Bethlehem (2:7), was more commonly associated with commercial traffic and secure lodging than the less reputable but more generalized *pandocheion*.

Xenodocheions and *xenons* (the two words are usually equivalent) were also familiar features in cities and along roads in the late Roman and Byzantine world. In fact, by the sixth and seventh centuries *xenodocheions* were so much more common than *pandocheions* in most Byzantine cities that scholars have frequently ignored the latter, or taken the word *pandocheion* as a synonym for *xenodocheion*. As their name implies, *xenons* and *xenodocheions* were intended for lodging strangers and foreigners. In contrast to *pandocheions*, they provided food and shelter free of charge, often to pilgrims, monks, and other religious travelers (although secular guests were not unknown). These hostels had long been associated with charitable lodging in both Christian and Jewish cultures. A Greek inscription from a synagogue in Jerusalem, dating to the first century CE, mentioned a *xenon* with rooms and a water supply for the “lodging of needy strangers.”⁸⁷ These hostels

⁸⁶ René Mouterde and A. Poidebard, “La Voie antique des caravanes entre Palmyre et Hit au II^e siècle AP. J.-C.,” *Syria* 12 (1931) 107; Josef Dobiáš, “Une Nouvelle inscription palmyrénienne,” *Listy Filologické* 58 (1931) 2, 15; M. Rostovtzeff, “Les Inscriptions caravanères de Palmyre,” in *Mélanges Gustave Glotz* (Paris: Les Presses Universitaires de France, 1932) II, 793–811.

⁸⁷ E. L. Sukenik, *Ancient Synagogues in Palestine and Greece* (London: British Academy, 1934) 69–70. Also L. Levine, *The Ancient Synagogue. The First Thousand Years* (New Haven: Yale University

became closely linked with Christian charity and hospitality, especially after the official conversion of the empire under Constantine. Subsequent emperors, bishops, saints, and notables often established *xenodocheions* in connection with monasteries, churches, shrines, and other sites where they would cater to an exclusively Christian clientele.⁸⁸ This increase in funding for *xenodocheions* exemplifies a more general shift in patronage away from civic buildings and towards charitable and religious projects starting in the fourth century.⁸⁹

Press, 2000) 55. It was common for synagogues to have guest-houses, both in late antiquity and in the middle ages: see Erwin R. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period*, 1: *The Archeological Evidence from Palestine* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953) 213; J. Ben Zevi, "A Third Century Aramaic Inscription in Er-Rāma," *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* 13 (1933) 95; S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society. The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza*, II (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1971) 153–154.

⁸⁸ Among many examples, Justinian and Theodora built a *xenon* for poor travelers in Constantinople, and Gregory Pakourianos founded three *xenodocheions* in connection with his monastery of Petritzos (*Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. Alexander Kazhdan et al. [New York: Oxford University Press, 1991] III 1644, 2208); Abraham De-Bēt Rabban, leader of the Nestorian School of Nisibis, built a *xenodocheion* there around 510 (Arthur Vööbus, *History of the School of Nisibis* [Louvain: Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, 1965] 146). The seventh-century Life of John the Almsgiver notes his foundation of *xenodocheions* (H. Delahaye, "Une Vie inédite de Saint Jean l'Aumônier" *Analecta Bollandiana* 45 [1927] 22; Dawes and Baynes, *Three Byzantine Saints*, 202, 213–214, 234; part II, chap. 7). In an unusual example of a commercial establishment, Romanos I Lecapenos (920–944) built a *xenodocheion* in Constantinople for guests coming to the capital for business or legal reasons (*Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 2208). The subject of Byzantine *xenodocheions* and *xenons* has inspired a considerable body of scholarship, especially concerning charity and the history of medicine. Demetrios Constantelos included a chapter devoted to these institutions in his book on *Byzantine Philanthropy and Social Welfare* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1968), and R. Janin listed the *xenons* of Constantinople in his study *La Géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantine: Première partie, Le Siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat œcuménique*, III (Paris: Institut français d'études byzantines, 1969) 557–563. A specialized study of one Byzantine *xenon* is provided in Timothy Miller's article "The Samson Hospital in Constantinople," *Byzantinische Forschungen* 15 (1990) 101–135; and sections of Miller's subsequent book *The Birth of the Hospital in the Byzantine Empire* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985) are also devoted to this topic. See also C. Cupane and E. Kislinger, "Xenon und Xenodocheion im spätbyzantinischen Roman," *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinisten* 36 (1986) 201–206; E. Kislinger, "Kaiser Julian und die (christlichen) Xenodocheia," *Byzantios: Festschrift für Herbert Hunger zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Wolfram Hörandner (Vienna: Ernest Becvar, 1984) 171–184; Geneviève Husson, "L'Hospitalité dans le papyrus byzantin," *Akten des XIII. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses (Marburg/Lahn, 2–6 August, 1971)*, ed. E. Kiessling and H. A. Rupprecht (Munich: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1974) 169–177; Nigel Allen, "Hospice to Hospital in the Near East: An Instance of Continuity and Change in Late Antiquity," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 64 (1990) 446–462; Judith Herrin, "Ideals of Charity, Realities of Welfare: The Philanthropic Activity of the Byzantine Church," in *Church and People in Byzantium: Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies Twentieth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Manchester, 1986*, ed. Rosemary Morris (Birmingham: University of Birmingham Press, 1990) 151–164. My thanks, also, to Vivian Nutton for allowing me to read a draft of a chapter from his forthcoming book on Jundashipur.

⁸⁹ Foote, "Umayyad Markets," 156, 163. On early Christian ideas of charity and hospitality, see Rowan A. Greer, "Hospitality in the First Five Centuries of the Church," *Monastic Studies* 10 (1974) 29–48.

By the sixth century, *xenons* and *xenodocheions* increasingly specialized in provision of lodging for the sick, and the institution evolved into a hospital. Some were large, others small; many were new purpose-built establishments, while others were adapted from other uses, as with one in Constantinople that was converted from a brothel by Emperor Leo III (717–741).⁹⁰ Either Leo or his chronicler Symeon Magister probably intended to make a particular point with this foundation, since *xenodocheions* – unlike *pandocheions* – were rarely associated with loose living. This contrast between religious and secular purpose was also clear in contemporary Syriac texts. The early sixth-century *Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite*, for example, described a plague and famine in Edessa in 500, and distinguished between a *xenodocheion* connected with a church, where the sick and dying received care, and a secular *putqā* (*pandocheion*) in the city where people perished from the disease.⁹¹

Although the word *pandocheion* is rarely found in Latin, the cognate *xenodochium* spread quickly to early medieval Europe.⁹² These charitable hostleries appeared in Italy, Spain, and France, where they were closely associated with religious and especially monastic lodging. Jerome mentioned one such facility operating in Ostia during the fifth century, and *xenodocheions* would become familiar institutions throughout Italy by the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries.⁹³ In Visigothic Spain, the sixth-century Bishop Masona of Mérida was said to have founded a *xenodoquio*, and his contemporary Isidore of Seville (560–636) included the word in both its Greek and Latin forms in his *Etymologies*, identifying it as a hostelry for pilgrims and

⁹⁰ Symeon Magister, *Chronographia*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn: Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae, 1838) 645; also Constantelos, *Byzantine Philanthropy*, 196.

⁹¹ *The Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite, Composed in Syriac AD 507*, trans. William Wright (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1882) 32–33.

⁹² Latin cognates of *pandocheion* are rare. Isidore of Seville listed the word *pandox* in his glossary, associating it with drinking rather than lodging (*PL*, LXXXIII, col. 1364). Variants also appear in the *Vitae Patrum* (*pandochium* for an inn and *pandox* for its keeper) (*PL*, LXXIII, col. 691–692), and in undated *vitae* of the seventh-century Northumbrian St. Oswin (*AASS* [1867] August IV, 65, col. 1) and the eighth-century Frankish St. Sebald (*AASS* [1867] August III, 772, col. 2). In the late middle ages, the word was usually associated with taverns and drinking (Charles Du Cange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis* [Paris: Librairie des Sciences et des Artes, 1938] VI, 127). The fifteenth-century German pilgrim Felix Fabri also used the term *pandocheum* to describe unsavory hostleries that he encountered in Jaffa and Corfu (*Evagatorium in terrae sanctae*, III, 348 [193a]).

⁹³ St. Jerome, *Sancti Eusebii Hieronymi Epistulae*, ed. I. Hilberg, *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* 54–56 (Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1910; repr. 1996) LXVI.II, 661. On later *xenodocheions* in medieval Italy, see Thomas Szabó, “Xenodochia, Hospitäler und Herbergen – kirchliche und kommerzielle Gastung im mittelalterlichen Italien (7. bis 14. Jahrhundert),” in *Gastfreundschaft, Taverne und Gasthaus im Mittelalter*, ed. Hans Conrad Peyer (Munich and Vienna: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1983) 61–92.

the poor.⁹⁴ The word was also known in Carolingian Gaul, where a ninth-century collection of bilingual Latin and Greek glosses for philanthropic terms, from the Monastery of St. Gall, included *xenodocheion*, together with five other Greek words for hospitals, orphanages, and homes for the aged.⁹⁵

The word *xenodocheion* found its way into Latin, but it has no cognate in Arabic. The differential trajectories of the *pandocheion* and the *xenodocheion* in late antiquity, one into an Islamic context and the other into Christian settings (both European and Byzantine), suggest intriguing correlations between function, religious associations, and cross-cultural transferability. Put in its most simple form: commercial and secular institutions are more apt to cross boundaries created by faith than ones with a greater religious valency. Thus, while the ubiquitous *pandocheion* transferred easily from a pagan and Jewish setting, to a Christian, then Muslim, context, the strongly Christian *xenodocheion* could not make the transition to Islam. The open-door policy of the *pandocheion* (its tradition of “accepting all comers”) was an important factor in allowing the fluid transfer of this institution into an Islamic setting after the seventh century. From antiquity, these inns had provided lodging to anybody of any religion, whether respectable or not, provided that they could pay for a room. Early Muslims, whatever their background, would therefore have been perfectly familiar with the *pandocheion*, although they were now excluded from its strictly Christian counterpart, the *xenodocheion*.

In conclusion, it is clear that the *pandocheion* was a highly utilitarian and protean institution in the late antique Near East. It was familiar to pagans, Christians, and Jews, who mentioned this hostelry in a wide variety of contexts and languages, indicating not only its rather gritty real-world characteristics but also its adoption as a shared metaphor in the moral and religious thought-world of their day. Over time, this once common institution became rare in medieval Byzantium, where donors favored its more overtly religious and philanthropic counterpart, the *xenodocheion*.

Meanwhile, the *funduq* appeared in the early Muslim world during the eighth and ninth centuries, and soon spread throughout the

⁹⁴ Juan Uría Riu, “La hospitalidad con los peregrinos y el hospedaje,” in *Las Peregrinaciones a Santiago de Compostela*, ed. L. Vázquez de Parga, J. M. Lacarra, and J. Uría Riu (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1948) 1, 284; Isidore of Seville, *Etymologies*, ed. W. M. Lindsay (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911) xv, 3, 13.

⁹⁵ Bernice M. Kaczynski, “Some St. Gall Glosses on Greek Philanthropic Nomenclature,” *Speculum* 58 (1983) 1010–1011. This list did not include the term *pandocheion*, whether or not the term was known, presumably because it was not a charitable institution.

Arabic-speaking Mediterranean. This new hostelry shared many characteristics with earlier forms, yet also differed from the *pandocheion* in significant ways. The similarities and differences between the *pandocheion* and the *funduq* raise critical questions about institutional transfer and the process of cross-cultural adoption in the medieval Mediterranean world. These questions can only be answered by turning to the early Islamic period, in the next chapter, and tracing the earliest clues that shed light on the evolution of a new Arabic institution.

The transition from Byzantium to the Dār al-Islām

As the Byzantine cities of the Near East came under Muslim rule, much of their urban infrastructure and their institutions, including the *pandocheion*, were absorbed into the new Muslim context. Many aspects of early Muslim urban administration and architecture were based on Byzantine prototypes and modified to suit the needs of the new Islamic milieu. Umayyad caliphs and their regional governors followed a program of incorporation, reform, and innovation. They initially worked with the Byzantine bureaucratic and fiscal institutions already in place in Syria and Egypt, then gradually initiated changes as the process of creating a Muslim polity continued. By the early eighth century, this shift was well under way, with a vigorous program of building projects, tax reforms, changes in coinage, and other economic and administrative innovations, especially during the reigns of the Umayyad caliphs ‘Abd al-Malik (685–705) and Hishām (724–743). Over time, an Arabic institutional vocabulary emerged, often employing older and familiar terms for Islamic structures that resembled but did not, in fact, exactly reproduce earlier forms.

Funduqs, which appear in Arabic texts by the ninth century, were among a number of institutions adopted and adapted from an earlier Greek model. These hostels shared many functional characteristics with *pandocheions*, as well as a cognate name, but they also evolved their own identity. The *funduq* would continue to change over time, shifting to suit the needs of period and place, yet preserving continuities in name and many basic features. The institution would have enduring characteristics throughout the medieval Islamic world that differentiated it both from its predecessors – the Greek *pandocheion*, Syriac *putqā*, and Hebrew *pundāq* – and its descendants, the Greek *foundax*, Latin *fundicum*, and Romance *fondaco*.

The substance of this chapter was first presented to the Early Islamic Seminar, run by Patricia Crone, at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton. I am grateful for the suggestions and comments given to me by participants in that seminar.

This chapter will explore the early development of the *funduq* as a Muslim institution, surveying evidence for the transfer of both word and institution from a Byzantine into an Islamic context. It will not only establish, definitively, that the word *funduq* was used to translate *pandocheion* by early authors rendering Greek texts into Arabic, but will examine how the new Muslim institution preserved older functions while taking on new roles. In the Islamic world, the *funduq* found its own niche within an evolving institutional network of hostels, hospitals, government offices, and commercial spaces. Just as comparison of the *pandocheion* and *xenodochion* reveals information on their distinct functions, so too analysis of the *funduq* and other new Arabic institutions (*khān*, *ribāt*, *wakāla*, etc.) exposes both their overlap and differentiation. At the end of the chapter, we will look at a later related institution, the Greek *foundax* (φούνδοξ), which was adopted back into Byzantium from the Islamic world in the eleventh century. Taken together, these transfers to and from the Byzantine and Muslim spheres demonstrate shared needs, commercial ties, adaptability, and willingness to innovate in both cultures. At the same time, the functional shifts evident in the evolution of the *funduq* and *foundax* suggest guidelines for how and why particular aspects of institutions are incorporated in new contexts.

Like the *pandocheion*, the *funduq* served as a hostelry for travelers, but the institution also took on new economic and social roles in Muslim culture. Unlike its prototype, it particularly catered to merchants, not only lodging traveling traders but providing storage for their goods, places for sales and negotiation, and a locus for governmental taxation. Medieval Arabic sources described *funduqs* as places “intended for commercial activity, travelers, and foreigners” or as lodging houses for “merchants, travelers, foreigners, and others.”¹ This commercialization was a critical development in the role of the institution, reflecting new fiscal needs and economic interests evolving in the Umayyad and ‘Abbāsīd states. In their commercial capacity, *funduqs* could be subject to regulation by the state, and they were often associated with particular types of merchants and merchandise. The new mercantile aspect of Muslim hostelries may have been introduced into Syria and Egypt from the eastern Islamic sphere.²

¹ Ibn Abī Zar‘, *Kitāb al-anīs al-muṭrib rawḍ al-qirṭās fī akhbār muluk al-maghrib wa ta’rikh madīna al-fas (Annales regum Mauritaniae a conditio Idrisidarum imperio ad annum fugae 726)*, ed. C. J. Tornberg (Uppsala: Litteris academicis, 1843–1835). Arabic text, 26; H. Mones (ed.), “Waṣf al-jadīd li-Qurṭuba al-islamiyya,” *Ma’had al-dīnasāt al-islamiyya* (Madrid) 13 (1965–66) 170.

² M. Kervran, “Caravansérails du delta de l’Indus. Réflexions sur l’origine du caravansérail islamique,” *Archéologie Islamique* 8–9 (1999) 143–176. On economic growth and new commercialism under Umayyad rule, see Alan Walmsley, “Production, Exchange, and Regional Trade in the Islamic East Mediterranean: Old Structures, New Systems?” in *The Long Eighth Century*, ed. Inge L. Hansen and Chris Wickham (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2000) 265–343.

At the same time, *funduqs* also became instruments of religious charity in the medieval Muslim world. Many were established as *waqfs*, inalienable pious endowments intended to provide revenues for a good purpose. *Funduqs* and other hostels were frequently founded by men of wealth and power, often Muslim rulers or amirs, who saw them as tools to serve the ends of philanthropy, profit, and propaganda. Their religious and philanthropic aspects were much more pronounced than for *pandocheions* in the late antique Christian context, where these functions had normally been assigned to *xenodocheions*. Not every *funduq* served both commercial and charitable functions equally, and there was scope for wide variation across the distances of the Islamic world. Yet this striking *mélange* of commercial and philanthropic purpose remained fundamentally characteristic of the medieval Islamic *funduq* from Damascus to Córdoba.

By the tenth century, *funduqs* were well established throughout the Muslim Mediterranean world, and they appear in geographical works, chronicles, and legal texts originating from the Near East to al-Andalus (Muslim Spain). Hostelries became a standard element in geographical descriptions of prosperous cities, usually in conjunction with other typically urban amenities such as baths, mosques, and markets. Geographers writing in the second half of the tenth century made casual references to *funduqs* in many different Muslim towns, in both the Mashriq (Near East) and the Maghrib (North Africa). Ibn Ḥawqal, for example, described Sūs in Tunisia as a port city with markets, *funduqs*, and bath-houses, and reported that the Syrian city of Aleppo likewise had good markets, baths, and numerous *funduqs*. He gave similar information for Córdoba, Mosul, and a number of other smaller towns in Spain, North Africa, Egypt, Syria, Iraq, and Khurasan.³ In contrast, an insignificant spot might be specifically indicated by its lack of bathing facilities or *funduqs* for lodging travelers and merchants.⁴

Although it is evident that the *funduq* was fully integrated within the Muslim urban context by the tenth century, there is no known use of the Arabic word before the ninth century. This gap of roughly two hundred years, between the Islamic conquest of Byzantine Syria and the first appearance of the word *funduq*, has created difficulties in establishing a linguistic and functional link between the *funduq* and the *pandocheion*. No early chronicle mentions a Byzantine hostel converted into a Muslim inn, nor is there any material evidence of an actual building which underwent this

³ Ibn Ḥawqal, *Kitāb ṣūrat al-'arḍ*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, Bibliotheca geographorum arabicorum II ([1873] Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1967) Sūs (73), Aleppo (177), Mosul (210), Córdoba (111), also 138, 140, 224.

⁴ Ibn Ḥawqal, *Kitāb ṣūrat al-'arḍ*, 15.

transition. Nevertheless, *pandocheions* had flourished in Byzantine cities in the Near East until the Islamic conquest, and both Syriac and Hebrew writings prove that cognate terms were well established in a contemporary Semitic context. The problem has been to find a solid connection between the Greek and Arabic words in early medieval usage. A comparative analysis cannot be sustained, nor provide illumination beyond mere parallels, unless it is possible to discover a definite link between the *pandocheion* and the *funduq*.

Is it possible that the two words are actually unrelated? The significant lacunae in data, function, and chronology have raised understandable doubts as to the authenticity of the derivation of *funduq* from *pandocheion*. Until now, there has been little more than technical similarity to link the early Muslim *funduq* with the Byzantine *pandocheion*, together with the fact that the quadriliteral *f-n-d-q* is clearly not of Semitic origin. The two words have been generally accepted as cognates, but some scholars have expressed reservations. Claude Cahen, for example, merely noted that the term *funduq* “vient peut-être” from *pandocheion*.⁵ Others have voiced much stronger doubts, and have sought a linguistic heritage in other Greek words, including *pontikos* and *foundax*.⁶ Even those who accepted the connection have been concerned by the gap in coverage. As put by Jean Sauvaget, “entre les derniers *pandocheia* byzantines et le caravansérail . . . il existe un hiatus chronologique irréductible.”⁷

As it turns out, there are at least two texts that prove the link between the *pandocheion* and the *funduq* in the minds of men writing in Arabic during the ninth century. Without denying the likelihood of the institution’s evolution during the seventh and eighth centuries, these two examples show that writers in the ninth century understood the *funduq* as a place where travelers lodged, and they perfectly recognized its connection with the *pandocheion*.

For the first example, we must return to the parable of the Good Samaritan. Ninth-century Arabic manuscripts of Luke’s gospel use the words *funduq* and *ṣāḥib al-funduq* for the inn (*pandocheion*) and innkeeper (*pandocheus*) of the original Greek, thus establishing a definite link between

⁵ Claude Cahen, *L’Islam des origines au début de l’empire ottoman* (Paris: Bordas, 1970) 138.

⁶ Hélène Ahrweiler linked the term with the Greek *pontikos* (ποντικός) and the activities of port cities (“Encore à propos du funduq,” *Itinéraires d’orient: hommage à Claude Cahen, Res Orientales* 6 [1994] 195–196), despite the fact that the Muslim institution was just as frequently found in inland cities and connected with overland trade. Didier Gazagnadou, in contrast, derived it from the Greek *foundax* (“Une Précision sur l’origine du mot arabe funduq,” *Studia Islamica* 64 [1986] 165–167). See discussion of the *foundax* at the end of this chapter.

⁷ J. Sauvaget, “Caravansérails syriens du moyen-âge,” *Ars Islamica* 7 (1940) 19.

the two terms.⁸ One of these manuscripts has a colophon noting that it was written by one Stephen of Ramlah in 284 “year of the Arabs” (896 CE).⁹ This particular text is the latest in a series of early Arabic gospel texts preserved at the monastery of Mount Sinai, the earliest of which may date back to the first decades of the ninth century. Linguistic analysis of the Middle Arabic in which these texts are written indicates that they were produced in monasteries in Syria-Palestine.¹⁰

The second case takes us back to the collection of dream interpretations written by the second-century author Artemidorus Daldianus, who predicted that a sick man would die if he dreamed of an inn or an innkeeper. This volume was translated in the ninth century by Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq (808–873), a Christian from al-Ḥirah on the Euphrates, who became one of the most famous early translators of Greek texts into Arabic. Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq, like Stephen of Ramlah, translated *pandocheion* as *funduq* and *pandocheus* as *ṣāhib al-funduq*, although he also added a gloss explaining that *funduqs* were the same as *khāns*.¹¹

Both texts show that the terms *pandocheion* and *funduq* were understood to have the same meaning by the ‘Abbāsīd period, at least among

⁸ Examination of the relevant section from the gospel of Luke in two of these manuscripts (MS 72, fol. 73r, ll.16–18 and MS 74, fol. 144r, ll.13–16) reveals that the Good Samaritan found the injured traveler and “aqbala bi-hi ilā al-funduq wa ḥarāṣa ālayhi, wa min al-ghad fimā ḥūwa khārijun, kharaja dīnārāy wa āṭā li-ṣāhib al-funduq wa qāla lahu aḥriṣalayhi.” The choice of *funduq* is deliberate and specific; the inn in Bethlehem (*katalyma*, Luke 2:7) is translated as *manzil*, not *funduq*. My thanks to Sidney Griffith for his assistance and expertise in consulting these texts. These and other texts were filmed and cataloged by Aziz Atiya, *The Arabic Manuscripts of Mt. Sinai* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1955), and may be consulted on microfilm at the Library of Congress in Washington, DC.

⁹ There is a picture of this colophon page in an article by Constance Padwick, “al-Ghazali and the Arabic Versions of the Gospels,” *The Moslem World* 29 (1939) 134–135.

¹⁰ Sidney H. Griffith, “The Gospel in Arabic: An Inquiry into its Appearance in the First Abbasid Century,” *Oriens Christianus* 69 (1985) 126–167; Bruce Metzger, *The Early Versions of the New Testament* (Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1977) 257–267. There has been considerable debate as to whether the translation of the gospels into Arabic was made directly from Greek or from Syriac, but the former now seems much more likely. Other Arabic translations of the gospels also confirm the link between *pandocheion* and *funduq*. In the *Diatessaron* (compiled by Tatian in either Greek or Syriac in the middle of the second century but surviving only in medieval Arabic translations), the inn in Luke 10:30–35 is also rendered as *funduq* (P. Augustinus Ciasca, *Tatiani Evangeliorum Harmoniae Arabice* [Rome: Typographia Polyglotta, 1888] 131). The earliest Arabic version of the *Diatessaron* is in a twelfth-century manuscript, although this may well record a translation made centuries earlier. Since the *Diatessaron* represented the principal narrative for the life of Christ before the standardization of the four separate gospel texts in the fifth century, its early preeminence may argue for an early transmission into Arabic. See also Metzger, *Early Versions of the New Testament*, 10–36. Although the *Diatessaron* used *funduq* as a translation for *pandocheion*, it used the term *khānī* (“the keeper of a *khān*”) for *pandocheus*. The reasons for the choice of *khānī* rather than *ṣāhib al-funduq* are unclear.

¹¹ Artemidorus, *Le Livre des songes. Traduit du grec en arabe par Ḥunayn b. Isḥāq*, ed. Toufic Fahd (Damascus: Institut français de Damas, 1964) 321–322. My thanks to Dimitri Gutas for drawing my attention to this citation.

Arabic-speaking Christians in Palestine, Syria, and Iraq. Sidney Griffith has argued that the impetus to produce an Arabic version of the New Testament can be linked to earlier Umayyad administrative reforms and arabization in the eighth century, so the word *funduq* may have already been in use at that time.¹² It is probably safe to assume that the Arabic word first evolved in Syria-Palestine, where Greek remained the language of administration into the eighth century. Certainly, later lexicographers including al-Azharī (d. 980–981), Yāqūt (d. 1229), and Ibn Manzūr (d. 1311–1312) all reported that the word *funduq* originated among the people of Syria (*ahl al-Shām*).¹³

How quickly was the term *funduq* picked up in the wider Muslim world? Ḥunayn ibn Iṣḥāq's gloss hints that the word was relatively new in Arabic in the middle of ninth century (at least in Baghdad), but other data indicate that it was already widely disseminated by this point. It can be found in a number of early sources not only from Syria-Palestine, but also from Egypt and as far west as the Maghrib, where it appears in a Tunisian *fatwa* from the late ninth century.¹⁴ These references testify not only to the diffusion of the word *funduq*, but also to the functions of the early Islamic institution and its relationship with other contemporary facilities such as *khāns*.

There may already have been a connection between *funduqs*, state authority, lodging, commerce, and taxation during the first two Islamic centuries. The Coptic *History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria* described the arrival of a new governor in Fuṣṭāṭ, sent to Egypt in 714 by the Umayyad caliph Walīd (705–715). This man, Usāmah, immediately set to work investigating and recording boundaries and assets, and he continued to “do evil” until he was feared by local Christians and Muslims alike. Among his misdeeds, “he commanded that no one should lodge a stranger in the churches or at the *funduqs* . . . and the people were afraid of him and drove out the strangers that were in their houses.”¹⁵ This report may have been intended merely to illustrate the impious deeds of a governor who violated even the most basic dictates of hospitality to strangers. However, the story may also record

¹² Griffith, “The Gospel in Arabic,” 160–161.

¹³ Al-Azharī, *Tahdhīb al-lughah* (Cairo: Dār al-Miṣrīyah lil-Ta'lif wa al-Tarjamah, 1966) ix, 412; Yāqūt, *Mūjam al-buldān*, iv, 277; Ibn Manzūr, *Lisān al-'arab* (Beirut: Dār al-Ṣādar, 1968) x, 313. See further discussion below.

¹⁴ Al-Wansharīsī, *Mi'yār al-mu'rib wa al-jāmi' al-maghrib* (Rabat: Wizārat al-Awqāf, 1981) vi, 426.

¹⁵ B. Evetts, “History of the Patriarchs of the Coptic Church of Alexandria (Agatho to Michael I),” *Patrologia Orientalis* (Paris) 5 (1910) 67–68. The date of the Coptic text is not known, but it was probably compiled in the middle of the eighth century. The Arabic translation was made around 1000, and only survives in later manuscripts (see Robert Hoyland, *Seeing Islam as Others Saw it* [Princeton: Darwin Press, 1997] 446–448). The use of *funduq* here may possibly be an eleventh-century insertion. My thanks to Chase Robinson for drawing my attention to this and several other early references.

a more complex Umayyad fiscal and social agenda, whereby the governor was attempting to control the movement of merchants or people fleeing taxation, to centralize facilities for lodging and trade in Fuṣṭāṭ, and to consolidate revenues.¹⁶ Later, the Mamlūk historian Ibn Duqmāq reported that the first Arab governors of Egypt used a building known as the Funduq Ibn Ḥarmah as their official residence from 641 to 680, again linking these facilities with the administration of state authority in Egypt.¹⁷

A connection between lodging, finances, and the state is also apparent in Umayyad Syria. The ninth-century author al-Balādhurī (d. 892) reported that the caliph Hishām, after trying unsuccessfully to commandeer some privately held mills and profitable facilities (*mustaghallāt*) in Acre, decided instead to “move the industry [apparently ship-building] to Tyre where he took over a *funduq*” and *mustaghallāt* as a state enterprise.¹⁸ The word *mustaghall* can apply to various profit-rendering facilities, including houses, hostels, and commercial buildings built on state property, and then leased to private individuals in return for rent.¹⁹ Possibly this *funduq* was also rented, or else it served as lodging for the ship-builders and other laborers working for the caliph. Another early reference, noting a homeless family lodged in a *funduq* in Mosul in 752, also suggests the combined functions of lodging and industrial production (and possibly also philanthropy), since the building was located in the city’s hemp market and also known as the *dār al-ḥawwākīn* (the Weaving House).²⁰

Other contemporary sources from northern Syria also use the term *mustaghall* in connection with hostelry. The west Syrian bishop Agapius of Manbij, writing in the 940s, reported that, starting in 723, Hishām had adopted *mustaghallāt* in “most of the cities of his realm, [including] the *khāns*, shops, buildings, estates, and farms.” Agapius went on to note that

¹⁶ Usāmah’s actions may also relate to trade disputes with Byzantium. See Marius Canard, “Les Relations politiques et sociales entre Byzance et les Arabes,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 18 (1964) 49.

¹⁷ Ibn Duqmāq, *Kitāb al-intiṣār li-wāsiyat ‘iqd al-amṣār* (*Description de l’Égypte*) (Cairo: Impr. Nationale, 1893; repr. Beirut: The Trading Office, 1966) IV, 40.

¹⁸ Al-Balādhurī, *Kitāb futūḥ al-buldān*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1866) 117–118; trans. P. K. Hitti, *The Origins of the Islamic State* (Beirut: Khayats, 1966) 181. There are also other examples of official sponsorship of facilities for trade and lodging in this period. During the reign of Hishām, the governor of Mecca (Hishām’s uncle) built a large new market complex in the city, with shops on the ground floor, living quarters above, and lockable gates (cited in Foote, “Umayyad Markets,” 183).

¹⁹ K. J. al-Duri, “Society and Economy of Iraq under the Seljuqs (1055–1160 AD) with special reference to Baghdad,” Ph.D. dissertation (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1971) 222.

²⁰ Al-Azdī, *Tā’rikh al-Mawṣil* (Cairo: al-Majlis al-‘Alā li-l-Shu’ūn al-Islāmiyyah, 1967) 135. The author died in about 945. My thanks to Hugh Kennedy for drawing my attention to this example and to the Wasit reference below.

Hishām was “the first [ruler] to take the landed property of the Arabs for himself,” suggesting that the *mustaghballāt* were perceived as a new institution in Syria.²¹ Later, in the early ninth century, residents of the Syrian city of Kafr Baya, north of Antioch, complained to the caliph al-Maʿmūn (813–833) about the rent (*ghallah*) which they had paid on their houses, as if they were *khāns*, and he abolished it.²²

Although the collection of rents on commercial buildings and hostleries may represent an Umayyad innovation, it is striking that so many texts mention hostels in the same region (Tyre, Mosul, Manbij, Kafr Baya) where *pandocheions* had been concentrated in the late Roman period. Some of these early *funduqs* and *khāns* may have been converted from preexisting hostleries, still housing guests but now also serving new fiscal purposes. However, *funduqs* also appeared in newly established Muslim towns in Palestine, such as Ramlah, and in Iraq. Al-Dīnawarī (d. c.895) mentioned the presence of *funduqs* in the garrison city of Wasit, in southern Iraq, between 728 and 737 – only a couple of decades after the town’s creation.²³ The presence of these *funduqs* indicates that the institution was already accepted as a normal element of urban infrastructure by this period (or at least by the lifetime of al-Dīnawarī).

Still further east, al-Maʿsūdī (d. c.956) related that the governor of Tabaristan under the caliph al-Muqtadir (908–929) ordered an accounting for tax purposes of all of the markets and city quarters in Ray, including a census of all local “Muslims and *dhimmis*, as well as foreign merchants and other travelers [staying] in the *funduqs* and *khāns*” of the city.²⁴ Such actions may have been standard practice for new administrators in a region, and they parallel the activities of Walīd’s governor in Egypt two centuries before. Al-Maʿsūdī’s description is also interesting, however, in that it not only makes a clear connection between *funduqs* and commercial lodging, but at the same time distinguishes between *funduqs* and *khāns*. Ibn Ḥawqal

²¹ Agapius of Manbij, “Kitāb al-Unvān (Histoire universelle, écrite par Agapius de Menbidj),” ed. A. A. Vasiliev, *Patrologia Orientalis* (Paris) 8 (1912) 505. Rebecca Foote has noted that most urban property was exempt from taxation in the sixth and early seventh centuries, although shops were usually rented out by the state. Major construction and ownership of shops by the Byzantine government was rare. However, “government patronage in building marketplaces and charging rent on commercial venues became widespread during the reign of Hishām” (“Umayyad Markets,” 169, 176–177).

²² Al-Balādhurī, *Kitāb futūḥ al-buldān*, 166 (Arabic); 257 (English). In Baghdad, however, al-Balādhurī reported that when the ‘Abbāsīd caliph al-Manṣūr (754–775) built the city, he established markets and “ordered the merchants to build shops and held them responsible for rent (*ghallah*).” While not referring directly to hostleries, this indicates the continued reliance of the early ‘Abbāsīd treasury on rents from commercial buildings.

²³ Al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhhbār al-Ṭīwāl* (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1988) 241. Wasit was founded in about 705.

²⁴ Al-Maʿsūdī, *Les Prairies d’or*, ed. and trans. C. B. de Meynard (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1877) IX, 14.

did the same, mentioning *funduqs* and *khāns* coexisting in tenth-century Nishapur.²⁵

From an early period, Muslim rulers perceived the foundation of hosteleries as part of their official role, whether these activities were couched in the rhetoric of religious, political, philanthropic, or economic intentions. Their perceptions were based on precedents in both Byzantine and Sasanian tradition, as well as on the dictates of Islam. Hospitality was esteemed as a virtue in all three monotheistic religions, and often associated with the prophet Abraham, who had acted as host to visiting angels.²⁶ Islamic law saw Abraham as the first true Muslim, being “the first to give hospitality to a guest,” as well as the first believer to be circumcised.²⁷ The virtues of hospitality and public works were also lauded in Islamic traditions (*ḥadīths*), though the references are relatively late. A story collected in the early twelfth century, but attributed to Abū Huraira (d. 677), listed building a mosque, establishing a hostel for travelers (“bayt li-ibn al-sabīl”), and clearing canals among the pious deeds of a believer.²⁸

The Seljuq vizier Nizām al-Mulk (d. 1092) may have had this *ḥadīth* in mind when he urged that a ruler should fund a variety of public projects, including canals, schools, bridges, and “inns (*ribāṭs*) built on the highways . . . for which things he will be renowned for ever; he will gather the fruit of his good works in the next world and blessings will be showered upon him.”²⁹ But the idea of state-funded public works was already well

²⁵ Ibn Ḥawqal, *Kitāb sūrat al-'ard*, 432–433.

²⁶ Genesis 18:1–16 and Quran 15:50 and 51:23. In Jewish tradition, Abraham was so moved by the experience of hosting angels that he subsequently built an inn (*pundāq*) for passing wayfarers (Babylonian Talmud, *Soṭah*, 10a; Midrash on Psalms, trans. William G. Braude [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959] 1, 205 [Psalms 110]; also *Midrash Tanhuma Yelammedenu*, trans. Samuel A. Berman [Hoboken, NJ: Ktav Publishing House, 1996] 70 [commentary on Genesis 9:20]). Early Christian writers continued to associate Abraham with hospitality. St. Paul recalled the prophet's charity in his letter to the Hebrews (13:2), bidding his audience to remember hospitality, just as “some, being not aware of it, have entertained angels.” Similar reflections on Abraham appeared in later biblical commentaries and homilies on hospitality by Ambrose of Milan, Augustine of Hippo, and others (St. Ambrose, *PL*, xiv, cols. 434–436; St. Augustine, *PL*, xxxix, cols. 1743–1745). The Byzantine author Theodore the Studite (late eighth or early ninth century) praised the virtues of hospitality “in order that in this hospitable manner I may gain the bosom of Abraham” (*PG*, xcix, col. 1792; trans. in Constantelos, *Byzantine Philanthropy*, 216).

²⁷ Mālik b. Anas, *Kitāb al-Muwatta'* (Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Risālah, 1993) II, 94.

²⁸ This *ḥadīth* was cited by Muḥammad al-Khatīb al-Tibrīzī (fl. 1337) commenting on a collection by Ḥusayn al-Baghawī (d. 1117 or 1122) (*Mishkāt al-Masābīh*, ed. Muḥammad N. Albani [Damascus: al-Maktab al-Islāmī lil-Tibā'ah wa al-Nashr, 1961–1962] 1, 257 [no. 254]). The generic term *bayt* lends credence to an early date for this tradition. As will be discussed below, early Muslim hostels were often called simply “house” or “building” instead of using more specific terms such as *funduq* or *khān*.

²⁹ Nizām al-Mulk, *Siyāsāt-nama* (Tehran: Shirkat-i Intishār at-i Ilm va Farhangī, 1994) 13; trans. H. Drake, *The Book of Government or Rules for Kings* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978) 10.

established a century before, when the Būyid governor in western Iran, Badr b. Ḥasanawayh, reportedly “built in his territories three thousand mosques and *khāns* for strangers” before his death in 1014.³⁰ Still earlier, in the ninth and tenth centuries, notables in Bukhara had funded the endowment of bridges, mosques, and hostels (*ribāṭs*) for needy travelers.³¹

When did Muslim rulers first begin to devote resources to building hostels and other public works? There is some evidence that this practice may have already begun by the late seventh and early eighth centuries. The historian Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam (d. 871) mentioned a guest-house (*dār al-adyāf*) built in Fuṣṭāṭ by ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, the governor of Egypt and brother of the caliph ‘Abd al-Malik.³² Likewise, al-Ṭabarī (d. 923) recounted that the Umayyad caliph ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz wrote to the governor of Samarqand in 719 instructing him to

establish inns (*khānāt*) in your lands so that whenever a Muslim passes by, you will put him up for a day and a night and take care of his animals; if he is sick, provide him with hospitality for two days and two nights; and if he has used up all of his provisions and is unable to continue, supply him with whatever he needs to reach his hometown.³³

Al-Maḳdisī, in turn, related an anecdote in which the caliph al-Walīd (705–715) was criticized for spending money on the construction of the Great Mosque of Damascus, rather than using the funds to maintain roads, to construct public buildings (possibly inns are intended), and to restore frontier fortresses.³⁴

The question remains whether these accounts from the ninth and tenth centuries truly reflect philanthropic practice of the early Umayyad period,

³⁰ Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam* (Hyderabad: Da‘irāt al-Ma‘arif al-‘Uthaniyah, 1939) vii, 272. The meaning of this passage is disputed. George Makdisi sees these mosques and hostels as forming a “mosque-*khān*” complex in which students could live and study (*The Rise of Colleges: Institutions of Learning in Islam and the West* [Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1981] 29–30). Roy Mottahedeh reads the passage as meaning that he built mosques and *khāns*, but not necessarily as conjoined units (“Transmission of Learning: The Role of the Islamic Northeast,” in *Madrasa. La Transmission du savoir dans le monde musulman*, ed. Nicole Grandin and Marc Garborieau [Paris: Editions Arguments, 1997] 65).

³¹ Al-Narshakhī, *The History of Bukhara*, trans. R. N. Frye (Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy of America, 1954) 15, 18.

³² Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, ed. C. Torrey (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1922) 133.

³³ Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-rusul wa al-mulūk* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Alamiyya, 1995) iv, 69; trans. D. S. Powers, *The History of al-Ṭabarī* xxiv (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989) 94.

³⁴ Al-Maḳdisī, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm fī mārifat al-aqālīm*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, Bibliotheca geographorum Arabicorum iii (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1877; repr. 1967) 159. The suggested projects were *ṭuruq* (roads), *muṣān’* (large structures), and *ḥuṣūn* (fortresses); the critic was informed that mosques were more important than any of these. R. Hillenbrand translates the second term as “caravansarais” (*Islamic Architecture: Form, Function, and Meaning* [New York: Columbia University Press, 1994] 340).

or in fact reveal a later understanding of public works. Certainly, medieval Muslim authors writing on religious innovation (*bidāʿ*) noted that the foundation of charitable hostelries such as *khāns* had not been a feature of the earliest Islamic period, the time of the Prophet Muḥammad, but was a subsequent development.³⁵ It seems likely that this practice came into being among the myriad of reforms, innovations, and building campaigns prevalent under Umayyad rule. Over time, it is likely that Islamic rulers increasingly favored the patronage of hostelries over roads since, as Richard Bulliet has pointed out, state investment in inns and bridges “is functionally equivalent to road building in a wheelless society.”³⁶

The foundation of hostelries undoubtedly increased during the ninth and tenth centuries under ‘Abbāsīd rule, and the practice became commonplace after that. Not only rulers, but also regional governors and notables endowed *waqfs* and public works. By the tenth century, Ibn Ḥawqal remarked that throughout the regions he described, important people had established pious endowments (*waqfs*) with rural land or real estate “such as *funduqs*, private houses, baths, or *khāns*.”³⁷ The Persian traveler Nāṣer-e Khosraw, writing in about 1050, described “hospices for the natives of every region” built in Mecca by the ‘Abbāsīd caliphs, adding that by the time he “arrived some had fallen into ruin and others had been expropriated” (this final remark suggesting that these had originally been built as *waqfs*).³⁸ In one of the earliest “Mirrors for Princes,” the governor of Khurasan, ‘Abdallah ibn Ṭāhir (828–845), wrote a letter to his son urging the construction of hostelries (*ribāʿs*) for public use.³⁹ In 877, likewise, an ‘Abbāsīd governor of Damascus commissioned a *funduq* to accommodate pilgrimage traffic in Syria, and at roughly the same period, the ‘Abbāsīd commander Bughā al-Saghūrī (d. 862) ordered the construction of a *funduq* in the frontier region between Adana and Tarsus, not far from yet another new *funduq*.⁴⁰

There appear to have been a number of *funduqs* in the borderlands of northern Syria and Anatolia, precisely the region in which *pandocheions*

³⁵ ‘Abd al-Rahmān Abū Shāmah, *al-Bāʾith al-inkār al-bidāʿ wa al-ḥawādith* (Riyadh: Dār al-Rayah, 1990) 95; Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-shāfiʿiyya al-kubrā* (Cairo: Hajar lil-Tibāʿah wa al-Nashr, 1992) VIII, 251.

³⁶ R. W. Bulliet, *The Camel and the Wheel* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1975) 228.

³⁷ Ibn Ḥawqal, *Kitāb ṣūrat al-ʿarḍ*, 184.

³⁸ Nāṣer-e Khosraw, *Ṭablīl-i Safarnāmah* (Tehran: Nashr-i Qatrah, 1992); trans. W. M. Thackston, *Nāṣer-e Khosraw’s Book of Travels (Safarnāmah)*, Persian Heritage Series 111b (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1986) 69–70.

³⁹ Hillenbrand, *Islamic Architecture*, 339–340.

⁴⁰ Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar Tārīkh Dimashq li-Ibn ‘Asākir* (Damascus: Dār al-Fikr, 1984) v, 31; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Bughyat al-ṭalab fī tārīkh Halab* (Damascus: s.n. 1988) 1, 177. Ibn al-ʿAdīm quoted al-Sarakhsī (d. 899) as his source. My thanks to Paul Cobb for these citations.

had been most common in late antiquity. Some of these may have been long-established hostelries, while others were new foundations. Al-Ṭabarī mentioned a *funduq* near Tarsus, called Funduq al-Ḥusayn, where the caliph al-Muṭaʿid stopped on his way home to Iraq after campaigning on the Byzantine frontier in 900.⁴¹ The name of this *funduq* indicates that it was a Muslim foundation, and it might even be the same as the hostel established by Bughā al-Saghūrī, but it was probably only one among many such stopping places. Al-Ṭabarī's contemporary, the geographer al-Ḥasan al-Muhallabī (d. 990), went so far as to call an area along the Byzantine frontier "the land of *funduqs*" (*bilād al-fanādiq*).⁴² The presence of numerous *funduqs* testifies to the vitality of travel between Byzantine and 'Abbāsīd domains during the ninth and tenth centuries. As in late antiquity, these hostels remained an important element in the network of communications linking the cities of Anatolia and Syria.

What kind of travelers stayed in these *funduqs* in the borderlands? At least one caliph and his retinue stopped for the night, and there may have been the expectation that *funduqs* would also lodge other government officers, post-riders, and soldiers. But unlike the word *ribāt*, the term *funduq* was never associated with fortified frontier posts or military establishments. Although *funduqs* were often strongly built, their walls were intended to protect travelers and their goods, not to defend against armed attack. It is reasonable to presume that many of the people who stopped in these borderland hostels were merchants, pilgrims, and other non-military travelers moving between Byzantine and 'Abbāsīd lands.

EVIDENCE FROM EPIGRAPHY AND ARCHEOLOGY

A handful of material evidence from archeology and epigraphy bolsters these textual references to early *funduqs*. Only one Arabic inscription mentions a *funduq* from before the late twelfth century. This early example records

⁴¹ A location near Tarsus seems likely, since the caliph's route ran from Funduq al-Ḥusayn to Alexandria, Antioch, Aleppo, Raqqah, and then eastward into Iraq (al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, v, 635; *History*, xxxviii, trans. F. Rosenthal [Albany: State University of New York Press, 1985] 91). It is debatable whether this was an actual *funduq*, or merely a place named after a *funduq*; I would argue for both. Many places named for *funduqs* appear in geographical works from the tenth and eleventh centuries; some probably originated as rural hostelries that sparked settlements around them. Al-Bakrī, for example (*Kitāb al-ma'rūf bi-al-masālik wa al-mamālik*, ed. De Slane [Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1965]), mentioned a Funduq Shakal between Tunis and Qayrawan (37, 46) and Funduq Rihān near Tunis (45) in the late 1060s. See also entry for "al-Fanduq" in G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems* (London: Alexander P. Watt for the Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund, 1890) 439.

⁴² Quoted by Ibn al-'Adīm, *Bughyat al-ṭalab*, 1, 178.

the foundation of a *funduq* as a pious endowment (*waqf*) made in 913 in Ramlah, one of two new towns founded in Palestine in the early Muslim period. Established on the main route between Damascus and Fuṣṭāṭ by the provincial governor Sulaymān b. ‘Abd al-Malik (d. 717), Ramlah flourished as a commercial center. By the late tenth century, al-Maḡdisī reported the existence of many “elegant *funduqs*” and other amenities in the city.⁴³ It is noteworthy that Stephen of Ramlah, the scribe for one of the Mount Sinai gospel manuscripts, was familiar with the term *funduq* when he copied the text in 897, less than twenty years before the *waqf* endowment of 913.

The Ramlah inscription is remarkable not only as the earliest dated physical evidence of a *funduq* (the building itself does not survive), but also as being the first known inscription recording the foundation of a *waqf*. These pious endowments were most frequently associated with religious buildings, but it was not unusual to find endowments supporting hostelries, bathhouses, fountains, and other public amenities. It also became common for revenue-producing institutions, including *funduqs* and other hostelries, to provide income to a *waqf*, generating funds for a mosque, school, or hospital, rather than benefiting from the endowment themselves.

The inscription from Ramlah provides some data on the building itself and its founder, recording that:

This *funduq* with all its boundaries and rights, its land and buildings, its lower and upper floor, its paths and appurtenances, and everything pertaining to and known as part of it, including what is in it or of it, is the *waqf* of Fā’iq al-Khādīm ibn ‘Abd Allāh the Sicilian, the freedman of al-Muṭamid ‘alā Allāh [presumably the ‘Abbāsīd caliph, 870–892]. He made it a *waqf*; put it into mortmain, and [gave it as] alms desiring to attain [thereby] the reward of Allāh.⁴⁴

Though formulaic, the text indicates that this *funduq* was a structure with two stories, outbuildings, and adjacent land, evidently a complex of some size rather than a simple isolated structure. Its founder was a freedman of the ‘Abbāsīd caliph, and his connection with a noble patron is noteworthy. Since both prestige and expense were associated with the foundation of buildings, they were often commissioned by rulers, governors, their agents, and other people who either had or aspired to local power.⁴⁵ The Ramlah inscription concentrates on describing the property, and says nothing specific about

⁴³ N. Luz, “The Construction of an Islamic City in Palestine. The Case of Umayyad al-Ramla,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* series 3,7,1 (1997) 27–54; al-Maḡdisī, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm*, 164.

⁴⁴ M. Sharon, “A Waqf Inscription from Ramlah,” *Arabica* 13 (1966) 78–79.

⁴⁵ J. M. Rogers has remarked on the tendency of rulers to delegate the foundation of *waqfs* to viziers, amirs, wives, and others (“*Waqf* and Patronage in Seljuk Anatolia. The Epigraphic Evidence,” *Anatolian Studies* 26 [1976] 75).

the pious purpose of the endowment. It may be an early example of *waqf ahlī*, designed to preserve family assets and avoid taxation, rather than the later and more classic form of philanthropic endowment, the *waqf khayrī*.

Archeological and architectural evidence yields intriguing yet inconclusive clues to fill in the chronological gap in written references to the *funduq*. Archeology certainly confirms the active building campaigns of early Muslim rulers who not only founded mosques and palaces, but also funded a variety of public works projects. Nevertheless, their repertoire of architectural form was limited and repetitive, making it extremely difficult to determine usage on the basis of physical structure.⁴⁶ Analyses of function based on floor plans, architectural style, and material evidence are inexact, especially where little of a building remains.

Although no actual building can be definitely shown to have transferred from being a *pandocheion* to being a *funduq*, many hostelries and other buildings in Byzantine and Persian towns surely did make this transition. Archeology and written sources indicate the presence of Muslim hostels at sites such as Dayr Sim'ān and Ruṣāfa, where *pandocheions* had once flourished, and along the Byzantine–ʿAbbāsīd frontier. Probably some of these early Muslim facilities were continuations of preexisting Byzantine hostelries.⁴⁷

The archeological record in many areas indicates continuous occupation and relatively peaceful transition from Byzantine or Persian rule to Muslim administration.⁴⁸ Although urbanization appears to have declined in some regions of Syria in the seventh and eighth centuries, often starting before the advent of Islam, many areas show urban and economic revival in the Umayyad period.⁴⁹ One example of this may be seen at Pella (Arabic

⁴⁶ R. Hillenbrand has observed that “it is characteristic of Islamic architecture that a simple building type should fulfill multiple functions” (*Islamic Architecture*, 331).

⁴⁷ Dayr Sim'ān: Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, II, 517; Ruṣāfa: Foote, “Umayyad Markets,” 163; Walter Karnapp, “Der Khān in der syrischen Ruinenstadt Resafa,” *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 93.2 (1978) 136–150.

⁴⁸ See the discussion in *La Syrie de Byzance à l'Islam: VIII–VIII siècles*, ed. Pierre Canivet and Jean-Paul Rey-Coquais (Damascus: Institut français de Damas, 1992). Likewise, Alexandrine Guérin, “Some Features of a Village Architecture in Transition from Antiquity to Islam,” *al-'Usur al-Wusta* II (1999) 49–52. On the transition from Christian to Muslim rule in al-Andalus, see T. Glick, *From Muslim Fortress to Christian Castle: Social and Cultural Change in Medieval Spain* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995) 43–44.

⁴⁹ Increasingly, the archeological record is revealing continuity and the promotion of urban commerce in the early Umayyad period, despite some disruption at the time of the Muslim conquest. See Walmsley, “Production, Exchange, and Regional Trade,” 269–283; R. Hillenbrand, “Anjar and Early Islamic Urbanism,” in *The Idea and Ideal of the Town between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, ed. G. P. Brogiolo and B. Ward-Perkins (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1999) 82–83. In contrast, Clive Foss has argued for a lengthy period of urban disruption and decline from the middle of the sixth century through the Umayyad period in “Syria in Transition, AD 550–750: An Archeological Approach,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 51 (1977) 189–269.

Fihl, now in northwest Jordan), a city that came under Muslim control following a peace treaty with the Arab general Abū Ubaydah in 635. Archeological and ceramic evidence shows no immediate break with the shift from Byzantine to Muslim rule. The population remained predominantly Christian, and there was apparently little disruption to the three churches, the residential areas, or even the military barracks.⁵⁰ A structure that may have been a “large and spectacular caravanserai” was built in the center of the city just north of the main church, probably in the seventh century, and remained in operation until its destruction in an earthquake in 747.⁵¹ This building has been described as a “double storeyed accommodation consisting of rooms, porches, and upper balconies,” but it is impossible to say whether it was officially a *pandocheion* or *funduq* without written identification. However, the fact that the remains of two young men, seven camels, and a donkey were found at one end of the building, apparently crushed by falling masonry during the earthquake, supports the conclusion that the building was used as a commercial hostelry during the Umayyad period.⁵²

It appears that the earthquake in the middle of the eighth century was a much more important catalyst to urban change in Pella/Fihl than earlier political and religious shifts, since it initiated a period of new construction unseen in the previous century. Urban buildings and infrastructure were rebuilt after 747, although not always in exactly the same locations. The construction of two new “*khān*-like enclosures” testifies to the strength of urban commerce in this period, as do the finds of Umayyad coins associated with one building and the adjacent market area.⁵³ Excavation of one of these enclosures reveals that it may have served for lodging, trade, and manufacturing. Alan Walmsley described the structure as

⁵⁰ In 891, Pella/Fihl was still described as having a population that was “a mixture of Greeks and Arabs” by the contemporary geographer al-Yāqūbī (*Kitāb al-buldān*, ed. A. W. T. Juynboll [Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1861] 115).

⁵¹ A. Walmsley, “The Social and Economic Regime at Fihl (Pella) and Neighbouring Centres, between the 7th and 9th centuries,” in Canivet and Rey-Coquais (eds.), *La Syrie de Byzance à l’Islam*, 254–255, 261. The date of this structure is unclear; it may have been built as early as 614 or as late as the early eighth century (Walmsley, “Production, Exchange, and Regional Trade,” 284). See also A. Walmsley, “Architecture and Artefacts from ‘Abbāsīd Fihl: Implications for the Cultural History of Jordan,” in *Proceedings of the Fifth International Conference on the History of Bilād al-Shām* (Amman: History of Bilād al-Shām Committee, 1991) 135–159. My thanks to Alan Walmsley for his advice on the structures at Pella/Fihl.

⁵² Walmsley, “The Social and Economic Regime,” 253; Rebecca Foote described this building as a “long two-storeyed hall” (“Umayyad Markets,” 197–198). See also Walmsley, “Production, Exchange, and Regional Trade,” 284–285.

⁵³ Walmsley, “The Social and Economic Regime,” 259; Walmsley, “Production, Exchange, and Regional Trade,” 285.

a large central building of rooms and an arched portico around a central courtyard, entered by way of a 2.5m. wide gateway to the west. Walls were of stone . . . and supported an upper story of clay mud brick roofed with tiles. Large areas of the ground floor were stone paved. Living quarters were added to the original structure on the south and east, indicating an extended period of occupation. [Other finds] . . . suggest that a small glass workshop was established in the building in its later period of use.⁵⁴

In contrast to the earlier hostel, which had been a rectangular building perhaps not unlike the *pandocheions* at Dayr Simʿān, this new structure was built on a square plan, with one gate, porticoes, and a central courtyard, very like the design of later Muslim *funduqs* and *khāns*.

Because early Muslim architectural forms made little differentiation between commercial and non-commercial structures, or between private and public buildings, it is often difficult to distinguish between these functions. At the Umayyad city of ʿAnjar, for example, two buildings in the center of the town have been variously identified as either palaces or hostleries. ʿAnjar was probably one of two towns – the other being Ramlah – founded in Palestine in the early eighth century, and Rebecca Foote has proposed that the shops with their “wide doors leading into rooms around the courtyard, convey a more commercial than elite residential character” to these structures, which would thus be “among the earliest examples of Greater Syrian *fanādiq*.”⁵⁵ Not far away, at Jerash, Foote suggested that a “so-called domestic complex” built in the 660s, with shops, an irregular courtyard with rooms opening off it accessed from the street and a rear stairway, and – significantly – no kitchen, may also have been a *funduq*.⁵⁶ It has likewise been proposed that a structure at Beisan, erected between 736 and 743 by the local governor during the reign of Hishām, was a commercial site and possibly a hostelry, although its inscription refers merely to “the making of these buildings” (“amr bi-hadha al-bunyan”).⁵⁷

⁵⁴ Walmsley, “The Social and Economic Regime,” 255.

⁵⁵ Foote, “Umayyad Markets,” 197. Oleg Grabar has queried the Umayyad identification of ʿAnjar (“Umayyad Palaces Reconsidered,” *Arts Orientalis* 23 [1993] 93). Grabar’s article also contains thoughtful caveats on the identification of early Muslim buildings and the transmission of architectural forms.

⁵⁶ Foote, “Umayyad Markets,” 196 (Foote uses the term *funduq* here). See also Walmsley, “Production, Exchange, and Regional Trade,” 284–285 (Walmsley calls the building at Jerash a *khān*). Other possible hostels built in the Umayyad period have been identified at Jericho (Walmsley, “Production, Exchange, and Regional Trade,” 287) and further south at Humeima (Rebecca Foote, “The Caravanserai,” in J. P. Oleson [ed.], “The Humeima Excavation Project: Preliminary Report of the 1991–92 Seasons,” *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 37 [1993] 484–486).

⁵⁷ E. Khamis, “Two Wall-Mosaic Inscriptions from Umayyad Bet-Shean,” *Cathedra* 85 (1997) 48, 54–55. My thanks to Oleg Grabar for his insights on this site and other contemporary buildings.

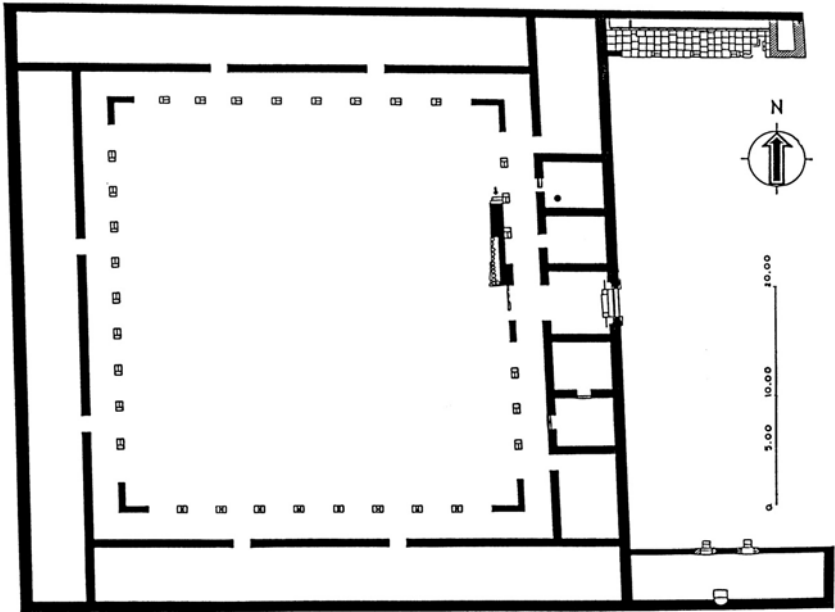
Two other eighth-century structures, both called *khāns* in the secondary literature but unnamed in any contemporary inscription, are found at Umayyad sites in the Syrian desert, Qaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Sharqī (northeast of Palmyra) and Qaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Gharbī (southwest of Palmyra).⁵⁸ These two palace complexes were built within a few years of each other at the order of the Umayyad caliph Hishām (724–743), the same caliph who was recorded as constructing *funduqs* in Acre and collecting taxes on *khāns*. One building at Qaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Gharbī, traditionally identified as a *khān*, bore an inscription noting merely that “the construction of this work” (“hadha al-‘amal”) had been ordered by Hishām in Rajab 109 (November 727).⁵⁹ Nothing remains standing of the building itself, which was probably constructed of mud brick, but its stone foundations show that it was a large roughly square structure with walls of about 55 meters long on each side. It had a central courtyard, with porticoes giving entrance to a long narrow room on each of three sides. On the east side, the entrance was flanked by six smaller rooms. Another room, extending from the left front of the building, served as a mosque, as shown by its *miḥrāb* niche. The complex at Qaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Sharqī, completed a year later in 728–729, includes a square building of very similar design which was originally thought to be a palace but has been identified by Oleg Grabar as “the earliest remaining monumental caravanserai in Islamic art.”⁶⁰

The floor plans of these two buildings are so similar to those of later Syrian structures explicitly identified as *funduqs* or *khāns* in contemporary inscriptions that it is not surprising that they are usually identified as hostleries. Strikingly, however, their plan is not particularly like those of earlier Christian *pandocheions*. Changes in design may indicate either new functions (increasing commercialization and the consequent demand

⁵⁸ On Qaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Sharqī, see Oleg Grabar, Renata Hood, James Knustad, and William Trousdale, *City in the Desert: Qaṣr al-Ḥayr East* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1978); Oleg Grabar, “Qaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Sharqī. Preliminary Report on the First Season of Excavations,” *Les Annales Archeologiques de Syrie* 15 (1965) 106–120; and Oleg Grabar, “Preliminary Report on the Third Season of Excavations at Qaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Sharqī,” *Annales Archeologiques Arabes Syriennes* 20 (1970) 45–54; K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, 1.2 (New York: Hacker Art Books, 1979) 522–528; and E. Sims, “Markets and Caravanserais,” in *Architecture in the Islamic World*, ed. Ernst Grube and G. Michell (London: Thames & Hudson, 1984) 101. On Qaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Gharbī, see Daniel Schlumberger, *Qaṣr el-Heir el Gharbi* (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1986); Daniel Schlumberger, “Les Fouilles de Qaṣr el-Heir el-Gharbi (1936–1938). Rapport préliminaire,” *Syria* 20 (1939) 195–238; Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, 506–507, 512–514; Ugo Monneret de Villard, *Introduzione allo studio dell’archeologia islamica. Le origini e il periodo omayyade* (Venice: Istituto per la Collaborazione Culturale, 1966) 162.

⁵⁹ Etienne Combe, Jean Sauvaget, and Gaston Wiet (eds.), *Répertoire chronologique d’épigraphie arabe*, 1 (Cairo: Institut français d’archéologie orientale du Caire, 1931) 23 (no. 27).

⁶⁰ Grabar et al., *City in the Desert*, 1, 32; and Grabar, “Preliminary Report,” 54. Grabar also notes thirteen other early structures traditionally identified as palaces or residences that have a similar design to this building (*City in the Desert*, 30–32).



6 Plan of the “*khān*” at Qaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Gharbī, near Palmyra (from Schlumberger, “Les Fouilles de Qaṣr el-Heir el-Gharbi, 210).

for storage and security), or the influence of different architectural traditions, or both. Whereas late Roman hostelries (as at Dayr Simān) were usually built on a rectangular plan often without an open interior court, later a square-sided design with an internal courtyard, a single gateway, and porticoes became typical of medieval Muslim *funduqs* and *khāns* in Syria.⁶¹

Nevertheless, buildings of square design with a central courtyard had long been common in the late antique world, and were certainly associated with some types of hostelries.⁶² In Syria, traces of several third-century buildings of a similar square-sided plan, located on the outskirts of Palmyra, can be identified in aerial photographs. These could be either military barracks or hostelries, but an analysis of their location and comparison with other similar structures suggests the latter.⁶³ Similar square buildings with open internal space were also common in the Sasanian world, and

⁶¹ This form became so common that Elisséeff designated it as the “Mediterranean type” of *khān* (N. Elisséeff, “Khān,” *Encyclopedia of Islam*, iv [Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2nd ed., 1990] 1011).

⁶² See, for example, plans of Roman way-stations (*mansiones*) in Chevallier, *Les Voies romaines*, 285–291.

⁶³ Jean-Marie Dentzer, “Khāns ou casernes à Palmyre? A propos de structures visibles sur des photographies aériennes anciennes,” *Syria* 71 (1994) 45–112. Perhaps these may be linked to the merchant hostels (*katalyma*) noted in second-century inscriptions from Palmyra (see chap. 1).

there may well have been influence from this direction. For example, the caravanserais at Dayr-i Gachīn, south of Ray, and at Darwazeh-Gatch, were built as fortified square enclosures with central courtyards surrounded by many small rooms.⁶⁴ Further east, recent analysis of eight fortified square enclosures in the Indus Valley, apparently connected with maritime trade, likewise suggests that eastern architectural and commercial ideas melded with those of the Mediterranean world in the first Islamic centuries.⁶⁵ Early Muslim architectural forms drew on a mixed heritage, and Umayyad rulers and architects creatively adapted existing forms to suit new functions. In most cases, however, it remains a topic of debate whether the surviving buildings identified as hostels were *funduqs*, *khāns*, or something else.

FUNDUQS, KHĀNS, AND OTHER HOSTELS

Medieval authors made clear that there were a variety of options for lodging available to merchants and other travelers in the early Muslim world. They could choose from an array of different facilities, both formal and informal, for rest, refreshment, commerce, diversion, and shelter. Travelers sometimes received food and a bed free of charge, but at other times they were expected to pay for these amenities.⁶⁶ Although many wayfarers took advantage of established hostels, some stayed in private houses, slept in the open air, in tents, caves, or on shipboard, while others sought refuge in buildings more usually devoted to other purposes such as mosques and schools (the fourteenth-century traveler Ibn Baṭṭūṭa even passed a night in a Christian church).⁶⁷ Some formal hospices (especially *ribāṭs* and *zāwiyas*) tended to house particular groups, often pilgrims, traveling scholars, or adherents of

⁶⁴ M. Siroux, *Caravansérails d'Iran et petites constructions routières* (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1949) 43; M. Shokoohy, "The Sasanian Caravanserai of Dayr-i Gachīn, South of Ray, Iran," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 46 (1983) 449. An extensive set of plans and photographs of Iranian *khāns* is provided in M. Y. Kiāni and W. Kleiss, *Kārvānsarāhā-ye Irān [Iranian Caravanserais]* (Tehran: Iranian Cultural Heritage Organization, 1995). Oleg Grabar has observed Sasanian influence at Qaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Gharbī ("Umayyad Palaces Reconsidered," 96). Hostels had long been established along roads in the Persian Empire. As early as the fifth century BCE, the Greek historian Herodotus described how the royal road from Sardis to Susa had 111 resting-points with "exceedingly good hostels" (Herodotus, ed. and trans. A. D. Godley [New York: G. P. Putnam & Sons, 1922] v, 52). These hostels were originally designed for the convenience of royal messengers, but probably also served the needs of merchants and other travelers.

⁶⁵ Kervran, "Caravansérails du delta de l'Indus," 143–176.

⁶⁶ The western pilgrim Bernard the Monk, who traveled through the Muslim world in 867, expressed indignation at having to pay for necessities at two inns (*hospitia*) near Gaza (*Itinera hierosolymitana et descriptiones Terrae Sanctae*, ed. Titus Tobler et al. (Geneva: J. G. Fick, 1879) 314. My thanks to Michael McCormick for this citation.

⁶⁷ Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *The Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa AD 1325–1354*, II, trans. H. A. R. Gibb, Hakluyt Series 117 (Cambridge: Hakluyt Society, 1962) 469.

certain religious sects. Others, including *funduqs* and *khāns*, opened their doors to a wider variety of guests, but were particularly associated with merchants and commercial travelers. On a more generic level, Muslim geographers and travelers sometimes noted merely “stopping points” (*manāzil*) along the road, usually with the implication that these were established way-stations along a route, with facilities and lodgings, rather than simple campsites.⁶⁸

In the earliest Muslim period, specific terms may not have been used at all, even for buildings that were used as hostelries. It is striking that Arabic inscriptions on very early structures, including those at Qaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Gharbī and at Beisan, simply refer to the buildings with generic terms such as “this work” or “these buildings” rather than applying specific titles. In textual references, also, early Islamic commercial buildings were often called by very general names, often simply combining *dār* (house) with the name of a particular commodity, trade, or group of people. Examples of hostelries include the *dār al-adyāf* (guest-house) built in Fuṣṭāṭ in the late eighth century (noted above), a ninth-century *dār al-Rūm* for Christians visiting Baghdad, or the generic *dār al-tujjār* (house for merchants) cited by al-Maqqdisī in the tenth century.⁶⁹ Possibly, imported architectural-functional terms such as *funduq* and *khān* – though used in speech – did not come into regular use in written Arabic until the later eighth or ninth century.

By the tenth century, however, Arabic texts are filled with words designating specific types of hostelry. Of these, *funduq* and *khān* were the most common, and since they were sometimes used as synonyms, it is impossible to make a hard-and-fast distinction between them. The two terms, and the institutions they referred to, had very different roots – one originated in the Greek-speaking world, and the other in Persia – yet they often coincided in form and function. In the tenth century, al-Maqqdisī listed both words as signifying “hostelry,” together with *tīm* and *dār al-tujjār*, in his long list of geographical terms with similar meanings.⁷⁰ Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq had likewise equated the words *funduq* and *khān* in the ninth century.⁷¹

Nevertheless, it is clear that the two institutions – though similar – were not always considered identical. On several occasions, Ibn Ḥawqal mentioned them together, indicating that they could not have been exactly

⁶⁸ Although it has been suggested that the Arabic word *manzil* might derive from the Latin *mansio* (a way-station), it is actually a noun formed from the verb *nazala*, meaning to stop, alight, or dismount.

⁶⁹ Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, 133; Reuben Levy, *A Baghdad Chronicle* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1929) 67; al-Maqqdisī, *Aḥsan al-taqāsim*, 31.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷¹ Artemidorus, *Le Livre des songes*, 321.

the same thing. For example, he described Nishapur as having “markets with [both] *khāns* and *funduqs*,” as did Muslim towns in other regions, and he listed “*funduqs*, houses, baths, and *khāns*” as different possible elements in a pious foundation.⁷² These comments suggest a measure of perceived differentiation, perhaps akin to the modern American usage of the words “hotel” and “motel.”

There was already a clear regional distinction in the occurrence of *funduqs* and *khāns* by the tenth century, and this was probably also true earlier. By the later middle ages, this differentiation would become even more pronounced. Although both terms were used throughout the medieval Muslim world, and often overlapped, there was a clear preference for the term *funduq* in the Mediterranean region, extending from Syria to Spain. The tenth-century lexicographer al-Azharī noted that “*funduq* means *khān* in the language of the people of Syria (‘bi lughah ahl al-Shām’), [in other words] one of the *khāns* where people stop when they are on the road or in cities.”⁷³ Meanwhile, the word *khān* always prevailed in Iraq, Iran, Khurasan, and other eastern regions (though it was very rare in the Islamic west). It is striking that the regions of predominance for each word coincided with the earlier linguistic diffusion of Greek and Persian.

These regional trends become apparent when one takes a broad view of the whole spectrum of references to *funduqs* and *khāns* in the medieval Islamic world. But do all references reflect actual local usage? Allowance must be made for authors who may have used terms that were more familiar in their homelands than in the regions that they described. For example, authors from the Muslim west, such as Ibn Jubayr or Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, probably used the word *funduq* more frequently than did writers from Iraq or Khurasan. Nevertheless, these western geographers were evidently aware of differences in usage, and took them into account. Thus, when Ibn Baṭṭūṭa

⁷² Ibn Hawqal, *Kitāb sūrat al-ard*, 432–433 and 184. The same author also noted both *funduqs* and *khāns* in Bardha’a, on the Caspian Sea (339) and *funduqs* and *ribāṭs* in neighboring Balkhāb (349). In the Islamic west, Córdoba had *funduqs*, while its suburbs of Madina al-Zahra and Rusafa had *khāns* (111–113). On *waqf* foundations, see *ibid.*, 184.

⁷³ Al-Azharī, *Tahdhīb al-lughah*, IX, 412. This derivation was repeated in later works, so that the geographer Yāqūt likewise reported that the *funduq* began as “the name for *khān* among the people of Syria” (*Mu’jam al-buldān*, IV, 277). Although Yāqūt listed *khān* as a synonym for *funduq* in his entry for the latter, he does not mention *funduq* in his entry for *khān*. Instead, he defined *khān* as merely “a stopping place where merchants lodge” (*ibid.*, III, 341). He may have seen *khān* as the more universal term, while *funduq* reflected a regional usage. Ibn Manẓūr, compiler of the famous medieval dictionary *Lisān al-‘Arab*, used almost identical words to those of al-Azharī, explaining that “*funduq* [is the same as] the Persian *khān* . . . [and] *funduq* in the dialect of the people of Syria (*bi lughah ahl al-Shām*) [means] *khān*, [in other words] one of the *khāns* where people stop when they are on the road or in cities” (*Lisān al-‘Arab*, X, 313).

described a roadside hostelry outside Cairo in 1326, he noted it as a “*funduq*, which they call a *khān*, where travelers alight with their beasts.”⁷⁴ Unfortunately, this observation also points to yet another complication: usage changes over time, even within the same region. Whereas *funduq* was by far the more common term in Egypt in the Fāṭimid period and earlier, the word *khān* had become increasingly prevalent by the Mamlūk period, when Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited Cairo.⁷⁵

Complexities of shifting regional usage become even clearer in another example. During his travels through Syria in the early 1180s, Ibn Jubayr encountered a hostelry that he described as “the Khān of the Sultan, which was built by Saladin, the lord of Syria.”⁷⁶ This hostelry can be identified as the Khān al-ʿArūs, founded by Saladin in 1181, only a couple of years before Ibn Jubayr’s arrival. What is interesting is that the building has an inscription describing its foundation, and this text explicitly identifies the structure as a *funduq*: “this blessed *funduq* [had] been ordered by our Lord and Master al-Malik al-Nāsir Ṣalaḥ al-Dunya wa al-Dīn [Saladin], Sultan of Islām and the Muslims.”⁷⁷ Evidently, both words were in common parlance, and what was built as a *funduq* became almost immediately termed a *khān* in popular usage. This was precisely the period in which the term *khān* was beginning to take precedence in Syria and Egypt as a result of political, commercial, and linguistic shifts. The slippage between names reflects the rapid evolution and increasing differentiation of the *funduq* and *khān* by the later twelfth century.

Other terms for different types of hostelry also overlapped with *funduq* and *khān*, but they were never used as regular synonyms. *Ribāṭs*, for example, provided lodging to travelers in many regions, especially in the eastern Islamic world, and like *funduqs* and *khāns*, these hostels were often endowed by pious foundations. However, as Robert Hillenbrand laments, the name *ribāṭ* “suffers from that [same] fatal imprecision that afflicts [so many] architectural terms in Arabic and Persian,” and the term can only

⁷⁴ Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Voyages d’Ibn Battuta*, ed. C. Defrémery and B. R. Sanguinetti (Paris: l’Imprimerie Nationale, 1853–1858; repr. Paris: Editions Anthropos, 1968–1969) I, 111–12; *The Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa AD 1325–1354* I, Hakluyt Series 110 (1958), 71–72.

⁷⁵ These regional trends will be discussed in more detail in chaps. 3 and 7.

⁷⁶ Ibn Jubayr, *Ribla*, ed. William Wright and rev. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1907) 259; trans. R. J. C. Broadhurst, *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1952) 269.

⁷⁷ Combe et al. (eds.), *Répertoire*, IX (1937), 115 (no. 3368); Sauvaget, “Caravansérails syriens” (1939), 50–52. This *funduq* is generally thought to have been built by Saladin, although an alternate reading suggests his brother Tūrān-Shāh, the governor of Damascus, instead (*PPUAES*, ed. E. Littman, IV, Semitic Inscriptions [Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1943] 75–76). This was believed to be the earliest reference to a *funduq* in epigraphy until the discovery of the 913 *waqf* from Ramlah.

be understood in context.⁷⁸ In the tenth century, both Ibn Ḥawqal and al-Istakhri estimated that there were thousands of these hostels in eastern Islamic lands, providing lodging, food, and shelter to travelers.⁷⁹ In this period and region, the institution of the *ribāṭ* was very similar to that of the *khān*, a comparison Ibn Ḥawqal made explicit in a comment that a *ribāṭ* along the road between Shiraz and Sirajan was “like a *khān*.”⁸⁰

Over time, however, *ribāṭs* diverged from other hostelries, evolving into more specialized facilities for religious travelers and *ghazi* warriors, not for merchants. Some became frontier fortresses, while others housed pilgrims and scholars. A *ribāṭ* founded in Aleppo in 1252 had an endowment to support “arabized and resident” Sufis.⁸¹ Some clerics disapproved of the institution, claiming that it promoted a segregated life apart from the rest of the Muslim community. One critic, Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 1201), singled out *ribāṭs* as “places where Sufis take refuge to enjoy idleness . . . to escape from working and seclude themselves,” and thus, he concluded, *ribāṭs* were fundamentally different from mosques, houses, and *khāns*.⁸²

Many *ribāṭs* were established as hostelries for the poor, and this trend becomes particularly clear by the twelfth century. When Ibn Jubayr visited Mosul, in the early 1180s, he stayed in a “*ribāṭ* for the needy, with many chambers, rooms, and ablution and drinking places.”⁸³ Charitable *ribāṭs* were often located in centers for pilgrimage, including Mecca and Jerusalem, though they were also found elsewhere. A *waqf* foundation in Mecca, dated 1135, established a *ribāṭ* for Sufis and pilgrims to the Holy City, while later endowments from 1267 and 1282 supported the construction of *ribāṭs* in Jerusalem. An inscription on the latter building recorded that “the construction of this blessed *ribāṭ* constitutes a *waqf* for the benefit of the poor and travelers to al-Quds al-Sharīf, and has been ordered by our master the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr . . . Qalāwūn.”⁸⁴

⁷⁸ Hillenbrand, *Islamic Architecture*, 341–342. For a detailed discussion of this complex institution and its many forms, see Nasser Rabbat, “Ribāṭ,” *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., VIII (1993), 493–506. See also Paul Wheatley, *The Places where Men Pray Together* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001) 53.

⁷⁹ Ibn Ḥawqal, *Kitāb ṣūrat al-'ard*, 293, 465–467; al-Istakhri, *Kitāb al-masālik wa al-mamālik*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, *Bibliotheca geographorum Arabicorum*, 1 (Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1870; repr. 1967) 290.

⁸⁰ Ibn Ḥawqal, *Kitāb ṣūrat al-'ard*, 284.

⁸¹ Combe et al. (eds.), *Répertoire*, XI (1941), 235 (no. 4353).

⁸² “lā hiyā masājid wa lā buyūt wa lā khānāt”: Ibn al-Jawzī, *Talbīs al-Iblīs* (Cairo: Idārah al-Ṭibāḥ al-Munīrah, 1966) 360.

⁸³ Ibn Jubayr, *Riḥla*, 236 (English trans. 245).

⁸⁴ Mecca: Combe et al. (eds.), *Répertoire*, VIII (1937), 196–197 (no. 3075). Jerusalem: 1267, *ibid.*, XII (1943), 126–127 (no. 4590); 1282, *ibid.*, XIII (1944), 5–6 (no. 4809). On hostels along *hajj* routes, see A. Petersen, “The Archeology of the Syrian and Iraqi Hajj Routes,” *World Archeology* 26 (1994) 51.

While the *ribāṭ* overlapped in purpose with charitable and hospitable aspects of the *funduq* and *khān*, other institutions paralleled some of their commercial functions. Both the *qayṣāriyya* and the *wakāla* were places for the sale and storage of goods, and sites for the collection of taxes. Neither provided lodging on a regular basis to passing travelers. The *qayṣāriyya* (another word derived from Greek) was an urban market area, containing shops and storage areas. These were normally considered property of the ruler.⁸⁵ The term first appears in epigraphy in 1190, but *qayṣāriyyas* had been common in Syria, Egypt, and North Africa from a much earlier period.⁸⁶ According to Ibn Jubayr, the *qayṣāriyya* was similar to other institutions, but not identical. He remarked, for example, that the *qayṣāriyyas* in Damascus were “as tall as *funduqs*,” while one in Mosul was “rather like a vast *khān*.”⁸⁷

The *wakāla* had other origins. Its root, *wa-ka-la*, first appeared in the person of the representative of the merchants (*wakīl al-tujjār*), who acted as representative for foreign merchants in Fāṭimid Egypt, with duties to store and market their goods. A *wakīl* also served as overseer of the port, or a tax-farmer for customs dues. By the twelfth century, the personal office had taken on physical form, and the *wakāla* emerged as a space for commercial business, storage, taxation, and occasional merchant lodging. In 1122, the Fāṭimid vizier Ma'mūn al-Baṭā'ihī erected a *dār al-wakāla* in Cairo for merchants and goods arriving from Syria and Iraq.⁸⁸ This *dār al-wakāla* was probably a tool for official oversight of merchant business and commercial revenues. A century later, during financial troubles in the reign of the Ayyūbid sultan al-Malik al-Kāmil (1218–1238), his vizier Ibn Shukr ordered the closure of all *funduqs* and *wakālas* “in which goods like linen and other things were sold, and he directed that nobody was to buy anything except in the *dār al-wakāla* of the Sultan.”⁸⁹ This account suggests that private *funduqs* and *wakālas* already had very similar commercial functions

⁸⁵ L. Torres Balbás, *Ciudades hispano-musulmanas* (Madrid: Instituto Hispano-Árabe de Cultura, 2nd ed., 1985) 345–346.

⁸⁶ Al-Maqrīzī, *Les Marchés du Caire. Traduction annotée du texte de Maqrīzī*, ed. A. Raymond and G. Wiet, *Textes arabes et études islamiques* 14 (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1979) 19. Wladyslaw Kubiak, *Al-Fustāt. Its Foundation and Early Urban Development* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 1987) 127.

⁸⁷ Cited in al-Maqrīzī, *Les Marchés du Caire*, 19. Damascus: Ibn Jubayr, *Rihla*, 288 (trans. 302); Mosul: *ibid.*, 235 (trans. 244).

⁸⁸ Ibn Muyassar, *Annales d'Égypte (les khalifes fātimides)*, ed. Henri Massé (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1919) 62.

⁸⁹ Sāwīrus ibn al-Muqaffā', *History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church*, ed. Antoine Khater and O. H. E. Burmester, IV.1 (Paris: P. Fages, 1904; repr. Cairo: Société d'archéologie copte, 1974) Arabic 32–33, English 68.

in this period. The overlap between the two facilities would become even clearer in the Mamlūk period (see chap. 7).

The similarity between *funduqs*, *qayṣāriyyas*, and *wakālas* highlights the degree to which the *funduq* had evolved into a commercial and fiscal institution in the medieval Muslim context. As we will see in the next chapter, although it always continued to lodge travelers (sometimes now for free), it had also become a critical space for urban commerce and a tool for government intervention in trade. Muslim rulers and administrators used *funduqs* as loci for taxing mercantile transactions, controlling the storage and distribution of certain goods, and, in some cases, regulating the movement of particular groups of merchants. Later, these economic roles would become important functional markers for tracing the trajectory of the *funduq* as it evolved into new forms in other settings.

FUNDUQ TO FOUNDAX: FROM THE ISLAMIC WORLD
BACK TO BYZANTIUM

This chapter began with the transition of a word and institution from a Byzantine into an early Islamic context, but there was also later movement in the other direction. In the eleventh century, a new institution, called the *foundax*, emerged in Byzantium. Although it has been suggested that this commercial depot or warehouse was the prototype for the *funduq*, in fact it is clear that influence went the other way and the *funduq* was the model for the *foundax*. If nothing else, the form of the Greek word indicates an Arabic root.⁹⁰ This is an important observation, since it demonstrates the vitality and multi-directionality of communications and commerce in the medieval Mediterranean world. Commercial vocabulary and institutions were easily adopted across cultural and linguistic borders. What was perceived as useful or profitable, especially to traveling merchants or to a government, could be transferred from one region or society to another, even though certain aspects might shift in order to accommodate different religious and cultural norms.

Significantly, the word *pandocheion* was little used in Byzantium by the time of the appearance of the *foundax*, and it is very unlikely – both linguistically and functionally – that the *foundax* derived from this source. In one rare citation by Niketas Choniates, the emperor Isaac II Angelos (1185–1195)

⁹⁰ Gazagnadou, “Une Précision.” Although it is possible that *foundax* derived from *funduq* by way of the Latin or Romance cognates *fundicum* and *fondaco*, and was introduced by western Christian traders, its lack of any residential or “national” character makes this derivation less likely (see discussion of *fondacos* in chap. 4).

converted a house overlooking the harbor in Constantinople into a *pandocheion*. “There, board and lodging were provided for a hundred men, and stables were built for the same number of pack animals; transients were daily taken in as guests and remained on for many days without paying any money.”⁹¹ This building was clearly a hostelry, and the guests were probably merchants since they arrived with pack animals. Its commercial and charitable identity may have owed something to the contemporary *funduq*.⁹² Though founded by an emperor, there is no suggestion of the intention to control the distribution of commodities. It appears that Isaac’s motive was philanthropy rather than profit.

The *foundax*, in contrast, was a purely fiscal and regulatory institution. Michael Attaleiates (d. c.1085) described a *foundax* – an official entrepôt for grain – established just outside the city of Rodosto, the port for Adrianople, in the later eleventh century, probably during the reign of Michael VII (1071–1078).⁹³ Rodosto was a major point for the transshipment of grain, and merchants were required to deliver their cargoes to this *foundax*, where it was sold at strictly regulated prices. Later occurrences of the word *foundax*, including one from a *typicon* for a monastery founded by Isaac Komnenos in 1152, likewise referred to warehouses for goods rather than lodgings for merchants.⁹⁴

Michael Attaleiates apparently disapproved of the *foundax*, for he praised the prior system of distribution through religious houses, whereby “many wagons carried grain, and sold it off to be scattered to the monastic *xenodocheions* and stations both of the great church [Hagia Sofia] and many lands, and they made business slack, as was planned, and they were

⁹¹ Niketas Choniates, *Historia*, ed. J. L. van Dieten (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1975) 1, 445; trans. Harry J. Margouliias, *O City of Byzantium, Annals of Niketas Choniates* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1984) 244.

⁹² There is some evidence that the reputation of *pandocheions* improved over time, possibly also through the influence of the *funduq*. In another rare later occurrence of the word, a *pandocheion* appears in a positive light in the *Life of Theodore of Edessa*. In this *vita*, the saint tells an allegorical tale in which a poor traveler found refuge in a *pandocheion* after an arduous journey on a narrow path, while a rich traveler who continued on the easy main road was accosted and killed by thieves (*Žitie iže vo svjatyh otca našego Feodora archiepiskopa Edesskogo*, ed. I. Pomjalovskij [St. Petersburg: Tip. Imp. akademii nauk, 1892] 80; my thanks to David Jenkins for his translation of this passage). This *vita* is attributed to Basil of Emesa (d. c.860), writing at the monastery of Mar Sabas, but it was probably completed in the early eleventh century. Although the text is in Greek, it is very likely that the author also knew Arabic (Sidney Griffith, “Greek into Arabic: Life and Letters in the Monasteries of Palestine in the Ninth Century; the Example of the *Summa Theologiae Arabica*,” *Byzantion* 56 [1986] 131–132).

⁹³ *La Diataxis de Michel Attaliatē* (Paris: Institut français d’études byzantines, 1981) 202–203. My thanks to Michael McCormick for his insights concerning the institution of the *foundax*.

⁹⁴ *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, ed. John Thomas and Angela Hero (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 2000) 829.

unhindered. And thus the good of prosperity came to all.”⁹⁵ In contrast, he was critical of the economic hardships that came about when

that utterly wicked man [the Logothete Nikephoros] built a *foundax* outside the city, and he ordered the wagons to be assembled there, declaring this by means of royal edicts. He imposed a monopoly on the most necessary need, grain, since no one could buy it except from his *foundax*, a treacherous *foundax* of devilish deed and name. From it [grain] was let out, and the prosperity of the cities departed, and the anger of God came down harshly upon Roman affairs. For no longer, as before, did he who wished to buy up grain and then make a contract with the buyer, and if it did not please him in a particular place, he could cross to another place, and again to another, and do his business from his wagons . . . The *foundax* had purchasers of grain who were inhabitants of the *foundax*, and there were also many [other] grain-dealers. These, snatching up the grain beforehand, bought it up and stowed it away, and they strove to gain three coins for each one of their own expended. No one bought from the wagons, nor did any sailor import [grain] to the kingdom, nor did a city dweller or a rustic or anyone else. Sales proceeded from the grain-dealers of the *foundax*, as they wished.⁹⁶

As will become clearer in the following chapter, there were very strong functional parallels between this eleventh-century Byzantine *foundax* and contemporary Muslim *funduqs*. Both served as state-sponsored commercial depots, where specific types of goods (often grain) were sold at regulated prices, and to which merchants were required to bring their wares.

Altogether, the spelling, function, and chronological appearance of the *foundax* indicate that this institution derived from the contemporary Arabic *funduq*. Nikephoros, an administrator who had twice been governor of Antioch (and who was thus well aware of Muslim commercial institutions), probably had a hand in its transfer.⁹⁷ It is not surprising that the *foundax* appeared in the eleventh century, precisely the period in which Mediterranean commerce was growing at a rapid pace. The *funduq* would have been familiar to Muslim or Jewish merchants trafficking in grain and other goods between Islamic and Byzantine ports, and to Greek traders returning home from markets in the Islamic world.⁹⁸

What is clear is that the *funduq* was sufficiently well established in the *Dār al-Islām* by this period to have had an influence in other settings. It

⁹⁵ Attaleiates, *La Diataxis de Michel Attaliate*, 202–203. The mention of *xenodocheions* is reminiscent of the typical juxtaposition of worldly *pandocheions* and spiritual *xenodocheions* in earlier texts.

⁹⁶ *La Diataxis de Michel Attaliate*, 202–203.

⁹⁷ Antioch was retaken by the Byzantines in 969. See Hugh Kennedy, “Antioch: From Byzantium to Islam and Back Again,” in *The City in Late Antiquity*, ed. J. Rich (London: Routledge, 1992) 181–198.

⁹⁸ On grain traffic and monopolies in Byzantium, see G. I. Bratianu, “L’Expérience d’économie dirigée: le monopole du blé à Byzance au xie siècle,” *Byzantion* 9 (1934) 643–662.

was both a commercial and charitable institution, and a lodging-house for travelers. Rulers and government officials, as well as merchants and other private individuals, had a role in founding and administering these facilities. The next chapter will look in more detail at the functions of the *funduq* in the Muslim Mediterranean world during the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

Commerce, charity, community, and the funduq

In contrast to the relatively scant references during the early Islamic period, the *funduq* flourished throughout the Muslim Mediterranean world by the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Arabic and Judeo-Arabic texts from Ayyūbid Syria to Almoravid Spain frequently mention *funduqs* and other hostelries, making clear that these were a common and established component of urban infrastructure. Major trading cities might have a hundred or more *funduqs* within their walls, and the geographer al-Idrīsī reported an astonishing 970 *funduqs* in the Andalusī port of Almería in about 1150.¹

Although ubiquitous, *funduqs* remain a little-studied, and thus poorly understood, element of Muslim urban society and economy. What was their function? Data on *funduqs* from the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries show the maturation of trends that were already perceptible in the early Islamic period. First and foremost, *funduqs* were commercial spaces, serving the needs of merchants for lodging, storage, and security. They also functioned as sites where urban administrators could collect taxes on commercial transactions, regulate the distribution of certain goods, and monitor the activities of merchants. Meanwhile, these hostelries also provided charitable accommodation, sheltering pilgrims and the poor, or they generated income for pious endowments (*waqfs*). After a survey of these commercial and charitable functions, the chapter considers the architecture, amenities, and administration of *funduqs*; their ongoing association with drinking, prostitution, and crime; and their role in fostering communal identities in the medieval Islamic world.

Evidence on the role of *funduqs* in commercial practice and taxation provides data on the physical location of merchant activity, on how this affected prices, on distinctions between wholesale and retail sales, on rents and

¹ Al-Idrīsī, *Kitāb nuzhat al-mushtāq fī ikhtirāq al-'afāq*, ed. E. Cerulli et al. (Rome and Naples: Istituto universitario orientale di Napoli, 1970–1984; repr. Beirut: 'Alim al-Kutub, 1989) 562–563.

tax-farming, and on the efforts of medieval Muslim rulers both to control merchant business and to participate in its profits. *Funduqs* and other commercial facilities were highly lucrative properties, and thus inherently desirable for government and private investment. The income generated from fees, tariffs, and rents could either be directed to a *waqf* or could be collected by city officials and private owners. Through *funduqs*, rulers could also control the movement of goods and merchants, promote trade along certain routes, and ensure that taxes were collected on sales and imports. *Funduqs* could likewise provide lodging for government officials, diplomats, envoys, and the post-riders of the *barīd*, or mail service. Because of their utility and value, *funduqs* were subject to close regulation by urban officials. The link between profit and regulation would be a persistent theme as the institution evolved over time and across cultures.

FUNDUQS AS COMMERCIAL SPACE

In the 970s, Ibn Ḥawqal provided a classic description of the role of *funduqs* and *khāns* as commercial spaces in Nishapur. This city in Khurasan had markets with *khāns* and *funduqs* where the merchants lodge and do commercial business, and there are places in them for buying and selling. Each *funduq* is known for the particular variety of merchandise predominantly brought there. Few of the *funduqs* are smaller in size than the largest markets and they are similar to them. Wealthy [traders] live in the *funduqs* especially those specializing in particular types of trade, who have vast [quantities] of goods and great riches. For the less wealthy, there are [other] *funduqs* and *khāns*, which are inhabited by humble people such as craftsmen and shopkeepers . . . the *funduqs* have shops in them, and living chambers in them which are full [of people]. It is the same with the shoemakers, leather workers, rope makers, and other similar groups who stay in their markets and the *funduqs* are filled with the skilled artisans among them. Indeed, the *funduqs*, bazaars, and shops in [the city] where buying and selling takes place, rival those of any other country.²

This summary indicates that *funduqs* served as lodging-houses and commercial centers not only for wealthy traders but also for merchants of more modest means, as well as providing working, living, and sales space for craftspeople. Ibn Ḥawqal suggests also that these different groups were served by specialized *funduqs*, apparently with slightly different functions.

Merchant letters confirm that the writers and recipients often stayed in *funduqs* while traveling on commercial business. One eleventh-century Arabic letter was addressed to a merchant staying in the Funduq of Ibn

² Ibn Ḥawqal, *Kitāb ṣūrat al-'arḍ*, 432–433.

Bassār in Fustāṭ.³ Judeo-Arabic letters from the Cairo Geniza indicate that Jewish merchants, just like their Muslim counterparts, made regular use of *funduqs*.⁴ This was true in Egypt, as shown in a letter directed to a trader in the Funduq al-Qamra in Alexandria, but even more common in the Maghrib.⁵ One early eleventh-century merchant lodged with his merchandise in the Funduq al-Zabīb (Funduq of the Raisins) in Tunis, while another eleventh-century letter was addressed (in Arabic characters) to a merchant in Sūs at “the *funduq* at the Maskīn Gate, across from the mosque.” The recipient was staying at this hostelry despite the fact that he had family in the city.⁶ A third letter, written by the Egyptian trader Nahray b. Nissīm in 1046, recorded charges for fees and storage at two different *funduqs* in al-Mahdiyya although he himself probably stayed with friends in the city;⁷ a fourth, written in around 1100, recorded fees for “carrying [goods] to the *funduq*” in Tunis;⁸ and a fifth, from the middle of the eleventh century, noted payments made to a creditor in the Funduq of Abū Mūsā in Damascus.⁹

Descriptions of Islamic cities often include *funduqs* in a constellation with other related buildings, making the phrase “with many *funduqs*, markets, and baths” almost a cliché for a bustling commercial center. Ibn Ḥawqal and other tenth-century geographers frequently used the phrase “markets, baths, and *funduqs*.” Al-Bakrī, writing in the 1060s, later enumerated the markets, mosques, bath-houses, and *funduqs* in Tunis, Sfax,

³ W. Diem, *Arabische Geschäftsbriefe des 10. bis 14. Jahrhunderts aus der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek in Wien* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1995) 115. My thanks to Li Guo for drawing my attention to this text.

⁴ These documents, discovered in a hidden repository (*geniza*) of a medieval synagogue in Cairo, contain many references to *funduqs* used by Jews in Egypt and elsewhere. S. D. Goitein has argued that Geniza merchants generally preferred to lodge with family or business partners, rather than in a *funduq* (*A Mediterranean Society*, 1 [1967], 187, 350). Geniza texts are cited according to the collection in which they are now found: TS (Taylor Schechter collection, University Library, Cambridge); Bodl (Bodleian Library, Oxford); ENA (Elkan Adler collection, Jewish Theological Seminary, New York); BM (British Museum, London); DK (David Kaufman collection, Budapest). My thanks to Mark Cohen and the Princeton University Geniza Laboratory for providing access to S. D. Goitein's unpublished notes on *funduq* references in Geniza texts.

⁵ TS 10 J 12.16.

⁶ TS 12.124 and TS 16.264; Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, 1, 349–350.

⁷ Bodl MS Heb. e 98 f. 65v. See S. D. Goitein's comments in *Letters of Medieval Jewish Traders* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973) 278–286. Another letter (DK XIX) mentions that the writer had “paid in advance for two night of lodging [in an inn near Fustāṭ], saying [to the proprietor] that perhaps no one else would stop at his place” (Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, 1, 350).

⁸ Gottheil-Worrell xxxvi; R. Gottheil and W. Worrell, *Fragments from the Cairo Genizah in the Freer Collection* (New York: Macmillan, 1927) 36.

⁹ TS NS J 14 (previously TS NS 94 J 14); edited by S. D. Goitein in *Palestinian Jewry in Early Islamic and Crusader Times in Light of the Cairo Geniza Documents* (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak ben Zvi Publications, 1980) 104.

Monastir, Gabes, and other towns in North Africa.¹⁰ In the twelfth century, al-Idrīsī likewise fell back on the traditional constellation, especially in descriptions of the Andalusī cities with which he was most familiar.¹¹ It was standard for towns to have a number of these facilities. Tunis, for example, had fifteen bath-houses and *funduqs* with several stories, according to al-Bakrī, and others reported more astonishing tallies.¹²

Evidently, the cluster of *funduqs*, baths, and markets was what any reader or traveler would have expected to find in a Muslim town. *Funduqs* were usually located within the main market area, along major streets, and near to the city gates. They were situated in close proximity to bath-houses, mosques, and shops, presumably for the convenience of the merchants and other travelers who stayed there, and for buyers seeking to purchase goods in a *funduq*. These facilities served fundamental and practical needs, and thus when the Fāṭimid caliph al-ʿAzīz (975–996) laid siege to Aleppo for thirteen months, a later author reported that his forces built themselves “baths, shops, and hostelries (*putqās*)” to supply their daily needs during the long waiting period.¹³ The association of *funduqs* with baths, mosques, and markets is also indicative of the similar administrative and fiscal status of these urban facilities. All of these structures were for public use and were subject to the oversight of urban authorities. In many cases, their revenues were channeled to *waqf* endowments or the state treasury.

Descriptions of early *funduqs* not only show that they were sites for commercial activity, but that the commerce in these locations was to some extent distinct from that of the open market (*sūq*). Most strikingly, prices could be higher on goods sold in *funduqs*, and they may not have been open to the general public, two facts that led to disapproving statements by Muslim jurists. As early as the late ninth century, a *fatwa* attributed to the Tunisian jurist Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar (d. 901) ruled that the market inspector (*ṣāḥib al-sūq*)

ought to prohibit country people who bring food for sale from leaving it in [private] houses or *funduqs*, and they are not to sell it in the *funduqs* or houses, but they must bring it out into the markets of the Muslims, where the weak, the infirm,

¹⁰ Al-Bakrī, *Kitāb al-mārūf*, 17, 20, 28, 29, 40, 56.

¹¹ Al-Idrīsī, *Kitāb muzbat*, 564–565, 569, 570, 575. The constellation is also found in other languages. For example, the eleventh-century Persian traveler Nāṣer-e Khosraw remarked on the caravanserais (*karawānsariya*), markets, baths, and mosques near Diyar Bakr in Anatolia (*Taḥlīl-i Safarnāmah*, 72, *Book of Travels*, 8).

¹² Al-Bakrī, *Kitāb al-mārūf*, 40.

¹³ Gregory Abū al-Faraj (Bar Hebraeus), *The Chronography of Gregory Abū'l Faraj*, ed. and trans. E. A. W. Budge (London: Oxford University Press, 1932) Syriac 199; English 179.

and the elderly can have access to it, [even if] the sellers object that this reduces prices and increases the time it takes to sell their goods in town.¹⁴

Later, al-Dimashqī's handbook for merchants indicated that prices of goods sold in *funduqs* and private houses continued to differ from those charged in the open market.¹⁵

Higher prices were presumably a result, at least in part, of taxes paid on goods by either the buyer or seller. In the tenth century, for instance, al-Maqdisī noted that prices were particularly high in Jerusalem, because "there are heavy taxes on items which are sold in . . . *funduqs*."¹⁶ It was not unusual for goods arriving in medieval Muslim ports to be taxed at 10 percent of their value, and tariffs on both imports and sales were commonly collected in *funduqs* and customs-houses where government officials could monitor the movement and exchange of merchandise. Tariffs levied in *funduqs*, where merchants could be required to bring, store, and sell their goods, probably concentrated on these sales, while further fees were collected for lodging, stabling, and storage.

Because some *funduqs* handled goods of high quality (commodities such as silk) intended for import and export, they did not need to be closely connected to local retail economies and prices.¹⁷ Instead, they served as entrepôts for imported goods bought, sold, and stored within their walls. It would be a great advantage to serious buyers and sellers, mainly large-scale professional merchants, to know that goods of a certain type and quality were commonly traded in a particular *funduq*. Although the prices there were high, they would still fluctuate according to supply and demand. If a merchant were lucky, luxury items commanded premium prices as they were sold to supply wealthy local households or carried elsewhere for resale.

Other *funduqs* were devoted to commerce in staples (grain, fruits, salt, sugar, honey, etc.); these functioned rather differently, though their activities were still distinct from the open market. This was probably the most common type of commercial *funduq*, and many of its advantages were the same as those of facilities for luxury goods, since merchants still enjoyed the benefits of a secure and known market. Unlike rare luxury goods, however, which could command high prices among a relatively few buyers and

¹⁴ Al-Wansharīsī, *Miyār*, vi, 426.

¹⁵ Al-Dimashqī, *Kitāb al-Ishāra ilā mahāsīn al-tijāra* (Beirut: Dār Alif Ba'lil-Tiba'ah wa-al-Nashr wa-al-Tawzī', 1983) 119. This work was probably written in the eleventh century.

¹⁶ Al-Maqdisī, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm*, 167.

¹⁷ There was a Funduq al-Ḥarīr (apparently linked to the silk trade, or located in a market for traders in silk) in pre-Ḥafṣid Tunis near the Bāb Suwayqa (M. Chapoutot-Remadi, "Tunis," in *Grandes villes méditerranéennes du monde musulman médiéval*, ed. J. C. Garcin [Rome: Ecole Française de Rome, 2000] plates at back of book, Tunis map 3).

sellers, staple goods were in steady common demand. *Funduqs* played an important role in the collection, storage, and distribution of staple goods, and perhaps in the stabilization of prices. Without some form of control, prices might fluctuate wildly according to supply, especially in times of drought or famine, when the costs of wheat, barley, and other grains could soar. In order to regulate the rise and fall of prices, to ensure a more stable food supply, and to generate income for the state, governments commonly intervened in the supply and price of basic foodstuffs. At times, especially in the Mamlūk period, rulers sought to impose a virtual monopoly over the sale of particular goods. In the later middle ages, it was common to find state-run *funduqs* for the storage and sale of wheat, salt, and certain other goods, at regulated prices, in both Muslim and Christian cities in the Mediterranean world. Earlier data are more patchy, but this pattern was probably already true in the Ayyūbid period (when, for example, a *funduq* specifically for grain was built in Aleppo by the ruler al-Malik al-Zāhir in the 1180s), and even before this.¹⁸

Although staple commodities were only rarely true monopolies of the state, governments were always keen to monitor their traffic, storage, and sale – and *funduqs* provided a means to do this.¹⁹ One Geniza text contains an appeal by a Jewish merchant to a Muslim judge, concerning goods which he had purchased from the government and stored in a *funduq*, only to discover later that he could not remove them because the government wished to buy them back.²⁰ If merchants objected to state regulations, or sought to move their business elsewhere, governors could insist that they stay and store their goods in a *funduq*. At the same time, urban market inspectors (*muhtasibs*) were urged to ensure that merchants did not lodge with friends, commercial agents, or associates.²¹ Although these controls may seem restrictive by modern standards, it is unlikely that medieval merchants objected – at least not too strenuously – so long as taxes and regulations were within reason. Indeed, these traders benefited from the system, which provided them with a secure and known place for lodging, storage, and commercial business.²²

¹⁸ A.-M. Eddé, *La Principauté ayyoubide d'Alep (579/1183–658/1260)* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1999) 656.

¹⁹ Government ownership of other commercial facilities, such as *qaysāriyyas*, markets, and warehouses for grain and other staples also gave them further means to control trade and supply.

²⁰ TS 16.102; Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, 1, 267.

²¹ Al-Saqāṭī, *Kitāb al-faqīh al-ajall al-'ālim al-'arīf al-awḥad (Un manuel hispanique de ḥisba)*, ed. G. S. Colin and E. Lévi-Provençal (Paris: Librairie Ernest Leroux, 1931) 60.

²² Although *funduqs* are mentioned in some *ḥisba* manuals, they were not generally subject to the supervision of the *muhtasib* (A. 'Abd ar-Rāziq, "La *ḥisba* et le *muhtasib* en Egypte au temps des Mamlūks," *Annales Islamologiques* 13 [1977] 124).

FUNDUQS AND GOVERNMENT FISCAL POLICIES

The commercial–regulatory–fiscal aspect of the *funduq* emerged within a century of the Islamic conquests, probably during the administrative and financial reforms of the Umayyad period. Al-Balādhurī, for example, described how the caliph Hishām established a *funduq* and workshops as a revenue-producing enterprise in Tyre in the early eighth century.²³ The trend was more evident during the tenth century, and became standard under Fāṭimid and Ayyūbid rule in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries. Thus, al-Qalqashandī (d. 1418) was incorrect when he observed that no *ribāṭs* or other hostelries were founded in Egypt before the Ayyūbid period.²⁴ Perhaps he was thinking of the large official hostelries and depots through which rulers sought to monopolize certain areas of commerce by the middle of the thirteenth century.

Official *funduqs* certainly existed in Egypt long before the Ayyūbids, since Fāṭimid caliphs were very active in the commercial sphere, and the government administered *funduqs* and shops. According to Subhi Labib, members of the Fāṭimid court were the most influential “merchants, producers, and consumers in the realm.”²⁵ The Persian traveler Nāṣer-e Khosraw visited Fāṭimid Cairo in the middle of the eleventh century and reported that

there are no end of caravanserais [Persian, *kārawānsarāy*], bath houses, and other public buildings – all property of the sultan, for no one owns any property except houses and what he himself builds. I heard that in Cairo and Old Cairo there are eight thousand buildings belonging to the sultan that are leased out, with the rent collected monthly. These are leased and rented to people on tenancy-at-will, and no sort of coercion is employed.²⁶

Although Nāṣer-e Khosraw’s numbers arouse skepticism, his general report is in line with other data.²⁷

Whatever earlier numbers, it is clear that the quantity of commercial *funduqs* and *khāns* increased substantially under the Ayyūbids. By the later

²³ Al-Balādhurī, *Kitāb futūḥ al-buldān*, 117–118, *Origins of the Islamic State*, 181.

²⁴ Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-āshā* III (Cairo: Maṭbā’ah al-Amīriyah, 1914) 368–369. Quoted by A. Mez, *The Renaissance of Islam* (London: Luzac & Co., 1937) 462 (and picked up by others from Mez). See also Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, I, 349.

²⁵ S. Labib, “Egyptian Commercial Policy in the Middle Ages,” in *Studies in the Economic History of the Middle East from the Rise of Islam to the Present Day*, ed. M. A. Cook (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970) 76.

²⁶ Nāṣer-e Khosraw, *Taḥlīl-i Safarnāmah*, 108, *Book of Travels*, 45.

²⁷ Geniza texts, for example, mention many *funduqs* in Fāṭimid Egypt. A letter from 1139 noted the sale of a house bordered by a newly built *funduq* (TS 12.694; Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, IV [1983], 17).

twelfth century, new facilities were needed to accommodate burgeoning commercial traffic and to meet an increasing desire, on the part of governments, for control of trade.²⁸ Al-Maqrīzī made frequent reference to the many ways in which Ayyūbid rulers and notables (and later their Mamlūk counterparts) manipulated trade in order to channel traffic and revenues through particular commercial facilities.²⁹ One catalyst may have been the growth in the slave trade between the Crimea and Egypt, which led to the construction of new *funduqs* and *khāns* in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, as did flourishing trade in the Mediterranean and the Red Sea, and between Muslim port cities and inland markets.³⁰ Two new Ayyūbid *funduqs* established in Fuṣṭāṭ for the Karīmī merchants in 1183 were a case in point, and soon there were Karīmī *funduqs* in ports all along the route to the Indian Ocean, including Qūs and Aden.³¹

By the Ayyūbid period, it was common to find commercial structures designated by titles such as the “*funduq* of the sultan” or the “*khān* of the sultan,” indicating that revenues from these properties were directed to government coffers. When the Ayyūbid vizier Ibn Shukr ordered the closure of privately held *funduqs* and *wakālas* in thirteenth-century Cairo, their business was channeled instead through “the *dār al-wakāla* of the Sultan, which was in the *dār al-mulk*, and the brokerage belonged to the Sultan.”³² Later, income from “hiring of storage rooms and chambers” in the Khān al-Sultān in Aleppo brought in 10,000 dinars a year to the Ayyūbid treasury under al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf II (1236–1260).³³ Arabic references

²⁸ Epigraphy provides many examples of new hostels founded during the Ayyūbid period. Among these see, Combe et al. (eds.), *Répertoire*, x (1939), 84–85 (no. 3720) (built in 1213), x, 101 (no. 3747) (1214), x, 235 (no. 3947) (1226), xi (1941), 75 (no. 4112) (1237), xi, 101 (no. 4154) (1239).

²⁹ D. Behrens-Abouseif, “Qāytāy’s Investments in the City of Cairo: Waqf and Power,” *Annales Islamologiques* 32 (1998) 32.

³⁰ Hillenbrand, *Islamic Architecture*, 374; Labib, “Egyptian Commercial Policy,” 68.

³¹ Labib, “Egyptian Commercial Policy,” 73. The Karīmī *funduqs* were located on the river in Fuṣṭāṭ, near Bāb al-Qanṭara and just across from the southern tip of Rawḍa Island. There were also many other *funduqs* located in this area of the city (see maps and tables throughout Paul Casanova, *Essai de reconstitution topographique de la ville d’al-Fuṣṭāṭ ou Miṣr* (Cairo: Institut français d’archéologie orientale, 1919).

³² Sāwirus ibn al-Muqaffā’, *Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church*, iv.1 (1904; repr. Cairo: Société d’archéologie copte, 1974) Arabic 32–33, English 68.

³³ Jean Sauvaget quotes Ibn Shaddad (mid-thirteenth century) (*Alep. Essai sur le développement d’une grande ville syrienne, des origines au milieu du XIXe siècle* [Paris: Paul Geunther, 1941] 253). Another (or the same) facility in Aleppo, called the “*fondaco* of the amir,” appears in a Venetian commercial manual from around 1260 (D. Jacoby, “A Venetian Manual of Commercial Practice from Crusader Acre,” in *I communi italiani nel regno crociato di Gerusalemme*, ed. Gabriella Airal di and Benjamin Kedar [Genoa: Collana Storici di fonti e Studi, 1986] 425). Similar facilities were called *dār al-khalīfab*, such as one in Baghdad mentioned by Yāqūt quoting Ibn Butlān (d. 1063) (*Mūjām al-buldān*, ii, 517) or *wakālar dār al-mālik*, cited in Cairo in 1235 (Sāwirus ibn al-Muqaffā’, *Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church*, iv.1, 141).

to a *funduq al-sultān* in thirteenth-century Toledo, though this was by then a Christian city, surely preserve pre-conquest usage.³⁴

Ayyūbid sultans, regional governors, and lesser officials were all active in the construction of new *funduqs* and *khāns* throughout Syria and Egypt, and also financed related facilities such as roads and bridges.³⁵ In 1181, Saladin commissioned the construction of a *funduq* near Damascus, and other members of the Ayyūbid family followed suit, as did royal clients and mamlūks.³⁶ The historian al-Maqrīzī told of a certain Masrūr, who had been “one of the palace slaves serving the [Fātimid] dynasty. He attached himself to Saladin . . . who made him a commander of his guard. He continued to advance in grade, and he was a pious man . . . [who] devoted himself to good works and pious acts.” After leaving the service of the dynasty during the reign of al-Malik al-Kāmil (1218–1238), Masrūr built two *funduqs*, one large and one small, as well as a mosque.³⁷ Al-Maqrīzī also described the Khān al-Mankūwirash, founded in Cairo by a mamlūk of Saladin who died in 1182. By the fifteenth century, this establishment was known as the Khān of the Sawyers (*nashshārīn*), but the revenues from its *waqf* still went for good works.³⁸ Yet another *funduq*, the Funduq Ibn Quraysh, was built by the *qāḍī* Sharaf al-Dīn Ibrāhīm ibn Quraysh (d. 1245), a secretary in the chancery of first al-Malik al-Ādil (1200–1218), then al-Malik al-Kāmil. After Sharaf al-Dīn’s death, the *funduq* passed to his heirs, indicating that it had not been established as a *waqf*.³⁹

In general, *funduqs* were more common in cities, while many new *khāns* were established along inter-city caravan routes. Ibn Jubayr recorded a number of newly built hostleries during his travels through rural Syria in the early 1180s, and inscriptions on surviving buildings confirm this proliferation of new *khāns* built at the behest of the Ayyūbid sultans, their amirs, and other wealthy individuals.⁴⁰ When Ibn Jubayr left Mosul, he stayed in a village where there was “a large new *khān*,” further adding that

³⁴ A. González Palencia, *Los Mozárabes de Toledo en los siglos XII y XIII* (Madrid: Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan, 1930) 58–59; I, 8 (doc. 10); III, 469 (doc. 469); II, 12 (doc. 396); II, 48 (doc. 441). See further discussion in chap. 5.

³⁵ I. Lapidus, *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967) 18.

³⁶ Combe et al. (eds.), *Répertoire*, IX (1937), 115 (no. 3368).

³⁷ Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭāṭ* (Bulaq: Dār al-Tiba’ah al-Miṣriyah, 1853) II, 92; also al-Maqrīzī, *Les Marchés du Caire*, 133–135; also N. D. MacKenzie, *Ayyūbid Cairo. A Topographical Study* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 1992) 166.

³⁸ Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭāṭ*, II, 93; al-Maqrīzī, *Les Marchés du Caire*, 138–139.

³⁹ Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭāṭ*, II, 93; al-Maqrīzī, *Les Marchés du Caire*, 139–140.

⁴⁰ Combe et al. (eds.), *Répertoire*, IX, 188–189 (no. 3466) (*funduq* built near Damascus in 1193), XI, 130–131 (no. 4196) (Damascus, 1241), XI, 221–222 (no. 4332) (Damascus, 1251).

“in all the stages of the road there are *khāns*.”⁴¹ He passed another night in a “large new *khān*” near Ḥarrān, and a few days later, leaving Qinnasrin, he “halted to rest . . . in a large *khān*, strongly fortified, called the Khān of the Turkomans.”⁴²

Funduqs also flourished outside Ayyūbid domains in this period. Geographical accounts mention their presence in towns throughout North Africa and Muslim Spain, and other sources also note them in connection with royal building campaigns. There were privately held *funduqs* in Qayrawan by the ninth century, and these became government property under Zīrid rule in the late tenth and eleventh centuries.⁴³ Further west, when the Almoravid amir Yūsuf ibn Tāshufīn constructed Marrakesh as his capital in the 1060s, he is said to have imported workers from Córdoba to work on the Funduq Muqbil in the Kutubīya quarter of the city.⁴⁴ In twelfth-century Fez, the Qarawiyyīn mosque was funded by an endowment that received substantial revenues from a commercial *funduq* in the city.⁴⁵ In the thirteenth century, the Ḥafṣid ruler Abū Zakariyyā (1229–1249) built markets and *funduqs* in Tunis in order to accommodate traders and their caravans coming from the south.⁴⁶

Funduqs and other commercial structures sometimes stood in danger of being demolished in order to make way for new building projects, especially during the expansion and renovation of mosque complexes. In Seville, the historian Ibn Ṣāhib al-Salāh (d. 1198) recorded that when the Almoḥad caliph Yaʿqūb b. Yūsuf (1184–1199) wished to enlarge the courtyard of the mosque of Ibn ʿAdabas in 1196, these alterations entailed the destruction of a neighboring market area which included “houses, shops, and *funduqs*.”⁴⁷ In the following reign, the caliph Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb (1199–1213) commissioned additions to the Qarawiyyīn Mosque in Fez, making it necessary to demolish an older hostel, the Funduq ibn Ḥabbūn, which stood nearby.⁴⁸

⁴¹ Ibn Jubayr, *Riḥla*, 238, *Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, 247.

⁴² Ibn Jubayr, *Riḥla*, 248, 254, *Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, 257, 264.

⁴³ M. Sakly, “Kairouan,” in Garcin (ed.), *Grandes villes méditerranéennes*, 72.

⁴⁴ M. Scharabi, *Der Bazar. Das traditionelle Stadtzentrum im Nahen Osten und seine Handelseinrichtung* (Tübingen: Verlag Ernst Wasmuth, 1985) 68. The fourteenth-century chronicler al-Jaznāʿī also reported that Yūsuf ibn Tāshufīn imported workmen from Córdoba to work on baths and *khāns* in Fez (*Kitāb zabrat al-ās fī bināʾ madīna Fās [Zabrat al-ās (La Fleur du myrte) traitant de la fondation de la ville de Fès]*, ed. A. Bel [Algiers: J. Carbonel, 1923] 32 [Arabic], 78 [French]).

⁴⁵ Al-Jaznāʿī, *Kitāb zabrat al-ās*, 73 (Arabic), 157–158 (French). This *funduq* had fallen into disrepair by the late twelfth century; it was restored and re-endowed during the reign of the Almoḥad caliph Yaʿqūb b. Yūsuf (1184–1199). Later, according to al-Jaznāʿī, this *ḥabūs* yielded 10,000 dinars annually.

⁴⁶ C.-E. Dufourcq, “Les Activités politiques et économiques des Catalans en Tunisie et en Algérie orientale de 1262 à 1377,” *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* 19 (1946) 36.

⁴⁷ Ibn Ṣāhib al-Salāh, *Taʾrīkh al-mann bi al-imāmah* (Beirut: Dār al-Andalus, 1964) 485.

⁴⁸ Al-Jaznāʿī, *Kitāb zabrat al-ās*, 61–62 (Arabic).

Perhaps because of these and similar activities, no *funduq* buildings survive from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in modern Morocco or Spain, and only a very few remain from the later Marīnid and Naṣrid periods.

FUNDUQ REVENUES: REGULATION, TAXATION, AND RENTS

For many reasons – because of the highly lucrative nature of the institution, because of state interest in prices and food supply, and because of the transitory status of many of the goods and merchants – local governments closely regulated some *funduq* buildings. This was the easiest point at which to control trade and skim off profits through taxes and other fees. When the building itself was owned by the state, the possibilities for gain were even higher, with additional revenue coming from charges for lodging, food, and storage, or generated by income from rent.

Because *funduqs* were such convenient sites for levying taxes on sales and other commercial transactions, their revenues could be considerable. In Tunis, for example, the *funduqs* for green vegetables, salt, and eggs (or linens, *bayād*) yielded annual tax revenues of 3,000, 1,500, and 1,000 dinars respectively.⁴⁹ As noted earlier, al-Idrīsī remarked that the *funduqs* of Almería had been “counted for tax purposes” (apparently having to do with sales of wine or grapes), and their number totaled 970 establishments.⁵⁰ This figure seems rather high, but it may not be out of reason. Half a century later, 467 *funduqs* were reportedly assessed for taxes in Fez during the reign of the Almoḥad caliph Muḥammad b. Ya‘qūb (1199–1213).⁵¹

The proprietors of *funduqs* were responsible for the collection of proper taxes, delivering all or a percentage of these proceeds to the government or owner of the property. A Geniza letter, written in Arabic, mentioned a Muslim *funduqānī* charged with transporting goods which had evaded customs dues (together with other goods) to Fustāt.⁵² The keepers of *funduqs* were also responsible for ensuring that all goods were carefully weighed, for proper assessment of their value, with a legal set of scales. When the *funduq* (*fonde*) in Damietta was burned down in 1249, the French historian Jean de Joinville explained that this was “where all merchandise was stored and

⁴⁹ Al-Zarkashī, *Tārīkh al-dawlatayn al-Muwahḥadiyah wa al-Ḥafṣiyah* (Tunis: Matba‘ah al-Dawlah al-Tūniṣiyya al-Maḥrūṣah, 1872) 102. This is a fifteenth-century source.

⁵⁰ Al-Idrīsī, *Kitāb nuzhat*, 562–563.

⁵¹ Ibn Abī Za‘f, *Kitāb al-anīs al-muṭrib*, 26 (Arabic). This information was repeated by al-Jaznā‘ī in his *Zahrat al-ās*, 33 (Arabic).

⁵² TS 13 J 19.10v; Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, 1, 189.

weighed.”⁵³ Altogether, the keeper of a *funduq* was expected to be a competent and trustworthy individual. In his merchant handbook, al-Dimashqī particularly warned against laziness among the supervisors of bath-houses, *funduqs*, mills, shops, and other buildings.⁵⁴

Most *funduq* administrators rented rather than owned the buildings over which they had charge. Thus, *funduqs* appear regularly in formulae for building leases, but rarely in sale contracts, a point which again suggests their common status as *waqf* property. A building held by a *waqf* could be rented out for profit, usually for a period of one to three years, even though it could not be sold (except by special fiat). Very few documents survive detailing the lease of a *funduq*, and these only from the later middle ages.⁵⁵ However, earlier handbooks of contractual formulae provide details on the legal formulae for renting *funduqs*. Unfortunately, the wording of the clauses for these model rental agreements gives no indication as to who the contracting parties might be, whether government officials or private individuals, merely using the generic form “so-and-so.” It is likewise difficult to know, except in a few cases, whether the rental was intended as a straightforward exchange of money in return for the use of a particular building (i.e. a rental in the modern sense) or a farm arrangement, in which a building was rented with the understanding that the tenant would be making money from the property. Part of these revenues – either a set sum or a percentage – would then be paid in “rent” to the owner of the building. Ibn Muḡhīth al-Ṭūlayṭulī (d. 1067) devoted a separate brief chapter in his manual on contracts (*shurūṭ*) to the rental of *funduqs* (entitled “wathīqa kirā’ funduq”). He stipulated the basic form of the contract as “So-and-so leases to So-and-so all of the *funduq* which is his in such a *sūq* in such a place. Its boundaries are such-and-such. With its rights and facilities, upper floors, entrances and exits, for such [an amount] for the first year.”⁵⁶ The formulae employed for this rental were virtually identical with those used in other rental agreements for houses, gardens, shops, and other buildings.

There were, however, certain differences that arose concerning the lease of *funduqs* which were not found in other rentals. Unlike a house, according

⁵³ Jean de Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis* (Paris: Jules Renouard, 1868) 58. The author compared the loss of this facility to the devastation that would result from a fire on the Petit Pont in Paris.

⁵⁴ Al-Dimashqī, *Kitāb al-Ishāra*, 81.

⁵⁵ An example from 1311 has been published by M. M. Amin, *Fihrist wathā’iq al-Qābirah ḥatta nihāyat ‘aṣr salāṭīn al-mamālik* (Cairo: al-Ma’had al-‘Ilmi al-Faransi lil-Athar al-Sharqīyah, 1981) 77. My thanks to Niall Christie for pointing out this document, and for letting me read his unpublished article “A Rental Document from 8th/14th Century Egypt.”

⁵⁶ Ibn Muḡhīth al-Ṭūlayṭulī, *al-Muḡnī fī ‘ilm al-shurūṭ* (*Formulario notarial*), ed. F. J. Aguirre Sádaba (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1994) 232.

to another Andalusī jurist, al-Jazīrī (d. 1189), the rental payments for a *funduq* could be distributed over a number of months, rather than paid as a lump sum, and the amount might vary according to shifting expenses and to allow for a downturn in the economy.⁵⁷ These provisions suggest the expectation that the property was farmed, and that the tenant would derive income from the *funduq*. This type of flexible arrangement also appears in a *fatwa* of the Cordoban jurist Ibn Rushd (d. 1126), which posed the question of what would happen if fewer travelers came to stay in a *funduq*, or few people brought their grain to a mill. Could this change in circumstances justify the lowering of rates paid by those who held these properties in farm (“al-mutaqabbilūn li-l-fanādiq”)? Ibn Rushd answered that if the clientele of *funduqs* diminished because of war or insecurity of the roads (or people ceased to use mills because of a bad harvest), then this was deemed a fault in the contract and the leaser might choose either to continue the rental, change, or annul it. But if he said nothing, then the rates remained the same and he owed the whole sum even if everybody left and the *funduqs* stood empty.⁵⁸ Rental fees in this type of arrangement might also vary with the condition of the building, especially if this affected revenues. When Nāṣer-e Khosraw stayed in Fuṣṭāṭ in the middle of the eleventh century, he was told by the keeper of the *dār al-wakāla* (a facility where flax was stored and sold, not unlike a *funduq*) that the normal rent on the building was 20,000 dinars annually, but that because one corner of the building was under reconstruction and unusable, only 1,000 dinars were being collected each month (i.e. 12,000 annually) until renovations were complete.⁵⁹

PUBLIC VS. PRIVATE FUNDUQS

Official *funduqs* – buildings of interest to the government for one reason or another – appear in the sources much more frequently than facilities in private control. Although private *funduqs* undoubtedly existed, and indeed almost certainly outnumbered their official counterparts, references are rare except in those cases where they drew the attention of authorities. A few *funduqs* owned by ordinary individuals appear in legal sources, particularly in discussions of endowments, sales, and rents. In one simple case, al-Jazīrī stipulated that if the owner of a *funduq* wished to rent part of the building, reserving a few rooms for his own storage or the private use of his family,

⁵⁷ Al-Jazīrī, *al-Maṣṣad al-maḥmūd fī talkhīṣ al-ʿuqūd* (*Proyecto plausible de compendio de fórmulas notariales*), ed. A. Ferreras (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1998) 207–208.

⁵⁸ Al-Wansharīṣī, *Miʿyār*, VII, 452 (also VIII, 287–288).

⁵⁹ Nāṣer-e Khosraw, *Book of Travels*, 56.

then this must be clearly stipulated in the contract with reference to the specific rooms involved.⁶⁰

Another case, brought before Ibn Rushd, demonstrates the complex interplay of private ownership, *waqf* donation, claims of state control, sale, and taxation. This question concerned a dispute over a *funduq* which had been designated as a *waqf* by a dying man in Tarifa. After his death, the validity of the foundation was disputed on the grounds that the *funduq* had originally been sold to the donor by one of the ‘Abbādid dynasty (which ruled the Taifa state of Seville 1023–1091), but the sale was subsequently rescinded under the Almoravids (1091–1145), who repossessed the property and imposed a yearly tax.⁶¹

Other sources also reveal competition between the official and private sectors for *funduq* revenues. A judge in twelfth-century Córdoba, for example, was criticized for building *funduqs*, baths, mills, and shops, and keeping their profits for himself, thereby usurping profits that ought to belong to the public fisc (“arḍ bayt māl al-muslimīn”).⁶² During the reign of Sultan al-Kāmil in the early thirteenth century, an Ayyūbid amir built “a *funduq* for himself” in Cairo; he later had all his property confiscated by the state and died in prison.⁶³ This requisition may have been part of a broader contemporary policy to crack down on privately operated facilities and to consolidate their revenues. At about the same time, Ibn Shukr, a vizier under al-Kāmil, ordered the closure of private *funduqs* in order to increase revenues to the *dār al-wakāla* of the sultan.⁶⁴

Geniza texts provide more detailed information than Muslim sources on privately held *funduqs* in Egypt. Possibly these were a more common phenomenon in the Jewish community, perhaps because of different traditions

⁶⁰ Al-Jazīrī, *al-Maqṣad al-mahmūd*, 208–209.

⁶¹ Al-Wansharīsi, *Mi’yār* VII, 466–467.

⁶² Ibn Rushd (d. 1126) cited by al-Wansharīsi, *Mi’yār*, x, 15–16. In al-Andalus, the *bayt māl al-muslimīn* referred to the treasury of the mosque, which contained undesignated *waqf* revenues and was under the administration of the chief *qāḍī*, as opposed to the state treasury which was known as the *khiznāt al-māl*. See also N. Stillman, “Charity and Social Service in Medieval Islam,” *Societas* 5 (1975) 109.

⁶³ Abū Ṣāliḥ, *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt and Some Neighboring Countries*, trans. B. T. A. Evetts (Oxford: Anecdota Oxoniensia, 1895) 59b (trans. 174). Here, the man in question, Fakhr al-Dīn, is described as being “the *wālī* of Egypt, known as Ghulām al-Bāniyāsī.” The name Fakhr al-Dīn is quite common, and since no date is given, this event could have occurred at any period between the seventh and early thirteenth centuries (when Abū Ṣāliḥ probably wrote his book). However, al-Maqrīzī noted an Ayyūbid amir in Egypt called Fakhr al-Dīn al-Bāniyāsī in 1231/1232, during the reign of al-Kāmil, who seems a very likely candidate (*Kitāb al-sulūk li-mārifat duwal al-mulūk* [Cairo: National Library Press, 1936–1973]; trans. R. J. C. Broadhurst, *A History of the Ayyūbid Sultans of Egypt* [Boston: G. K. Hall & Co., 1980] 217). Al-Maqrīzī also mentioned a *Funduq* Fakhr al-Dīn, which may or may not be connected to this same man (*Les Marchés du Caire*, 234).

⁶⁴ Sāwīrus ibn al-Muqaffā’, *Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church*, IV.1, Arabic 32–33, English 68.

of law and inheritance, or else they are simply better documented. One Geniza text from the late eleventh century recorded an inheritance dispute and debate over the purchase of a small *funduq* in Alexandria to provide for its young orphaned owners.⁶⁵ Another family squabble over inheritance, probably from the 1130s, involved a *funduq* belonging to the sons of a sister of one of the parties.⁶⁶ Further indication of *funduqs* as private property in the Jewish community comes from responsa literature, as in the case of a father who gave half ownership of a *funduq* to his daughter as a gift. This case, cited by the Maghribi rabbi Isaac al-Fāsī (d. 1103), clearly shows the *funduq* as private, transferrable, and divisible real property.⁶⁷

THE HOSTELRY AS AN INSTRUMENT OF CHARITY

Hostelries were obvious vehicles for direct charity, constructed with the pious intention of housing poor travelers, students, and pilgrims, often providing food as well as lodging without charge. Nizām al-Mulk (d. 1092) had urged the construction of such hostelries in his *Siyāsat-Nāme*, and followed up on his own advice by ordering the reconstruction of a *khān* in Baghdad, and adding 100 dinars to its *waqf*, in order to provide housing and support for students of law.⁶⁸ Ibn Jubayr, writing in the 1180s, likewise described the good deeds and foundations of Jamal al-Dīn, vizier to the ruler of Mosul, who

founded hostelries (*manāzil*) in the deserts with orders that they be furnished as a place of rest for poor wanderers and indeed for all travelers. [He also] built *funduqs* in the cities between Iraq and Syria and appointed them for the lodging of those poor sons of the road who could not pay the account, assigning to the *funduqs* and hostelries a staff who should administer to their needs. This he ordained in perpetuity, and these noble requests remain until this day, so that travelers upon the way speak handsomely of this man.⁶⁹

A couple of decades earlier, in Baghdad, Benjamin of Tudela observed that houses, markets, and “*funduqs* for the sick poor who come to be healed” had been built by the caliph on the outskirts of the city. While in residence, patients were provided with food and other necessities, and they were given

⁶⁵ TS 12.591; Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, III (1978), 298.

⁶⁶ TS 12.714; Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, III, 286–287.

⁶⁷ Norman Roth, *Jews, Visigoths, and Muslims in Medieval Spain: Cooperation and Conflict* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994) 148. There is also later evidence of Jewish privately owned *funduqs* in North Africa. Several fifteenth-century responsa from Tunis concerned a *funduq* left to a young man by his father-in-law (H. Z. Hirschberg, *History of the Jews in North Africa* 1 [Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1974] 474).

⁶⁸ Nizām al-Mulk, *Siyāsat-nama*, 13, *Book of Government*, 10; Makdisi, *The Rise of Colleges*, 24.

⁶⁹ Jubayr, *Rihla*, 126, *Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, 124–125.

money, on recovery, in order to return home.⁷⁰ Another charitable public hostelry, called the Khān al-Sabīl, was founded in Cairo in the late twelfth century “for sons of the road and [other] travelers [who] were received without charge.”⁷¹ These hostelries all provided direct charity through their very existence.

At the same time, *funduqs* could generate income through fees, rents, and taxes, and thus act as sources of indirect charity. Many foundations were built as for-profit facilities, intended to raise money for other good works such as mosques or schools. Examples of these arrangements are more common and diverse than those for direct charity, and pious endowments commonly listed *funduqs* or *khāns* among the revenue-producing assets of the *waqf*. Ibn Ḥawqal reported this phenomenon in the tenth century, and although he claimed that these foundations had all but disappeared by his time, later records show a continuing connection between the medieval Muslim *funduq* and indirect charitable activities.⁷² The large *funduq* founded by the Ayyūbid courtier Masrūr in Cairo in the first half of the thirteenth century (noted above) was created as “a *waqf* for the benefit of prisoners of war and the poor . . . [and Masrūr] converted his own house into a school (*madrassa*) and the revenues of a small *funduq* went to support this school.”⁷³ In the same city, the Funduq al-Nakhla – a former stable – was endowed as a *waqf* by Taqī al-Dīn ‘Umar, a nephew of Saladin, to provide money for the Madrasa Taqawiyya.⁷⁴ A roughly contemporary *waqf* inscription from Damascus, dated 1193, dedicated income from a *funduq* located outside one of the city gates to support “reciters of the Qur’ān . . . each of whom is to recite a seventh of the Qur’ān each day at dawn . . . [and for] instructing children.”⁷⁵ Other thirteenth-century pious foundations, also from Damascus, dedicated revenues from *khāns* to funding the Hospital of Sālāhiyya, or to feeding the poor.⁷⁶ Somewhat earlier, at the other end of the Mediterranean, a legal case brought to the

⁷⁰ Benjamin of Tudela, *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, ed. and trans. M. N. Adler (London: Henry Frowde, 1907) Hebrew 59, English 37.

⁷¹ Al-Maqrīzī, *Khīṭāṭ*, II, 93. The date of foundation is not given, but the founder died in 1201.

⁷² Ibn Ḥawqal, *Kitāb ṣūrat al-‘ard*, 184.

⁷³ Al-Maqrīzī, *Khīṭāṭ*, II, 92. See also al-Maqrīzī, *Les Marchés du Caire*, 133–135. These two *funduqs* were located in the center of the main commercial district of Cairo, about half way between Bāb al-Futūḥ and Bāb al-Zuwayla.

⁷⁴ MacKenzie, *Ayyūbid Cairo*, 171.

⁷⁵ Combe et al. (eds.), *Répertoire*, IX, 188–189 (no. 3466).

⁷⁶ Hospital noted in *waqf* established by Amir Sayf al-Dīn al-Qaymarī (d. 1256) in Henry Sauvaire, “Description de Damas,” *Journal Asiatique* 6 (1895) 297–299; poor relief mentioned in a *waqf* by Amir Taybars (d. 1290) in al-Jazarī, *La Chronique de Damas d’al-Jazari (années 689–690 H)*, trans. Jean Sauvaget (Paris: Librairie ancienne H. Champion, 1949) 3 (no. 18).

Cordoban judge Ibn Rushd (d. 1126) concerned a *waqf*, which included two *funduqs*, with profits dedicated to the defense of the Andalusí frontier against Christian armies.⁷⁷

In all these cases, the conventional charitable intention of the *funduq* is clear. The hostelry promoted good works either directly, through the provision of lodging, or indirectly, through funding other worthy projects. In a few cases, the two aspects were combined within the same facility, as in the case of the Syrian Khān al-ʿIṭna, founded in 1234. Its endowment stipulated that the upper floors of the building were to be used for housing travelers, both Muslims and non-Muslims, while its lower floor would be rented out as shops, to generate revenue to support the hostelry above.⁷⁸ These charitable and profitable aspects of the *funduq* and other hostelries were inextricably linked, and this conjunction was seen as neither problematic nor incompatible. In this respect, it was not unlike the institution of the *waqf* itself, which could be established both for charitable purposes and as a means to preserve and pass on family assets.

FUNDUQS AND CHARITY IN THE JEWISH COMMUNITY

Documentation from the Cairo Geniza shows that similar patterns of charitable lodging and philanthropic profit were characteristic of the *funduqs* belonging to the Jewish community in Cairo in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Although the Hebrew word *pundāq* also derived from the Greek *pandocheion*, the medieval Judeo-Arabic texts of the Geniza usually employed the Arabic version of the word. Generally, *funduqs* appear in two contexts in Geniza writings, either as communal property in account lists of the *qōdesh* (or *heqdēsh*, Jewish pious foundations) of the Jewish community in Fuṣṭāṭ, or as hostelries in which traveling Jewish merchants might stay and store their goods.⁷⁹ In both cases, but especially regarding the communal *funduqs*, the intimate details provided by Geniza records reveal aspects of the daily working of these facilities which are unavailable in contemporary Muslim sources.

⁷⁷ Al-Wansharīsī, *Miʿyār*, vii, 466–467.

⁷⁸ Combe et al. (eds.), *Répertoire*, xi, 45–46 (no. 4066); al-Maqrīzī, *Les Marchés du Caire*, 7; Sauvaquet, “Caravansérails syriens” (1939) 54–55.

⁷⁹ The *qōdesh* was a Jewish pious foundation similar to the Muslim *waqf* (Mark Cohen, “Jewish Communal Organization in Medieval Egypt: Research, Results and Prospects,” in *Judeo-Arabic Studies: Proceedings of the Founding Conference of the Society for Judeo-Arabic Studies*, ed. N. Golb [Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1997] 82). Moshe Gil has analyzed data on real estate, including *funduqs*, dedicated to the *qōdesh* (defined as “Jewish charitable foundations”) in his “Maintenance, Building Operations, and Repairs in the Houses of the Qodesh in Fuṣṭāṭ. A Geniza Study,” *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 14 (1971) 136–195.

In many ways, the administration of the Jewish communal *funduqs* in Egypt mirrored the ways in which Muslim governors and urban officials oversaw the *funduqs* in Muslim cities. This supports S. D. Goitein's belief that, in many ways, the patterns of life evident in the Geniza records paralleled economic and social trends in the wider Islamic world. Yet there were also significant differences, which demonstrate the degree to which it was possible to adapt the function of the *funduq* to suit differing cultural, commercial, and religious demands. In their philanthropic and religious aspects, the Jewish and Muslim *funduqs* were very similar, but the Jewish hostelries do not seem to have had the same range of mercantile and fiscal overtones. Although Jewish merchants regularly stayed in *funduqs* during their commercial voyages, these were – for the most part – not exclusively Jewish establishments.

The Jewish community in Fustāṭ owned several *funduqs* during the later twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, including a large building known as the *funduq al-kanīṣatayn* (because it was located between two synagogues), and one or more smaller hostelries variously referred to as the *funduq al-sūq al-kabīr*, *funduq jadīd*, and *funduq ṣaghīr*.⁸⁰ These buildings were pious endowments, and their administration and purpose were similar to those of Muslim *funduqs* established as *waqfs* for the public good (*waqf khayrī*). They sometimes provided free lodging to the needy, sick, or homeless, but they also produced rent revenues for other worthy community endeavors. In one example, a letter written in Alexandria in September 1200, addressed to Maimonides in Fustāṭ, mentioned repairs to a synagogue that had been financed by revenue from a *funduq*.⁸¹

Account lists of the *qōdesh* record a variety of different communal properties, including shops and apartments, as well as these hostelries.⁸² These registers tally both monthly expenditures and income from the rental of rooms in the *funduqs*. Income from the *funduqs* was often listed by floor (as in “the upper floor,” or “the lower floor”) rather than by individual rooms, and the repetition of names in *qōdesh* account lists shows that space in the communal *funduqs* was often rented on a long-term basis. Rental

⁸⁰ M. Gil has suggested that these are variant titles for the same building, but I think this unlikely. For example, TS Box K 15.110 (r.8 and v.9) notes both the *funduq* in the large bazaar and the new *funduq* and lists different monthly rents.

⁸¹ ENA NS 19.10; Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, IV; 437 (note 99). In this case, the *funduq* itself was also under repair, and this work was paid for “from the money left over from the work on the synagogue.”

⁸² See Moshe Gil (ed.), *Documents of the Jewish Pious Foundations from the Cairo Geniza* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1976), documents 65, 67–69, 72, 80–82, 83–87, 89, 91, 98–99, 101–103, 106, 131–132, 134, 138, 142.

rates varied, and in times of hardship or famine the community's income declined as tenants found it difficult to pay the fees and lived rent-free.⁸³ The communal *funduqs* often provided lodging for Jewish refugees or new arrivals in the city, either at subsidized rates or at the expense of the community.⁸⁴ Synagogues may also have had special quarters for housing guests, but longer-term lodgers would be housed in a *funduq*.⁸⁵ It is impossible, however, to estimate how many people lived in the *funduq* without paying rent, since they generated no income to record in the *qōdesh* ledgers.⁸⁶

There were also other expenditures, both charitable and practical, in connection with these communal hostelries. One petition from the first half of the thirteenth century notes a teacher's request for financial help with schooling three fatherless children of a Persian woman living in the communal *funduq*.⁸⁷ There is also considerable evidence of outlay for repairs, supervision, and administration of the *funduq*, covering both personnel and materials, all of which were paid out of the building's endowment. The structure itself required constant maintenance, as indicated by frequent references to the purchase supplies and services, such as the payment of 2½ dirhams, around 1200, for the "kneading of clay to improve the entrance to the *funduq*."⁸⁸ An accounting from 1183–1184 listed not only the income from rents on twenty-two apartments, but also the costs of "a lock for the *funduq*, gypsum, a carpenter, and nails" as well as "removal of garbage from the *funduq*."⁸⁹ A few years later, probably in 1185, the court (*majlis*) of Maimonides proposed that it assume payment of the poll-tax of a man on the grounds that this sum was due to him from the community in return for his supervision of these repairs to the *funduq*.⁹⁰

Here and elsewhere, oversight of the *funduqs* entailed various expenses for administrators, workmen, and guards. The supervisor of the community *funduqs* was called the *qayyim funduq al-heqdēsh*, or more commonly, simply the *funduqānī* (a standard Arabic term for a *funduq*-keeper).⁹¹ Once, when the Jewish community in Alexandria sought to combine charity with frugality, they employed a needy newcomer as administrator of the communal *funduq* (*funduq al-heqdēsh*). The scheme was soon abandoned, however,

⁸³ See, for example, Gil (ed.), *Pious Foundations*, 386–390.

⁸⁴ On charity and hospitality generally, see Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, v (1988), 28–37.

⁸⁵ Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, II, 154.

⁸⁶ Gil (ed.), *Pious Foundations*, 114–115.

⁸⁷ BM Or 5542.f. 14 (ll. 12–13); Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, II, 465.

⁸⁸ TS Box J I, f. 32; Gil (ed.), *Pious Foundations* (no. 106) 394–396.

⁸⁹ Bodl MS Heb. f. 56 (A35); Gil (ed.), *Pious Foundations* (no. 89) 350–357.

⁹⁰ DK XXI; Gil (ed.), *Pious Foundations* (no. 77) 323–324. Since this document was never signed, there may have been disagreement as to the propriety of this arrangement.

⁹¹ For *qayyim funduq al-heqdēsh* see TS 12.652; Gil (ed.), *Pious Foundations*, 50.

when he proved incompetent for the job.⁹² In some cases, administration of the *funduqs* may have been farmed, as shown in a document from 1183, noting that the *funduqānī* of the *funduq al-saghīr* paid 75 dirhams a month to the community.⁹³ An earlier reference, from about 1160, referred to the fact that “the *funduq bayna kanīsatayn* [had] paid its debt” for the land tax, apparently in a lump sum.⁹⁴ This again suggests the mediation of a rent-collector or tax-farmer.

FORM AND FUNCTION: CLUES FROM ARCHITECTURE,
AMENITIES, AND ADMINISTRATION

Data on the architecture of *funduq* and *khān* buildings, and on the amenities which they offered to merchants and travelers, add to our understanding of the function and conception of these structures. As has been noted before, buildings that were used for lodging and commerce could be very similar in floor plan to those with other functions. This was typical of Muslim architecture, in which a small number of basic forms might be turned to a variety of functions with only subtle structural differences. Buildings for lodging, storage, and trade shared many features with other edifices serving domestic or economic purposes, and thus in the absence of an inscription it is frequently difficult to be sure whether a building served as a *funduq* or *khān*.

In some cases, architectural elements do indicate functional differences. Unlike a private house, hostelrys usually had rooms which were individually connected to a public space, such as a courtyard or passage, rather than interconnected with each other. Arrangements for lighting, ventilation, and sanitation were also different, and usually less well provided for than in a private dwelling, especially on the ground floor, which would be devoted to storage and stabling. *Funduqs* often had rooms on the lower floors without windows or air shafts, clearly designed for the security of goods rather than the comfort of people. Above, the bedrooms were better provided with light and air, but may not have been as comfortable as those intended for permanent habitation. *Funduqs* and *khāns* varied considerably in size and architectural quality. Some may have had as many as one hundred rooms, with a capacity for housing several hundred people together with their

⁹² TS 12.652 (l.13 and verso l.17); Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, II, 136.

⁹³ TS 8 J 11, f. 4 (A 29); Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, II, 548 (note 50); Gil (ed.), *Pious Foundations* (no. 84) 337–339. That this was paid monthly is suggested by the fact that the same *funduq* brought in 79 dirhams a month in 1181.

⁹⁴ TS NS Box 306, f. 1 (A39); Gil (ed.), *Pious Foundations* (no. 65) 295–299.

animals. Others were of very modest size, with only a few small chambers. Some structures were built to last, with thick walls of stone, while others seem poorly constructed, presumably at less cost to the builder.

Security was of preeminent importance, and Ibn Jubayr described *khāns* near Qinnasrin as being “like fortresses in their unassailability and their fortifications. Their doors are of iron, and they present the greatest strength.”⁹⁵ Isolated rural *khāns* along caravan routes were usually the most strongly built, while many urban *funduqs* were much like neighboring houses. The gateways of hostelries differed from those common in domestic architecture, both in design and usage. The interior of the building was generally accessible through one central gateway, which would have been large enough to accommodate a fully loaded camel or mule.⁹⁶ This portal usually opened straight into the central courtyard, facilitating direct access rather than incorporating an angle or corner designed to obscure sight-lines and thus preserve the internal seclusion of domestic space. In a *funduq* or *khān*, easy admittance for caravans of pack-animals was more important than privacy.

Nocturnal curfews, locked gates, and a concern for nighttime security were common to all medieval cities, in both Christian and Muslim lands. In Islamic towns, the hostelries, markets, and warehouses were particularly strictly regulated, and routinely locked from dusk until dawn. When an Andalusī scholar died quietly one night in a *khān* in Cairo in 1237, word of his demise spread miraculously through the city. By morning, a crowd of pious people had gathered outside the building, demanding that the doors be unlocked in order that they might view the body.⁹⁷ Geniza accounts of the *qōdesh* also record expenses such as the cost of a new lock for one of their *funduqs*, repairs to doors and gates, and fees for guards and night-watchmen.⁹⁸ It was a common – though not universal – practice that *funduq* doors were locked from the outside at night by order either of urban officials

⁹⁵ Ibn Jubayr, *Rihla*, 254, *Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, 264.

⁹⁶ There are many examples of Ayyūbid and Mamlūk *funduqs* and *khāns* with massive doors and portals. One, at Tell Tuneinir in northeast Syria, had a heavy door and gateway 3.10 m wide, ample for a loaded camel. See M. and N. Fuller, “Atuqid, Zengid, and Ayyūbid Coins from Tell Tuneinir, Syria,” *Turkoman Figural Bronze Coins and their Iconography*, 11, ed. W. F. Spengler and W. G. Sayles (Lodi, WI: Clío’s Cabinet, 1996) 138.

⁹⁷ M. Marín, “El viaje a Oriente de Abū Marwān al-Bāyī (m. 635/1237),” in *Estudios onomásticos-biográficos de al-Andalus*, ed. M. Marín, (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1994) VI, 298–299.

⁹⁸ Lock: Bodl MS Heb. f. 56, fs. 59–61 (A35); Gil (ed.), *Pious Foundations* (no. 89) 350–357. Night-watchmen: ENA 3124 f. 13 (A160); Gil (ed.), *Pious Foundations* (no. 72) 309–311; Bodl MS Heb. f. 56, f. 43a–c (A25); Gil (ed.), *Pious Foundations* (no. 80) 327–330; TS Box κ 6, f. 44 (A95); Gil (ed.), *Pious Foundations* (no. 142) 471–475.

or the market inspector, making them quite different from private domestic spaces, which would have been locked from within.

The gates of *funduqs* and *khāns* were locked not only for the safety of inhabitants and their belongings, but also to ensure that the residents remained inside during the night. In some cases, *funduqs* doubled as unofficial prisons, perhaps for groups of people who were not criminals, yet needed to be kept under supervision for one reason or another. Ibn ‘Abdūn, writing a handbook for market inspectors in early thirteenth-century Seville, advised that non-local people who were found wandering in the city at night ought to be apprehended and brought before urban authorities in the morning. Until then, they should not be jailed (nor should they be abused or roughly handled), but should instead “be held in a *funduq* where they will be under the oversight of the other residents until the morning.”⁹⁹ At the other end of the Mediterranean, in contemporary Fustāt, a list of accounts from June 1201 recorded the expenditure of $4\frac{1}{2}$ dirhams for the confinement (*sajn*) of people in a *funduq*.¹⁰⁰

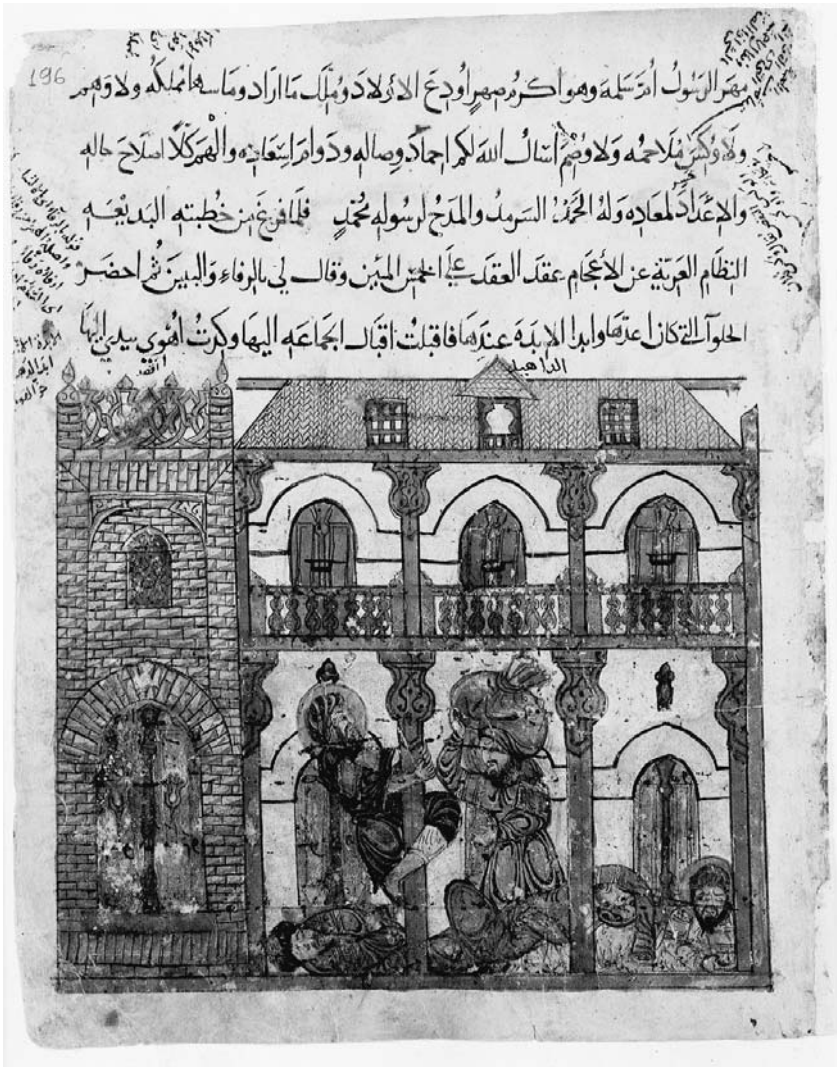
Thirteenth-century illustrations of the *Maqāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī al-Baṣrī (d. 1122) provide rare artistic renditions of the interior of a *khān* where the tale’s narrator, al-Ḥarīth, passed a night.¹⁰¹ On arrival in Wasit, al-Ḥarīth found that this *khān* was tidy and inexpensive, and although there were many other guests he was given his own room (however, it was close enough to another room for him to overhear the conversation next door).¹⁰² The two manuscripts show remarkably similar views of the courtyard of this *khān*, illustrating storage rooms on the first floor, a second level with a carved wooden balcony-rail, columns, and smaller guest chambers (though a number of patrons are shown asleep in the courtyard), and above a roof and attic space with windows. As described by Shirley Guthrie, one illustration (from BN 5847) shows a building with “five rooms upstairs and five

⁹⁹ Ibn ‘Abdūn, *Risāla fī al-qaḍā’ wa al-ḥisba*, in *Documents arabes inédits sur la vie sociale et économique en occident musulman au moyen âge: trois traités hispaniques de ḥisba*, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal (Cairo: Institut français d’archéologie orientale, 1955) 18.

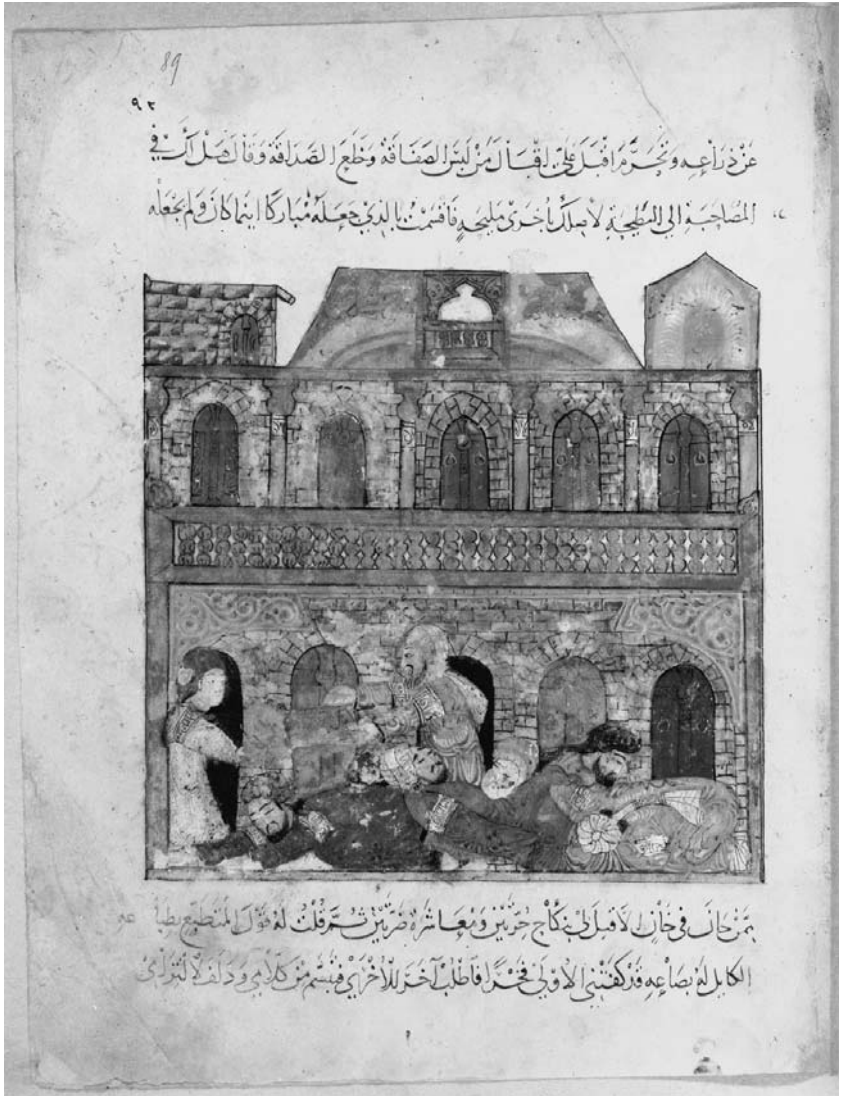
¹⁰⁰ TS Box K 15, f. 54 (A 43); Gil (ed.), *Pious Foundations* (no. 101) 378–385.

¹⁰¹ The two examples discussed here are from manuscripts in the Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg (MS C-23, fol. 99r) and the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (MS arabe 5847). The Paris manuscript has a colophon dating it to 1237; the St. Petersburg manuscript is contemporary (c.1240) or somewhat earlier. Both were produced in Iraq, and the artist of BN 5847, al-Wāsiṭī, presumably came from Wasit, where the story of the *khān* was set. (S. Guthrie, *Arab Social Life in the Middle Ages: An Illustrated Study* [London: Saqi Books, 1995] 20, plate 11; Yuri Petrosyan, et al. [eds.], *Pages of Perfection. Islamic Paintings and Calligraphy from the Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg* [Lugano: ARCH Foundation, 1995] 144, 150). According to Guthrie, “all the manuscripts [of this text] without exception show a building of monumental proportions on two storeys, an exterior, and rooms giving onto a balcony” (98).

¹⁰² Al-Ḥarīrī al-Baṣrī, *Maqāmāt* (Beirut: Dār al-Ṣādar, 1958) 228.



7 A *khān* in Wasit, illustrated in the *Maqāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī al-Baṣrī; manuscript dated c.1240. St. Petersburg, Russian Academy of Sciences, Institute for Oriental Studies, MS C-23, fol. 99r.



8 A *khān* in Wasit, illustrated in the *Maqāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī al-Baṣrī; manuscript dated 1237. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS arabe 5847.

below, all with heavy wooden [double] doors with iron reinforced bands for security and round metal handles . . . The five downstairs doors are rounded and larger than the five pointed doors on the upper story. The larger dimensions would facilitate the entry of pack animals and their burdens into the lower storerooms.” The upper rooms are individually accessible from a balcony overlooking the courtyard.¹⁰³ The St. Petersburg manuscript places even more emphasis on security, showing the locked outer wooden door of the *khān*, with various metal fittings, and carefully depicting the bolts on second-floor doors. Over the main door, a window with a grille gives inhabitants a view of the outside.

Security was always a concern in commercial spaces. In these examples, the artists’ detailed attention to locks and doors may have been ironic, since al-Ḥarīth witnessed a theft in the *khān* during the night (both manuscripts show the thief picking his way across the courtyard with a bag of loot). Locked gates not only protected merchants and goods from criminals outside the building, but they meant that it was often possible to identify and apprehend an internal thief before the doors were opened. Ibn Ṣaṣrā recounted the tale of robbery in a *khān* on the road between Damascus and Jerusalem in the fourteenth century. At first, a Jew staying in the *khān* was accused of the crime, but it was then discovered that the theft had been committed by a monkey belonging to one of the other guests.¹⁰⁴

The central courtyard of the *khān* in Wasit was typical for this type of structure. Although there were many regional variations in the style of hostelries, *khāns* and *funduqs* in the medieval Muslim world normally had an internal courtyard (sometimes covered) surrounded by porticoes, with rooms for storage and stabling on the ground floor. Examples of this form can be cited from the time of the Umayyads (at Qaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Sharqī and Qaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Gharbī) throughout the middle ages and into the Ottoman period.¹⁰⁵ Courtyards were also a common feature in domestic architecture, and in other public buildings, but those of hostelries were commodious and utilitarian. In Mecca, Ibn Jubayr’s description of a house with “a large courtyard, like that of a *funduq*” suggests that size was a characteristic and distinguishing feature.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰³ Guthrie, *Arab Social Life*, 97.

¹⁰⁴ Ibn Ṣaṣrā, *Chronicle of Damascus 1389–1397*, ed. and trans. William M. Brinner (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1963) 1, 39 (9)b–40 (10)b.

¹⁰⁵ There is an extensive bibliography on the design of *funduqs* and *khāns*. See Sauvaget, “Caravansérails syriens,” 6 (1939) 48–55 and 7 (1940) 1–19; Kurt Erdmann and Hanna Erdmann, *Das anatolische Karavansaray des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1976); Elisséeff, “Khān”; Siroux, *Caravansérails d’Iran*; Kiāni and Kleiss, *Kārvānsarāhā-ye Irān*.

¹⁰⁶ Ibn Jubayr, *Rihla*, 167, *Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, 171.

Some hostelries had only one level, but in many, one or more staircases gave access to upper floors, where there were individual rooms for living and sleeping. The elevation of these buildings is attested in many written sources, from as early as the Ramlah *waqf* inscription in 913, as well as in surviving structures. Mamlūk *waqf* documents for *funduqs* provide detailed descriptions of stone and wooden staircases, and upper galleries “with wooden bannisters” that are reminiscent of the *Maqāmāt* illustrations.¹⁰⁷ Al-Bakrī and Ibn Jubayr noted the “tall *funduqs*” of Tunis and Damascus, and a staircase features in a story told by al-Tanūkhī (d. 994) about a traveler passing the night in a *khān*.¹⁰⁸

Geniza records from the *qōdesh* routinely cited revenues as coming from either the “upper” or “lower” floors of the communal *funduqs*. In one example, from 1182, monthly income from the *funduq al-saghīr* in Fuṣṭāṭ was divided as being “from the upper part (*‘ulūw*) of the *funduq*, sixty-six [dirhams] and [from] its lower part (*sufluhu*), twenty-nine [dirhams].”¹⁰⁹ The individual rooms must have been of varying size, since an accounting from around 1230, probably referring to four rooms on the upper floor of the *funduq bayna kanīsatayn*, listed tenants as paying 15, 5, 8, and 7 dirhams per month in rent.¹¹⁰ A decade later, in about 1240, two rooms “on the upper floor of the *funduq*” (this time probably the *funduq al-saghīr*) rented for 8 dirhams a month, two other rooms for 5, and one more chamber – doubtless slightly more commodious – for 10 dirhams. Five storerooms in the same building, presumably on the ground floor, cost 2 dirhams each per month.¹¹¹

Some guest-rooms in *funduqs* were private, others lodged several people together, while in some buildings guests would have slept on a raised platform in a communal hall.¹¹² Most sleeping-chambers were on upper floors,

¹⁰⁷ Examples include a *waqf* for the Funduq al-Bayd wa al-Qaṣab in Alexandria (1326) in Ibn Habīb, *Tathkirat al-nabih fi ayyam al-maṣnūr wa-banih*, ed. Muhammad M. Amin (Cairo: National Library Press, 1982) II, 428–432. My thanks to Niall Christie for drawing my attention to this text, and for allowing me to read his unpublished article “Reconstructing Life in Mediaeval Alexandria from an 8th/14th Century Waqf Document.” Also the *waqf* for the Funduq al-Ḥajar in Cairo (1442) in S. Denoix, J.-P. De Paule, and M. Tuchscherer, *Le Khan al-Khalili et ses environs. Un centre commercial et artisanal au Caire du XIIIe au XXe siècle* (Cairo: Institut français d’archéologie orientale, 1999) II, appendix, 8–10.

¹⁰⁸ Al-Bakrī, *Kitāb al-mā rūf*, 40; Ibn Jubayr, *Rihla*, 288, *Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, 302; al-Tanūkhī, *The Table-Talk of a Mesopotamian Judge, Being the First Part of the Nishwar al-Muḥassin al-Tanūkhī*, trans. D. S. Margoliouth (London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1922) 109–110.

¹⁰⁹ TS Box J 2 f. 63c–d (A28); Gil (ed.), *Pious Foundations* (no. 83) 334–337. In 1230, monthly income from the upper floor came to 22½ dirhams (ENA 2591, fs. 14, 15 (A172); Gil (ed.), *Pious Foundations* (no. 134) 444–445.

¹¹⁰ ENA 2591, fs. 14, 15 (A172); Gil (ed.), *Pious Foundations* (no. 134) 444–445.

¹¹¹ ENA 2592, f. 29; Gil (ed.), *Pious Foundations* (no. 138) 460–465.

¹¹² Elisséeff, “Khān,” 1011.

but this was not invariably the case. When Ibn Jubayr put up for the night at the Funduq of Abū al-Thana' in Cairo, he and his companions were given a "large room by the gate of the *funduq*," and thus apparently on the ground floor.¹¹³ The *Maqāmāt* illustrations both show people sleeping outside in the *khān* courtyard, though possibly this is an artistic convention to indicate that the scene takes place at night. While some *funduqs* had only a few rooms to rent, perhaps between ten and twenty on average, others had many. The *funduq* founded by Masrūr in Cairo supposedly had ninety-nine rooms, and a fifteenth-century *waqf* text counted forty-two second-floor chambers in another Cairo *funduq*.¹¹⁴

As well as lodging in rooms on the ground and upper floors, guests often slept on the flat roofs of hostelries, taking advantage of fresh air and breezes. There may have been further structures built on the roof, to provide shelter or shade for guests sleeping during the day before traveling in the cooler hours of the night. One Tunisian Sufi scholar lived in a shack on the roof of a *funduq* in Tunis in the fifteenth century.¹¹⁵ The *Maqāmāt khān* is also shown with structures on the roof. Ibn Jubayr described *funduqs* in Jiddah, remarking that although most of the houses in the town were built of reeds, the *funduqs* were constructed of stone and mud on the lower story, "on top of which are reed chambers serving as upper chambers, and having roofs where at night rest can be had from the ravages of the heat."¹¹⁶ A *waqf* endowment from Alexandria, from 1326, described staircases giving access to the roof of a *funduq*.¹¹⁷ In the same year, when Ibn Baṭṭūṭa prepared to spend the night at a *zāwiya* in nearby Rosetta, his host advised that he "go up on the roof . . . and sleep there, for this was during the summer heats . . . so I ascended to the roof and found there a straw mattress and a leather mat, vessels for ritual ablutions, a jar of water and a drinking cup, and I lay down there to sleep."¹¹⁸

The ground floor of a *funduq* or *khān* was usually given over to areas for storage, business, and stabling, all critical to merchant activity. In many cases, there were also shops associated with these buildings. Surviving structures, *waqf* documents, and the *Maqāmāt* illustrations demonstrate that the central courtyard was usually surrounded by a covered portico (supporting the upper balcony) with doors giving access to secure rooms

¹¹³ Ibn Jubayr, *Rihla*, 45, *Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, 36.

¹¹⁴ Al-Maqrīzī, *Khīṭāt*, II, 92; Denoix et al., *Le Khan al-Khalili et ses environs*, II, appendix, 8–10.

¹¹⁵ J. G. Katz, *Dreams, Sufism, and Sainthood: The Visionary Career of Muhammad al-Zawāwī* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1996) 14.

¹¹⁶ Ibn Jubayr, *Rihla*, 75, *Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, 70.

¹¹⁷ Ibn Habīb, *Taṭbkerat al-nabih*, II, 429, 431.

¹¹⁸ Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *The Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa AD 1325–1354*, 30–31.

for storage. Although the upper apartments might have windows overlooking the street, lower rooms only opened into the interior of the building. The *ṣāhib al-funduq* or the gatekeeper (*bawwāb*) was responsible for oversight of warehouse space, and kept charge of the keys to the storerooms. Merchants would have conducted their business in the courtyard, in the shade of the surrounding portico, or in rooms above.

Since few commercial travelers would have arrived on foot, it was necessary to provide shelter for animals as well as people. For this reason, *funduqs* were closely associated with stables, leading the jurist Ibn al-Ḥājj al-ʿAbdarī (d. 1336) to urge that pack-animals be prohibited from loitering in streets or by the gates of mosques, for sanitary reasons, but ought instead to be kept in *funduqs* and stables.¹¹⁹ Keepers of hostelries were responsible for the well-being and security of guests' beasts, as well as their goods, but they did not always fulfill this trust. Ibn Ṣaṣrā told the tale of a traveler from Baalbek, who arrived in Damascus in the late fourteenth century, at the same time that Sultan Barqūq and his retinue were visiting the city. The traveler stayed in a *khān* in the city, along with some of the sultan's men, and also stabled his donkey there. He later recounted that "I feared for it because of them. I went out on some affairs of mine and entrusted my donkey to the innkeeper. I finished my business and came to the inn but did not find the donkey in its place. I searched the inn, and did not find it" since the soldiers had stolen it.¹²⁰

Animals also faced the danger of fire while stabled in *funduqs* and *khāns*, as when seven camels were killed in a blaze in a *khān* in Damascus.¹²¹ Fire was a perennial hazard in medieval cities, and especially dangerous in buildings where so many people, animals, and valuable merchandise were crammed together, and where the exits were locked at night. Al-Maqrīzī described a disastrous blaze in the Funduq al-Ṭurunṭayī in Cairo "where the oil merchants stay when they come from Syria." The fire began elsewhere in the city, but because of the incendiary nature of the goods in this *funduq*, the building was totally destroyed – columns, upper floors, and all.¹²²

Ventilation was very important in hostelries, especially when animals were housed on the lower floors. To some degree, fresh air was provided by the courtyard, but there were also further measures taken. Both miniatures illustrating the *khān* in the *Maqāmāt* show what seem to be carved wooden

¹¹⁹ Ibn al-Ḥājj al-ʿAbdarī, *al-Madkhal* (Cairo: al-Maṭbaʿah al-Miṣrīyah, 1929) II, 236–237.

¹²⁰ Ibn Ṣaṣrā, *Chronicle of Damascus*, I, 97a.

¹²¹ Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Les Gouverneurs de Damas sous les mamlouks et les premiers ottomans*, ed. and trans. H. Laoust (Damascus: Institut français de Damas, 1952) Arabic 168; French 90. This event is reminiscent of the death of pack-animals in the caravanserai at Pella/Fihl during an earthquake in 747 (see chap. 2).

¹²² Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭāt*, II, 94.

ventilation shafts set into the roof. In one manuscript (BN 5847), there is also a tower with a wooden door opening onto the roof and another air vent.¹²³

Sanitation was likewise a concern, and hostelries usually had a special area for common latrines (large domestic houses, in contrast, would have more private facilities). As early as the tenth century, questions concerning the cleaning of *funduq* latrines made their way into casebooks of Islamic law, and these continued into the later middle ages. The Andalusī jurist Ibn al-ʿAṭṭār (d. 1009) debated this issue in the section on rental agreements in his handbook on contracts. He came to the conclusion that, in general, the owner of the *funduq* was responsible for cleaning its latrines, unless it had been stipulated in the contract that this would be done by the tenant. In the latter case, however, the contract must include assurances that the pits were clean to start with or – if not clean – that the amount of filth had been assessed before making the contract. This was in contrast to house rentals, where cleanliness was the responsibility of the tenant – “except in the cases of houses which are [being used] as *funduqs*, in which case it is the duty of the owners. But some scholars say that there is nothing about this in the body of law.”¹²⁴ Whether or not this tricky issue was part of formal law, these matters of sanitation and responsibility were of enduring concern. Al-Jazīrī, writing in Muslim Spain in the late twelfth century, came to the same conclusion as Ibn al-ʿAṭṭār, whereas the later Maghribī jurist Ibn al-Rāmī (d. 1334) concluded, instead, that owners were not responsible for cleaning *funduq* cesspools.¹²⁵ Sanitation was also an issue in the *funduqs* belonging to the Jewish community in Fustāṭ, where disposal of refuse represented a regular expense on *qōdesh* ledgers during the late eleventh and early thirteenth centuries. Text after text recorded costs for “removal of garbage from the *funduq*” or “the balance for cleaning the pipe [from the latrines?] and removal of garbage from the *funduq*.”¹²⁶

¹²³ Guthrie, *Arab Social Life*, 96.

¹²⁴ Ibn al-ʿAṭṭār, *Formulario notarial hispano-árabe por el alfaquí y notario cordobés Ibn al-ʿAṭṭār* (s.X), ed. P. Chalmeta and F. Corriente (Madrid: Instituto Hispano-Árabe de Cultura, 1983) 193. Another eleventh-century Andalusī jurist, Aḥmad b. Muḡhith al-Ṭūlayṭulī (d. 1067), included very similar stipulations in his discussion of rental contracts (*al-Muḡnī fi ʿilm al-shurūṭ*, 232), noting that the owner of a *funduq* may not stipulate that a tenant clean the refuse in it because this is an unknown quantity, and lack of precision would automatically invalidate the contract.

¹²⁵ Al-Jazīrī, *al-Maḡṣad al-maḥmūd*, 211; Ibn al-Rāmī, *Kitāb al-iʿān bi aḥkām al-bunyān* (Riyadh: Markaz al-Dirāsāt wa-al-Ḥlām, Dār Ishbīliya, 1995) 397.

¹²⁶ Bodl MS Heb. f. 56, fs. 59–61 (A35); Gil (ed.), *Pious Foundations* (no. 89) 350–357; TS Box κ 15, f. 54 (A43); Gil (ed.), *Pious Foundations* (no. 101) 378–385; TS Box J 2, f. 63a–b (A33); Gil (ed.), *Pious Foundations* (no. 87) 343–346; TS Arabic Box 51, f. 144 (A145); Gil (ed.), *Pious Foundations* (no. 103) 388–390; TS Arabic Box 18(1), f. 155 (A24); Gil (ed.), *Pious Foundations* (no. 67) 300–304. Pipes are also mentioned in a contract for rental of a *funduq* in Cairo in 1311 (Amin, *Fihrist wathāʾiq al-Qābirah*, 77 [line 20]).

Hostelries also needed sources of fresh water for drinking, cooking, and cleaning. In cities, water might be available outside the building, and guests could go to nearby bath-houses and fountains for their needs. Some hostelries had their own internal supply, however, and al-Maqrīzī reported that the Khān al-Sabil in Cairo, an Ayyūbid foundation situated just north of Bāb al-Futūḥ, had “a well with water scoops and a trough.”¹²⁷ Rural *khāns* were almost always provided with a well or a cistern, sometimes fed by underground pipes (*qanats*). Ibn Jubayr commented that inside the walls of the *funduq* built by Saladin in 1181 (soon known as the “Khān of the Sultan”) there was “running water which flows through underground conduits to a fountain in the middle. This is like a cistern, with outlets through which the water pours into a small basin that runs around it and then plunges into a conduit below the ground.”¹²⁸ Just down the road, he described another *khān* “which has in its center a big cistern filled with water that comes to it in underground conduits from a distant spring. It is always full.”¹²⁹ As well as providing water, hostelries sometimes contained more sophisticated facilities, such as internal baths and ice-houses.¹³⁰ Some also had ovens, and facilities for baking bread.¹³¹

Funduqs and *khāns* provided for the spiritual as well as the physical needs of travelers, and most hostelry buildings had access to a mosque or contained a room for prayer with a *mihṛāb* niche. Even the very early structure, Khān al-Zabīb, though possibly adapted from an earlier Roman fort, appears to have had a small rectangular mosque just outside its walls.¹³² The tenth-century jurist Ibn ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf insisted that the market inspector ensure that the inhabitants of *funduqs* attended the mosque at times of prayer, and such requirements were more easily met – especially during nocturnal curfews – if there were a mosque on the premises.¹³³ The *funduq* built by Masrūr in Cairo was apparently large enough to contain a mosque for Friday prayers, but most facilities were probably much more modest in size. Small mosques, or *mihṛāb* niches, were often located in a room near the gate, as can be seen in buildings going back as far as the early eighth century (for example in the *khān* at Qaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Gharbī), or even on the roof. Shirley Guthrie has noted that the illustration of the *khān* in Wasit

¹²⁷ MacKenzie, *Ayyūbid Cairo*, 166.

¹²⁸ Ibn Jubayr, *Riḥla*, 259, *Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, 269.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*

¹³⁰ Siroux, *Caravansérails d’Iran*, 120–139.

¹³¹ Ibn Habīb, *Tathkerat al-nabih*, II, 428–432.

¹³² Petersen, “Syrian and Iraqi Hajj Routes,” 51.

¹³³ Ibn ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf, *Risāla*, in *Documents arabes inédits sur la vie sociale et économique en occident musulman au moyen âge: trois traités hispanique de ḥisba*, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal (Cairo: Institut français d’archéologie orientale, 1955) 76.

(BN 5847) shows “what appears to be a blueish-grey *miḥrāb* wall [on the roof] with very faint epigraphy; it perhaps represents a place where a traveler could escape from the noise and bustle downstairs to pray quietly.”¹³⁴ The possibility for religious activities on the roof of a *funduq* is also suggested in the story of the Tunisian Sufi who lived on the roof of a *funduq*, and in another reference to a *funduq* in Tunis which had a synagogue on its roof.

This latter building, a dilapidated and abandoned *pundāq*, was the subject of a query put to Rabbi Ṣemaḥ of Algiers by Rabbi Joseph Zimron of Tunis, in around 1460. The text was written in the second half of the fifteenth century, but the *funduq* in question was much older, possibly dating back to the period covered by Geniza letters. Like its counterparts in Fustāt, it was owned by the local Jewish community. Rabbi Ṣemaḥ’s answer reveals information not only on the function of the building, but also on the relationship between the *funduq* and the synagogue, and on the growth of the Jewish community in the late middle ages.

When that synagogue was first built, the people were few, and all the Jews who were there were able to pray in it even when other sojourners came and joined them; the place would hold them all. Now, however, that house cannot hold all the Jews who are there and who wish to pray in it, because they are now a large community and the house is too small for them, which was not the case before. Nor was the place out of the way before, because the people who built it were staying at the *pundāq* where the synagogue was built and were able to pray there always without inconvenience or special effort, every day – evening, morning, and noon. But now things are different because the Jews are not now living at the *pundāq* or in its vicinity; they live in a quarter very far from the inn where the synagogue was, so that they are not able to go and pray at the house three times a day but only in the morning, and not all the people but only a few . . . because of the great distance . . . From what you [i.e. Rabbi Joseph Zimron of Tunis] have written, it appears that that synagogue was a small penthouse on a building not itself sacred [i.e. the *pundāq*] and that the ceiling and walls of that penthouse have now collapsed, so that nothing sacred remains but the floor.¹³⁵

The *pundāq* itself was clearly a hostelry, yet it included a religious space used not only by transient guests but also by members of the local Jewish community.

In general, Muslim law required that Christian and Jewish religious buildings be discreetly placed, and they not overtop Muslim structures. However, there is no mention here as to whether the siting of this synagogue

¹³⁴ Guthrie, *Arab Social Life*, 96. See also Hillenbrand, *Islamic Architecture*, 350. Khān Dennūn, between Damascus and Deraa, had a small room with a *miḥrāb* niche to the left of the entrance (J. Sauvaget, “Un Relais du barīd mamelouk,” in *Mélanges offerts à Gaudefroy-Demombynes par ses amis et anciens élèves* [Cairo: Institut français d’archéologie orientale, 1935–1945] 42).

¹³⁵ Hirschberg, *History of the Jews in North Africa*, 460–461.

on the top of a *funduq* presented any such difficulties. When western Christian merchants were granted *funduqs* (*fondacos*) in Muslim cities, these buildings routinely contained chapels (though not necessarily on the roof), as well as Latin priests. In at least one instance, as we will see in the next chapter, Christians in Tunis ran into difficulties when Muslim officials objected to the construction of a bell-tower on top of their *fondaco*.¹³⁶

Guests might also enjoy further amenities during their stay in a *funduq* or *khān*, especially if the building were endowed by a *waqf*. Arrangements for food and basic supplies varied; sometimes travelers must provide for their own needs (or bring food which could then be cooked at the *funduq*), while at other times these necessities were freely supplied. Endowment deeds specify many different provisions for guests, including mats for sleeping, bread, shoes (or money to repair shoes), lamps and lamp-oil, buckets, ropes, horseshoes, and even a ration of *halva* on Fridays.¹³⁷ It is unclear whether beds were provided for guests, but Maimonides included a description of the benches commonly found in *pundāqs*.¹³⁸

THE FUNDUQ AS BROTHEL AND TAVERN

Travelers might also encounter other amenities on the road, since *khāns* and *funduqs* – like *pandocheions* before them – were often associated with drinking and prostitution. Nevertheless, although *funduqs* inherited the unsavory reputation of *pandocheions*, they never acquired the same metaphorical valency in Islamic literature and religious writing. In late antiquity, the *pandocheion* became a standard literary symbol for the transient and flawed life of the temporal world. In contrast, Muslim hostelries rarely figured as images of this world (*al-dunyā*) as opposed to the world to come (*al-ākhirah*), although the eleventh-century Turkish author Yūsuf Khāṣṣ Ḥājib drew on a similar analogy, writing that “this world is an inn, and you are as it were a caravan.”¹³⁹ *Funduqs* were fundamentally worldly institutions.

¹³⁶ Al-Wansharīsī, *Mi'yār*, II, 215–216.

¹³⁷ Al-Maqdisī, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm*, 324; Hillenbrand, *Islamic Architecture*, 350; al-Maqrīzī, *Les Marchés du Caire*, 10; J. Sauvaget, *La Poste aux chevaux dans l'empire des mamelouks* (Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1941) 30–31.

¹³⁸ *Code of Maimonides*, x, trans. H. Danby (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954/1982), The Book of Cleanness, v.12. This reference may draw on much earlier material.

¹³⁹ *Kutadgu Bilig*, ed. R. R. Arat (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basimevi, 1959) 112–113; trans. R. Dankoff as *Wisdom of Royal Glory (Kutadgu Bilig). A Turko-Islamic Mirror for Princes* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983) 86–87. The word translated as “inn” is *konak* (analogous in meaning to the Arabic *manzil*). My thanks to Patricia Crone for drawing my attention to this reference, and to Elizabeth Frierson for her advice on the Turkish.

The profession of the innkeeper (*ṣāhib al-funduq*) was tainted with the same disreputable associations as the Greek *pandocheus*. Equally, the word *funduqīyya* (the female keeper of a *funduq*, or a worker in a *funduq*) could be used for a woman of dubious reputation. ‘Abd al-Jabbār al-Hamadānī (d. 1025) drew on earlier Christian tradition when he described Helena, the mother of the Roman emperor Constantine, as a *funduqīyya*.¹⁴⁰ A roughly contemporary legal case from Qayrawan, brought to the jurist al-Qābisī (d. 1012), dealt with a situation in which a drunken man committed blasphemy, crying out in public that all keepers of *funduqs* were cuckolds and pimps, even if they were revealed prophets. The legal query turned on the interpretation of the final clause, while the assertion about cuckolds and pimps went unchallenged. Al-Qābisī handled the offense rather lightly, ruling that such a troublemaker ought to be gagged and firmly restrained, even if the offense were attributable to inebriation. In any case, he added, there were no revealed prophets among contemporary *funduq* keepers, even if prophets in the past had often had riches – and perhaps even *funduqs*.¹⁴¹

The profession remained suspect, however, and later, Ibn ‘Abdūn explicitly warned that the keepers of “*funduqs* for merchants and foreigners ought not to be [women] since this leads to fornication.” Furthermore, even if indecent activities were not taking place in the building itself, “prostitutes should be prohibited from uncovering their heads outside of the *funduq*” and thereby enticing the guests within.¹⁴² A Cairo Geniza letter from 1140 further confirms the poor reputation of *funduqs*. It describes the case of a Jewish man accused of having sexual relations with a Muslim girl in a *funduq* in Alexandria. The young woman first denied the affair, then lodged a charge of rape. Despite the ensuing scandal and local outcry, the man was eventually acquitted by a local Muslim judge, perhaps owing to doubts about what the girl was doing in a *funduq* in the first place.¹⁴³

The Andalusī author Ibn Ḥazm (d. 1064) put a comical twist on the theme of sexual immorality in *funduqs* and the presence of women within their walls. He told a tale of how

¹⁴⁰ S. Pines, “The Jewish Christians of the Early Centuries of Christianity according to a New Source,” *Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities* 2 (1966), 28. ‘Abd al-Jabbār borrowed his tale from earlier Syriac and Greek versions, as well as drawing upon a standard Arabic literary trope questioning the reputation of Byzantine women. See N. El-Cheikh, “Describing the Other to Get at the Self: Byzantine Women in Arabic Sources (8th–11th Centuries),” *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 40 (1997) 239–250.

¹⁴¹ Al-Wansharīsī, *Mi‘yār*, II, 356–357, 517–519.

¹⁴² Ibn ‘Abdūn, *Risāla*, 49, 50.

¹⁴³ TS 13 J 13.24; Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, II, 279.

a certain shaikh, whose name I cannot mention, was lodging in a *funduq* in Baghdad. There he saw a daughter of the manageress of the *funduq*; he fell in love with her, and married her. When he was privily with her, he uncovered himself for a certain purpose. Her eyes fell upon him and, being a virgin, she took fright at his virility; she fled to her mother, and would have nothing more to do with him. All those about her besought her to return to her husband, but she refused and almost died at the thought. He therefore put her away; then he repented and sought to win her back, but that proved impossible . . . His mind became deranged, and he remained under treatment in hospital for a long time, until at last he recovered and forgot his troubles, though even then with great difficulty.

Although this account could be taken as a straightforward tale of sexual incompatibility and a failed marriage, it is more humorous and makes better sense – particularly given the husband’s reaction – to read it in terms of the improbability of finding a virgin and prudish bride in a *funduq*.¹⁴⁴

Ibn Butlān, a Christian Arab doctor from Baghdad, described a system of regulated prostitution that he had observed in Byzantine Latakia in 1048–1050. Here, the market inspector (*muhtasib*) “assembles the harlots and those foreigners among the Byzantines who are inclined to fornication . . . they are taken to the *khāns* destined for the lodging of foreigners after each one of them has received . . . a token stamped with the seal of the archbishop as a certificate to be verified by the governor.”¹⁴⁵ This account smacks of stereotypical Arab astonishment at Byzantine sexual practices, and it is impossible to know exactly what was going on (or what these *khāns* were actually called in Greek).

Hostelries were likewise associated with other vices, especially the consumption of wine. When the Ayyūbid sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf I ordered the construction of a mosque in Damascus in 1234, it was built “on the site of a *khān* that had been a place of debauchery and habitual drunkenness.”¹⁴⁶ At the other end of the Mediterranean, al-Idrīsī’s description of the hundreds of *funduqs* in twelfth-century Almería noted that these buildings had been counted in order to be assessed by the tax bureau (*dīwān*) for the production or sale of wine/grapes (*ta’nib*).¹⁴⁷

It is possible that al-Idrīsī was referring to *funduqs* for foreign Christians, which certainly existed in Almería in the middle of the twelfth century,

¹⁴⁴ Ibn Ḥazm, *Tawq al-ḥamāmah*, ed. T. A. Makki (Cairo: Dār al-Ma’ārif, 1975) 138; trans. A. J. Arberry, *The Ring of the Dove* (London: Luzac & Co., 1953) 199.

¹⁴⁵ J. Schacht and M. Meyerhof, *The Medico-Philosophical Controversy between Ibn Butlan of Baghdad and Ibn Ridwan of Cairo. A Contribution to the History of Greek Learning among the Arabs* (Cairo: Egyptian University, 1937) 57.

¹⁴⁶ Al-Dhahabī, *Kitāb al-duwal al-Islām (Les dynasties de l’Islam)*, trans. A. Nègre (Damascus: Institut français de Damas, 1979) 231 (text II, 103, 6–12).

¹⁴⁷ Al-Idrīsī, *Kitāb nuzhat*, 563.

but the relatively small Christian community was unlikely to have needed quite so many hostels. Nevertheless, western Christian merchants in North Africa and Egypt were routinely granted permission for the importation and consumption of wine in their *fondacos*, and a special tax, usually called *gabella*, was levied in return for this privilege. There is good reason to believe that the European wine imported to the Christian *fondacos* in Tunis found its way into the wider Muslim community (see chapter 4).

Like *pandocheions* before them, *funduqs* and *khāns* could be places where people died. Travelers might be elderly or ill, as was probably true of the Andalusī scholar (noted above) who passed away in a *khān* in Cairo in 1237, or a merchant listed as dying in the Khān al-Muʿazzam in Damascus in 1290.¹⁴⁸ But sometimes the circumstances were more suspect. In 1134, the Andalusī poet Ibn Khāqān was found with his throat cut in the Funduq of the Oranges in Marrakesh. The fact that the body had lain undetected for three nights suggests either that this hostelry was little used or that guests had private rooms.¹⁴⁹ In another case, an undated Geniza letter written by a man in Hebron sought witnesses in order to ascertain the circumstances of his brother's recent death in a *funduq*.¹⁵⁰ Though mysterious, there is no actual indication of foul play in this case, and the brother may have died of illness.

Despite their reputation for illicit and criminal activities, most *funduqs* cannot have conformed to this disreputable pattern, otherwise they would not have continued to flourish as lodging-houses and commercial spaces. Most must have been relatively safe, clean, and respectable; the kind of place where – in the words of Maimonides – a young engaged couple and their parents might “stay overnight . . . in the manner of all wayfarers.”¹⁵¹

LODGING THE “OTHER”: FUNDUQS AND COMMUNAL IDENTITY

One reason for the dubious reputation of the *funduq* may lie in the fact that, from their earliest inception, these hostelries provided lodging to foreigners and travelers who had no friends or family in a given city. Like the earlier *pandocheions*, *funduqs* generally “accepted all comers” and were, by their very nature, gathering-points for those people who were to some

¹⁴⁸ Marín, “El viaje a Oriente,” 298–299; al-Jazarī, *Chronique*, 3 (no. 17).

¹⁴⁹ Ibn Khāqān, *Qalā'id al-iqyān* (Tunis: Dār al-Tūnisiyya lil-Nashr, 1990) 12; G. Deverdun, *Marrakech, des origines à 1912* (Rabat: Editions techniques nord-africaines, 1959) 136.

¹⁵⁰ TS 10 J 10.20.

¹⁵¹ *Code of Maimonides*, IV, trans. I. Klein (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972) Marriage, xxii.2.

degree *other*, different, or alien to the local context. The very strangeness of foreign travelers could generate distrust, perhaps even fear, while at the same time the dictates of religious hospitality and commercial expediency urged their continued reception in *funduqs* throughout the Muslim world.

Many *funduqs* catered to a particular clientele, usually distinguished by profession, religion, or regional origin. For example, there was a *funduq* for travelers from Aleppo (*Ḥalabiyīn*) in Damascus, and there were facilities in Cairo that were known as the Khān of the Sawyers or the *funduq* for merchants bringing olive oil from Syria.¹⁵² It is perfectly understandable that merchants and other travelers would have sought out hostels and commercial spaces where they could enjoy the companionship of compatriots with similar interests, dialect, and beliefs. Nevertheless, there is little suggestion of strict exclusivity in either the goods or people that came through these facilities. When Ibn Jubayr arrived in Egypt in the early 1180s, he stayed at an inn known as the Funduq of the Coppersmiths, even though he was not a metalworker.¹⁵³ Likewise, when a Jewish merchant in the early eleventh century wrote home complaining that he had spent a month at the Funduq of the Raisins in Tunis, keeping watch over fifty-eight bales of goods, it is unlikely that his entire cargo consisted of dried fruit.¹⁵⁴

Nor is there much indication of religious segregation for merchants traveling within the *Dār al-Islām*. Muslim and Jewish merchants could generally choose their own lodgings, either in hostelries or in private houses (although the latter was sometimes discouraged). Some *funduqs* probably encouraged a Muslim clientele, especially merchants from a particular home town or in a particular profession, while there is parallel evidence for hostelries exclusively patronized by Jewish travelers. A responsum attributed to Rabbi Sherira Gaon, thus probably from the late tenth century, addressed the question of travelers lodged in an inn inhabited only by Jews, indicating that such arrangements were not unknown.¹⁵⁵ Later, the “Jewish *funduq*” (Funduq al-Yuhūdī) in Marīnid Fez was probably either a facility belonging to the local Jewish community or a Muslim *funduq* intended to lodge Jewish patrons.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵² Damascus *funduq* mentioned in a text from 1241 (Combe et al. [eds.], *Répertoire*, xi, 130–131 [no. 4196]); Cairo *funduqs* cited in al-Maqrīzī, *Khīṭāṭ*, II, 92–94.

¹⁵³ Ibn Jubayr, *Rihla*, 39, *Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, 30.

¹⁵⁴ TS 12.124; Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, I, 349. The letter was written from Tunis in about 1005–1035.

¹⁵⁵ I. A. Agus, *Urban Civilization in Pre-Crusade Europe* (New York: Yeshiva University Press, 1965) I, 54–55.

¹⁵⁶ R. Le Tourneau, *Fez in the Age of the Marinids* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961) 31.

Other *funduqs* and *khāns* in the medieval Muslim world were less exclusive, and functioned as sites of interaction and exchange between different communities. Overall, within the Islamic milieu, there is not strong evidence for segregation of patronage along religious lines, or of separating Muslim clients from *dhimmīs*. Evidence of a mixed clientele usually comes through chance references, although in rare cases (as with the endowment of the Syrian Khān al-ʿItna, founded in 1234 for lodging both Muslim and non-Muslim travelers) it was made explicit.¹⁵⁷ An early thirteenth-century Geniza letter was addressed to a Jewish merchant staying at the Funduq al-Maḥallī in Fuṣṭāṭ, a well-known Muslim hostelry.¹⁵⁸ Another Geniza text contains a merchant's appeal to a Muslim judge concerning goods which he stored in a state *funduq*.¹⁵⁹ Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*, likewise, addressed the situation in which a Jew were to rent a room for a brief period in a non-Jewish *pundāq*.¹⁶⁰

In a rather different vein, the legal case from Alexandria involving a possible sexual liaison in a *funduq* between a Jewish man and a Muslim girl also indicates that these hostelries could be (or were, at least, suspected of being) venues for private inter-faith rendezvous.¹⁶¹ Such encounters were made possible, perhaps, by the location of some hostelries in mixed neighborhoods. A Geniza document describing the sale of a house by a Jewish woman in Fuṣṭāṭ in the middle of the twelfth century mentions that one of the neighboring properties was a *funduq* owned by a Christian.¹⁶²

Generally, choice of lodging appears to have been a matter of an individual traveler's preference, although there is some evidence of government intervention and regulation. Merchants and other foreigners could be required to stay in *funduqs*, though not necessarily in any particular establishment. Urban officials were concerned to ensure that travelers, especially foreigners, were safely housed and not wandering through the city, and that their goods were properly assessed and stored. There were advantages to administrators and tax-collectors, and also to trade and communications more generally, that a merchant's location be known. A number of Geniza

¹⁵⁷ This hostel was constituted as a *waqf* "for the benefit of Muslims and others who are strong in their beliefs" (Combe et al. [eds.], *Répertoire*, xi, 45–46 [no. 4066]; al-Maqrīzī, *Les Marchés du Caire*, 7; Sauvaget, "Caravansérails syriens," [1939] 54–55).

¹⁵⁸ TS 8 J 18.29; Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, I, 349.

¹⁵⁹ TS 16.102; Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, I, 267.

¹⁶⁰ *Mishneh Torah*, trans. E. Touger (New York: Moznaim Publishing Corp., 1990) Hilchot Mezuzah, v, 10. Since Jewish travelers often had to stay in Gentile lodgings, whether in the late antique period, when the Talmud was compiled, or the middle ages, Maimonides' comments continued to be relevant in his own day.

¹⁶¹ TS 13 J 13.24; Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, II, 279.

¹⁶² TS 12.660.

missives were addressed to merchants staying in *funduqs* abroad, suggesting the addressees' regular and habitual residence in these establishments. Whether this was dictated by personal choice or official regulations – or a combination of both – is not clear.

Laxity in the government oversight of lodgings for Muslim and *dhimmi* merchants did not extend to foreign Christian traders. For this reason, there were dramatic changes in the control of *funduqs* with the arrival of growing numbers of European merchants in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries. These western merchants needed greater supervision and regulation, since they were much more fundamentally “other” than the indigenous traders traveling and conducting business within the *Dār al-Islām*. As increasing numbers of Italian, French, and Catalan traders entered the southern Mediterranean trading sphere, they encountered the institution of the *funduq* in the different Muslim ports where they sought to do business. These western merchants and pilgrims became the objects of strict state oversight, and they were assigned to specific *funduqs* in Islamic cities. Whether in Seville, Tunis, or Alexandria, merchants from Genoa or Venice and elsewhere had to adapt their operations to accommodate the commercial institutions, including the *funduq*, that were characteristic of Muslim cities.

The *funduq*, in turn, adapted to suit the needs of this increasingly important merchant community, assuming new functions as local Muslim governments took advantage of growing western trade and its fiscal opportunities. Many of the earlier characteristic features of the *funduq* were preserved, yet the institution developed new aspects and took on a new clientele in its character as the Italian *fondaco* (or Latin *fundicum*). As will be discussed in the next chapter, the role of the *funduq/fondaco* as a base for Christian commercial operations in Muslim markets would become a critical support to the development of cross-cultural trade in the medieval Mediterranean world. In turn, the growth of flourishing traffic between European and Islamic cities would profoundly affect the future evolution of the *funduq* and *fondaco*.

*Colonies before colonialism: western Christian trade
and the evolution of the fondaco*

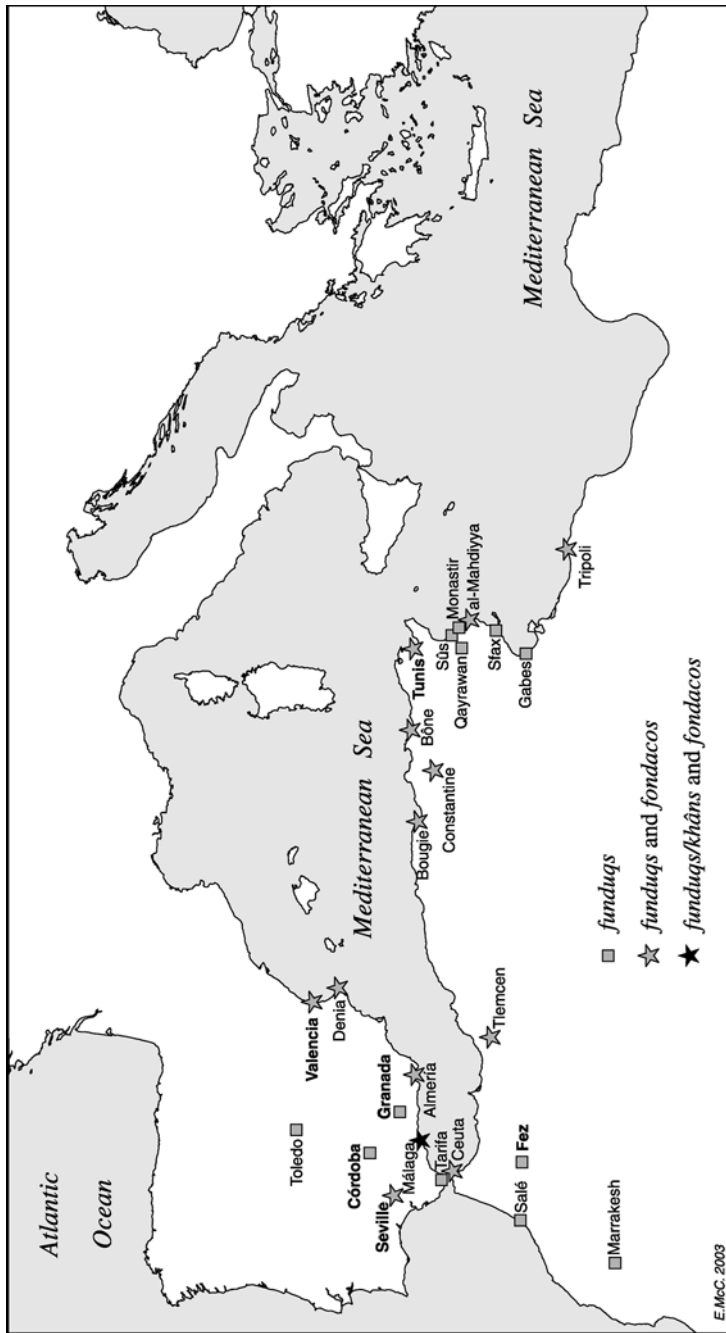
When the Iberian Jewish traveler Benjamin of Tudela arrived in Alexandria in 1165, he was struck by the busy commerce of the city, by the many foreign merchants doing business there – especially Latin Christians – and by the fact that each foreign “nation” possessed its own *funduq*. He described Alexandria as:

a commercial market for all nations. Merchants come thither from all the Christian kingdoms. On the one side, from the land of Venice and Lombardy, Tuscany, Apulia, Amalfi, Sicily, Calabria, Romagna, Khazaria, Patzinakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Ragusa, Croatia, Slavonia, Russia, Germany, Saxony, Denmark, Kurland, Ireland, Norway, Frisia, Scotland, England, Wales, Flanders, Hainault, Normandy, France, Poitiers, Anjou, Burgundy, Maurienne, Provence, Genoa, Pisa, Gascony, Aragón, and Navarre. And towards the west, under the sway of the Muslims: al-Andalus, Algarve, Africa, and the land of the Arabs. And on the other side India, Zawalih, Abyssinia, Libya, Yemen, Shinar, Syria; also Javan, whose people are called the Greeks, and the Turks . . . And the city is a busy one and full of traffic. Each nation has a *funduq* of its own.¹

Benjamin’s comments have been criticized as exaggerated and unlikely, and it is indeed doubtful whether such a broad spectrum of foreign merchants were active in Alexandria in the second half of the twelfth century.² Nevertheless, there is good contemporary documentation to support the core of his observations, that a number of western Christian merchant groups (as well as Muslim and Jewish traders) had colonies and enjoyed rights to *funduqs* in Alexandria in this period. This was, however, a relatively new development in cross-cultural trade relations in the Mediterranean world. This chapter will examine the evolution and impact of this trend, as

¹ Benjamin of Tudela, *Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, Hebrew 67–69, English 76. Some of the place names in this passage have been slightly modernized from Adler’s translation.

² David Jacoby, for one, remarks that this report “n’est guère confirmée par d’autres sources” (“Les Italiens en Egypte aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles: du comptoir à la colonie?” in *Coloniser au moyen âge*, ed. Michel Balard and Alain Ducellier [Paris: Armand Colin, 1995] 79).



Map 3. Distribution of *funduqs*, *fondacos*, and *khâns* in the western Islamic Mediterranean (tenth to fifteenth centuries)

European traders were granted access to Muslim and Byzantine commercial space in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries.

Economic and political patterns in the Mediterranean world shifted during these centuries as markets which had long been dominated by Muslim and Jewish traders came into the hands of Christian rulers and merchants. At the same time, routes of maritime traffic expanded, creating new connections between cities in southern Europe and Islamic ports in the Near East, North Africa, and al-Andalus. Western Christian traffic with Byzantium also developed, as increasing numbers of European merchants and sailors arrived in Constantinople and other ports in the eastern empire. The catalysts for this commercial growth are much debated, but it is clear that a burgeoning population, growing cities, and improved agricultural production in western Europe stimulated new economic vigor, and created both new markets for imported commodities and a merchant class ready to travel long distances to procure these goods.

The increase in long-distance international trade across the Mediterranean, and the arrival of more western Christian merchants in Muslim and Byzantine cities, forced a reevaluation of current local institutions designed for foreign travelers and traders. Foreign merchants needed safe places for lodging and storage, they needed accommodation for religious observance, facilities for cooking and bathing, and markets for buying and selling goods. Muslim authorities were likewise concerned that foreign merchants, especially Latin Christians, be securely housed, that their goods be properly stored, traded, and taxed, and that they not trespass unsupervised into the local social or economic sphere. In Muslim cities, the institution of the *funduq* already met many of these needs, and had long provided necessary amenities to Muslim and Jewish traders. Gradually, this institution was adapted to meet the similar requirements of the new population of western Christian merchants.³ The twelfth century, particularly, marked a period of change for the *funduq*, as it evolved from an institution that catered only to merchants trading within the *Dār al-Islām* to one that served the needs of a broader cross-cultural commercial clientele. By the 1160s, when Benjamin of Tudela visited Alexandria, *funduqs* already served as foci for western Christian commerce in that city, both facilitating and regulating the activities of European merchant colonies.

Europeans called these facilities *fundicum* in Latin, or *fondaco* in Italian (with a variety of other vernacular cognates). The direct relationship

³ In contrast, the *khān* and other Muslim hostleries were never adapted to accommodate the growth of Christian traffic.

between the *funduq* and the *fondaco*, one being a translation of the other, is made clear in commercial treaties that survive in both Arabic and Italian versions. Nevertheless, although the facilities for western traders continued to be called *funduqs* in Arabic, their administration and organization differed from ordinary hostels for indigenous merchants. In the current discussion, for the sake of simplicity, the term *fondaco* will apply to facilities intended for western Christian merchants, whereas *funduq* designates hostleries and storage facilities for traders from within the *Dār al-Islām*.

The existence of the *funduq* and *fondaco* in the Muslim world encouraged European traders to visit Islamic ports, while the lack of comparable institutions in European cities meant that Muslim merchants rarely journeyed to European markets. *Fondacos* in Alexandria, Tunis, Seville, and other Islamic ports facilitated interreligious trade in a way that was unknown in Europe.⁴ Like the *pandocheions* before them, Muslim *funduqs* had rarely restricted their clientele on the basis of religion. Instead, they were more likely to be organized according to a merchant's specialization in a particular commodity or his regional origin. This policy allowed them the flexibility to cater to European traders, but the very presence of these foreigners gradually forced changes to the original institution and the evolution of the *fondaco*. As we will see, the system of European *fondacos* in Muslim cities soon established restrictive regulations and patterns of segregation, even while it provided foreign Christian merchants invaluable access to local commercial space.

The structure and regulation provided by *fondacos* made cross-cultural commerce and interaction possible even during periods of religious warfare and territorial conquest. *Fondacos* facilitated economic exchange that benefited both incoming and indigenous merchant communities, as well as their respective governments. As with *funduqs*, these lucrative facilities were closely regulated by local Muslim authorities, who maintained strict controls over access to and use of *fondaco* buildings.⁵ Thus, despite some functional similarities with early modern European trading colonies in India and the New World, the medieval *fondaco* system in Muslim ports was not yet an extension of European commercial hegemony. Through the

⁴ Hanseatic trading houses in northern Europe, such as the *steelhof* in London, shared functional similarities with Mediterranean *funduqs* and *fondacos*, but their evolution was unrelated. Likewise, there was no direct relationship with merchant compounds in the Far East, as has been suggested by R. S. Lopez ("Du Marché temporaire à la colonie permanente: l'évolution de la politique commerciale au moyen âge," *Annales: Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 4 [1949] 403–405).

⁵ Claude Cahen has remarked that western *funduqs* are not mentioned in Makhzūmī's *Minhāj*, a twelfth-century treatise on commerce and taxes in Egypt. Possibly this section of the text has been lost (C. Cahen, *Makhzūmiyyāt. Etudes sur l'histoire économique et financière de l'Égypte médiévale* [Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1977] 237–238).

fifteenth century, the *fondacos* in Alexandria, Tunis, and other Muslim cities were western colonies without the apparatus of colonialism.

Western traders were already trading in Islamic ports by the tenth century, and their numbers grew substantially over the next three hundred years. This was not, however, a period of peaceful commercial exchange across the Mediterranean, but one characterized by hostilities between Europe, Islam, and Byzantium, and dominated by the warfare of the Crusades and Christian territorial expansion. Merchants, ship-builders, and sailors in southern European ports often benefited from this confrontation, since it brought new business and opened new markets in recently Christian cities in Spain, Sicily, and the Crusader states, as well as in critical Muslim ports such as Alexandria and Tunis. The combined demands of increased trade and war sparked a reevaluation and restructuring of Christian–Muslim merchant relations, an increased need for commercial security, and the birth of the *fondaco*.

Most of the important states and commercial cities in southern Europe negotiated independent and advantageous treaties with Muslim states in Egypt, North Africa, and Spain, each seeking to outdo (or at least equal) their rivals in terms of the commercial privileges accorded to their merchants doing business abroad. By the second half of the twelfth century, it became routine to include promises of access to a *fondaco* and other facilities in these treaties, along with standard commercial clauses relating to safe-conduct, tax reductions, shipwreck and salvage, legal jurisdiction, and related matters. These treaties are more than merely rhetorical statements of commercial and political aspirations, since in many cases data from other sources confirm the implementation of their provisions.

Unlike merchants doing business overland within the Islamic world, merchants traveling across the sea from Europe might need to spend the winter season abroad. Mediterranean weather imposed a seasonal rhythm on the schedule of maritime commerce and travel, since voyages were difficult and dangerous – though not impossible – during winter months. Thus, a prudent businessman who set out for the eastern Mediterranean from Genoa or Barcelona in September would do well to winter in Alexandria or Aleppo, settling himself and his cargo in a *fondaco* until the arrival of more clement spring weather. Some merchants might stay longer, basing themselves for several years in a foreign city and relaying information and goods to partners at home.

As Benjamin of Tudela indicated, European merchants in Alexandria and other Muslim cities were distributed among several western *fondacos*. Some merchants may have rented or owned their own lodgings, though local

authorities generally discouraged this kind of arrangement.⁶ Over time, there was increasing pressure for western merchants to reside, store their goods, and do their business exclusively within *fondaco* buildings, under the care and oversight of city officials. Although some merchants chafed at these restrictions, the arrangement also had advantages. The ease occasioned by familiarity of food and language, access to a Latin priest and western law, and the pleasure of lodging with other Europeans were considerable assets. As the German pilgrim Felix Fabri later put it, on arriving at the Catalan *fondaco* in Alexandria, “it had been so long that we had been able to seek shelter with a Christian that it seemed to us that we had reached the borders of our own country.”⁷

By the thirteenth century, the institution of the *fondaco* was well established, and numerous western descriptions of Muslim cities, particularly Alexandria, mentioned the presence of these buildings assigned to different “national” groups of Christian merchants. Benjamin of Tudela’s report is thus only an early example in a long series of similar observations made by visitors to the city. Reports from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries give much fuller reports of *fondacos*. The Irish pilgrim Simon Semeonis, for example, who traveled through Alexandria in 1323, described the institution in its fully evolved form:

In Alexandria each Christian maritime state possesses its own *fondaco* (*fundus*) and its consul. The *fondaco* is a building erected for the merchants of some designated state or region. Thus there are *fondacos* of Genoa, Venice, Marseille, and of the Catalans, and others. Every merchant is obliged to betake himself, along with whatever merchandise he may have brought, to the *fondaco* of his respective state or region in accordance with the directions of his consul, the latter being at the head of the establishment and of all those housed in it. Without his presence and permission no merchant of the state which he represents is admitted into the city along with his wares.⁸

Simon’s account would be echoed again and again by later travelers in Mamlūk Egypt, both merchants and pilgrims, whose writings provide a detailed portrait of the institution in the later middle ages. It is unlikely,

⁶ There is evidence that a few merchants lived outside *fondacos*. A Genoese document written in Tunis in the 1280s, for example, was drawn up “in domo magistri Guidi”: in Geo Pitarino (ed.), *Notai genovesi in Oltremare: atti rogati a Tunisi da Pietro Battifoglio (1288–1289)* (Genoa: Civico Istituto Colombiano, 1986) xxxii. See also chap. 8, n. 6.

⁷ Fabri, *Evagatorium in terrae sanctae*, III, 149 [126a], *Voyage en Egypte*, II, 667. Merchants may have been less struck by this contrast than pilgrims, since they were not allowed to travel so widely in Muslim lands, and thus more frequently lodged in *fondacos*.

⁸ Simon Semeonis, *Itinerarium Symonis Semeonis ab Hybernia ad Terram Sanctam*, ed. and trans. Mario Esposito, *Scriptores Latini Hiberniae IV* (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1960) 49–51.

however, that the institution was so fully developed in the Ayyūbid period, nor yet so clearly distinguished from its cousin, the *funduq*.

In order to chart the institution's evolution over time and in regional contexts, the next section will examine the development of western *fondacos* first in Egypt and Syria under Fāṭimid and Ayyūbid rule through the middle of the thirteenth century, then in the contemporary western and central Mediterranean realms of the Almoravids, Almoḥads, and Ḥafṣids. After this regional survey, a discussion of the administration and staffing of *fondacos* provides a comparison of their management, privileges, and personnel in different areas. Despite regional and political differences within the Islamic world, it will be evident that similar forces were at work throughout the southern Mediterranean, and that European merchant powers often negotiated parallel arrangements for *fondacos* and other commercial privileges with several different Muslim states. At the same time, western traders were also seeking economic access to Byzantine markets, where their requests were accommodated in different ways. By way of comparison, the Byzantine response to the arrival of Latin merchant groups will be discussed at the end of the chapter.

FOREIGNERS AND FONDACOS IN FĀṬIMID AND AYYŪBID CITIES

Although a few European merchants traveled to Muslim markets in the eighth and ninth centuries, the earliest reference to a colony of western European merchants resident in Egypt comes from the late tenth century.⁹ The Christian Arab author Yaḥyā of Antioch (writing in the early eleventh century) recorded a massacre of 160 Amalfitan merchants in Miṣr (Cairo) in 996. Whether or not the tally is exact, this report indicates a substantial western colony in the city by the end of the tenth century. Yaḥyā did not mention a *fondaco*, but noted instead a building called *dār al-mānak*, in which Rūmī merchants lived and stored their goods, that was pillaged during the massacre. Another contemporary writer, the Muslim author al-Musabbihī, confirmed these events, and also cited the *dār al-mānak* in connection with Rūmī merchant lodging and commercial storage.¹⁰ Several points are particularly worth noting in these reports: first, they show a significant group of western traders in Egypt identified by regional origin

⁹ On travel before the tenth century, see McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*, 240, 243.

¹⁰ Claude Cahen, "Un Texte peu connu relatif au commerce oriental d'Amalfi au Xe siècle," *Archivio Storico per le Province Napoletane* n.s. 34 (1953–1954) 4–6. *Dār* simply means "house," but the meaning of the term *mānak* is not known; Cahen also posits an alternate reading, *mātak*, in the text of al-Musabbihī.

(Amalfi); second, these merchants had a particular locus for their lodging and trade; third, this building was called *dār al-mānak*, not *funduq*, even though *funduqs* were a long-established element in the Muslim urban landscape by this period.¹¹ The practice of separate housing for Christian (but not necessarily western) merchants is attested even earlier in Baghdad, when a Christian Arab doctor, Māsawayh ibn Yuḥanna (d. 857) rented a room in the *dār al-Rūm*, a facility for housing Christian merchants and travelers.¹² Here again, the building was not yet specifically called a *funduq*, though it may have served much the same purpose. The fact that Christian traders occupied an established physical space within the city, and were recognized as a distinct community, presumably grew out of familiar attitudes toward both local Christians and traveling merchants. Although the Cairo massacre in 996 was surely a setback in commercial relations between Egypt and Europe, it nonetheless reflected early cross-cultural traffic long before the formal development of a *fondaco* system.

Although there is evidence of its existence from the late eleventh century, the western commercial *fondaco* only appears as a documented institution in Muslim cities from the middle of the twelfth century. By this point, European economic and military expansion forced a reconsideration of Muslim strategies for controlling and accommodating foreigners. The presence of foreign merchants in Egypt was clearly an issue by 1174–1175 (570 AH), when the new Ayyūbid ruler Saladin wrote a letter to Baghdad explaining and justifying his relations with Venetian, Pisan, and Genoese merchants on the grounds that they were able to supply arms and other necessary items to Egypt.¹³ Muslim buyers in Egypt and elsewhere were eager for metals and timber, to use for arms production and ship-building, and western merchants were happy to supply this market despite papal disapproval.¹⁴ A

¹¹ It is perfectly possible, of course, that some people already called the Amalfitan residence a *funduq*. Equally, one might speculate that the evolution of the *fondaco*, as a secure space for foreign traders, arose in the wake of tragedies such as the massacre in 996.

¹² Levy, *A Baghdad Chronicle*, 67. Possibly this was related to the facility, later called the House of the Sultan (*dār al-khalīfah*) by Yāqūt (d. 1229), that rendered revenues to the state from “payers of the *jizya* [i.e. non-Muslims] who lodge there” (Yāqūt, *Mujam al-buldān*, 111, 517). For the location of the *dār al-Rūm*, see Françoise Michaeu, “Bagdad,” in Garcin (ed.), *Grands villes Méditerranéennes*, 114–115.

¹³ This letter was reproduced by a number of authors, of whom Abū Shāmah (1203–1267) was the earliest (*Kitāb al-rawdatayn* [Cairo: Maṭbaʿāt Lajnat al-Taʿlīf, 1962] 1.2, 621–622; also *Recueil des historiens des croisades*, *Historiens Orientaux* 1v [Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1848] 178). See also Ibn Wāṣil (d. 1298) (*Mufarrij al-kurūb fī akhbār Bānī Ayyūb* [Cairo: Wizārat al-thaqāfa wa al-irshād al-qawmī, 1953–1960] 111, 296–297) and al-Qalqashandī (d. 1418) (*Subḥ al-aʿshā*, 111, 88).

¹⁴ Papal legislation, including the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 (chapter 71), explicitly prohibited Christians from carrying arms, iron, or timber to Muslim ports. See also O. R. Constable, *Trade and Traders in Muslim Spain: The Commercial Realignment of the Iberian Peninsula, 900–1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994) 237–239.

Pisan treaty with Saladin drawn up not long before his letter to Baghdad (dated Safar 569/September 1173) had confirmed Pisan rights to a *fondaco*, and encouraged the Italians to import iron, wood, and pitch to Egypt.¹⁵ Likewise, Venetian notarial contracts from May and June 1173 mentioned a *fondaco* in Alexandria and arranged for shipments of timber to that city.¹⁶

Evidently, it was critical to find a means to regularize, exploit, and control Christian merchant activities in Muslim cities. Late Fāṭimid and Ayyūbid rulers found the *funduq* conveniently at hand to meet these needs, and texts of the period increasingly described the *funduq* as a facility for lodging “foreigners” (*ghurabāʾ*) as well as indigenous merchants and travelers.¹⁷ At the same time, it was necessary to develop a broader theory about the place of foreign Christians within Muslim society. Local Christian and Jewish communities living under Muslim rule, the *ahl al-dhimma*, were a different issue, since Muslim law and practice had longstanding precedents for handling inter-faith matters within the *Dār al-Islām*. Foreign Christian traders did not fall into the same category as local Christians, however, and they needed a grant of safe-conduct (*aman*) in order to travel and trade in Muslim lands. In theory, such a safe-conduct could be granted by an individual Muslim to an individual Christian, but in practice it was usually negotiated through commercial treaties between ruling powers. Thus, a treaty between Genoa and the Egyptian sultan would grant safe-conduct to all Genoese merchants trading in Egypt for a certain period.

Statements of practice in regard to the status of foreign Christians in Muslim lands are uncommon, but one later *fatwa*, from the Egyptian jurist al-Subkī (d. 1355), divided foreigners into four legitimate groups (ambassadors and envoys, merchants, pilgrims, and those who came to listen to the Quran) and remarked that

those who come to the land of Islam for trade under safe-conduct are not subject to the same law as the *ahl al-dhimma*. Unlike them, their status is that of persons enjoying the pledge of safe-conduct or treaty. And the pledge of safe-conduct is a weaker obligation than the covenant of *ahl al-dhimma*; it is liable to revocation in circumstances wherein the latter cannot be revoked.

If foreign merchants were to break the terms of their safe-conduct, they would be liable for punishment, and in serious cases (particularly in the case

¹⁵ Michele Amari (ed.), *I Diplomi arabi del R. archivio fiorentino* (Florence: Tipografia di F. Le Monnier, 1863) 258. This treaty survives only in Latin. However, internal evidence, especially the fact that it contains *hijri* dates, indicates that there must have been an Arabic original.

¹⁶ R. Morozzo della Rocca and A. Lombardo (eds.), *Documenti del commercio Veneziano nei secoli XI–XIII* (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 1940), 1, 242–243 (docs. 247, 248).

¹⁷ Mones (ed.), “Waṣf al-jadīd,” 170; Ibn Abī Zarʿ, *Kitāb al-anīs al-muṭrib*, 26. Ibn Abī Zarʿ described events during the rule of the Almoḥad caliph Muḥammad al-Nāṣir (1199–1213).

of capital crimes), they could be brought before the sultan for judgment.¹⁸ This statement is borne out in the texts of earlier commercial treaties, which emphasized the special judicial status of foreign merchant groups, usually allowing them to live under their own law in regard to internal disputes but placing more serious matters, again including capital crimes, under the direct jurisdiction of the sultan.

In order to develop a new body of legal theory regarding foreign merchant groups residing within the *Dār al-Islām*, it was necessary to define the groups themselves. This was a process at work simultaneously in both the Muslim and Christian worlds during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and the needs of western merchant groups brought the two spheres of discussion into direct contact. Within Europe, the growing autonomy of Italian city-states, along with more theoretical contemporary debates on the nature of “universal” groups, combined to support the emerging idea of a mercantile *universitas*.¹⁹ Thus, merchants from Genoa, Pisa, Venice, Marseille, and other cities saw themselves as members of distinct groups, defined along “national” lines, pursuing their own personal and communal ends, which were distinct from – and in competition with – those of merchants from other European cities.

Parallel patterns of thought in the Muslim world complemented these European developments, and further assisted the development of a system of “nationally” based western *fondacos*. First, Muslim law had always recognized distinctions between different Christian groups (Nestorians, Jacobites, Melkites, etc.) within the *dhimmī* Christian community, so it was probably no surprise to find that foreign Christian merchants were mutually hostile and resistant to being categorized as one large group. Second, contemporary thinking about Muslim travelers and their accommodation also supported the idea that foreign groups deserved some measure of autonomy and self-administration. In the 1180s, Ibn Jubayr remarked that Saladin had made the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn in Cairo into

a retreat (*maʿwan*) for the strangers from the Maghrib, where they might live and receive lectures; and for their support he granted a monthly allowance . . . the sultan had entrusted to them their own management, and allows no other hand over them. They themselves produce their own leader, whose orders they obey, and to whom they appeal in sudden contingency. They live in peace and satisfaction.²⁰

¹⁸ A. S. Atiya, “An Unpublished xivth Century *Fatwā* on the Status of Foreigners in Mamlūk Egypt and Syria,” in *Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Nahen und Fernen Ostens* Paul Kahle (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1935) 56, 59–60.

¹⁹ P. Racine, “Les Débuts des consulats italiens outre-mer,” in *Etat et colonisation au moyen âge*, ed. Michel Balard (Lyon: La Manufacture, 1989) 272.

²⁰ Ibn Jubayr, *Rihla*, 52, *Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, 44.

A third factor promoting the segregation and self-rule of western Christian merchants within their *fondacos* was the fact that the institution of the *funduq* already encouraged this type of distinction. These spaces had always been informally associated with particular commercial, professional, and even regional groups, and it was thus only a short step to create different “national” *fondacos* for merchants from Venice, Genoa, Pisa, Barcelona, and elsewhere. As with most categories of personal identity in the medieval world, both Muslim and Christian, the primary distinction was based on religion, but in the context of the *fondaco* religion became closely aligned with regional and political affiliation. From the middle of the twelfth century, therefore, “national” distinctions dominated the discourse on *fondacos* and their function, and this continued through the later middle ages and into the Ottoman period.

Despite this rhetoric of segregation, there is plenty of evidence that merchants from different groups traded with each other and visited each other’s *fondacos*, even though they lodged separately. A contract drawn up in Tunis in December 1286 in *fundaco pisanorum*, for example, formalized a partnership between a Venetian and a Pisan merchant for trade to Sardinia.²¹ Muslim authorities, also, may sometimes have infringed on national distinctions, depositing stray foreign merchants or western pilgrims in any handy *fondaco*, without careful regard for affiliation. From the Muslim perspective, it was more important that these itinerants be lodged as soon as possible, for security and tax purposes, than that they be scrupulously categorized. The plethora of diplomatic clauses insisting that – for instance – the Pisans never be compelled to house any other merchants in the Pisan *fondaco* except by their own wish, were probably a reflection of this situation, and a measure of the degree to which Christians themselves preferred segregation.²² Some *fondacos* in Alexandria were more willing to accept a variety of guests than others. The two Venetian *fondacos* rarely took in non-Venetians, but the Catalan *fondaco* often accommodated western pilgrims passing through Alexandria (for a steep fee), while the *fondacos* of Marseille and Narbonne routinely lodged merchants from other southern French cities.

The earliest surviving commercial treaty specifically to mention a Christian *fondaco* in Egypt was drawn up in February 1154 between the Pisan ambassador, Ranieri Botacci, and Abū al-Faql ‘Abbās, vizier to the Fāṭimid caliph al-Zāfir. As with many of the existing diplomatic treaties

²¹ David Abulafia, “A Tyrrhenian Triangle: Tuscany, Sicily, Tunis, 1276–1300,” in *Studi di storia economica toscana nel Medioevo e nel Rinascimento in memoria di Federico Melis* (Pisa: Pacini, 1987) 61.

²² Amari (ed.), *Diplomi arabi*, 288 (“nullo altro homo d’altra gente non chi abia gus et fundacais a voluntate Pisani, et non debet introire avere altra gente sine loro”). The date of this text is uncertain, but it is probably from the thirteenth century.

between medieval Muslim and Christian rulers, only the Latin version of the text survives, although there would originally have been an Arabic copy also. Ranieri Botacci had come to the Fāṭimid court to negotiate for the restitution of Pisan commercial privileges in Egypt, safe-conduct for Pisan merchants and pilgrims, the rebuilding of the Pisan *fondaco* in Alexandria, and the grant of a second *fondaco* to be established in Cairo (Babillonia). In return, Pisa promised not to aid western Christians in the Crusader states against Egypt, nor to supply them with war-ships.²³

Evidently, Pisa had had commercial relations with Egypt – and a *fondaco* in Alexandria – at an earlier point, but trade had been interrupted, presumably by warfare during the Second Crusade. The Crusades would interfere again in the 1160s, when Amalric I invaded Egypt, causing difficulties for western traders doing business there.²⁴ Traffic was reestablished with the arrival of Ayyūbid rule, and Pisa sent another ambassador, Aldeprandus, to renegotiate Pisan commercial privileges in 1173. The treaty with Saladin made in September of that year (noted above) reconfirmed Pisan trading rights in Egypt, and granted them a *fondaco*, church, and bath in Alexandria, along with the promise of free practice of their religion and the right to use their own weights and measures for trade. As we will see, the combination of church, bath, and *fondaco* was already a well-established package in commercial negotiations by this period.²⁵

Departing from earlier Fāṭimid concessions, Saladin granted no rights to a *fondaco* in Cairo, effectively limiting the Pisan commercial sphere to the coastal cities of Alexandria and Damietta.²⁶ These restrictions would persist throughout the Ayyūbid and Mamlūk periods, when Christian merchants were only granted *fondacos* in Alexandria and other ports. Foreign traders were not permitted to pursue their business beyond these border markets, and only had access to Cairo on certain occasions. *Fondacos* were located at control points for Christian–Muslim trade, and served as

²³ Amari (ed.), *Diplomi arabi*, 241–249. See also W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au moyen-âge* (Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1885–1886) 1, 393.

²⁴ Jacoby, “Les Italiens en Egypte,” 77.

²⁵ Amari (ed.), *Diplomi arabi*, 258; Also Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant*, 1, 397.

²⁶ Somewhat later, Pisa appears to have acquired a *fondaco* in Damietta – the only Latin *fondaco* recorded in that city – between 1215 and 1245, and there is some evidence that it was still in use in 1286, when Pisan statutes noted *fondacos* in both Alexandria and Damietta (Francesco Bonaini [ed.], *Statuti inediti della città di Pisa del XII al XIV secolo* [Florence: Presso G. P. Vieusseux, 1854–1870] 1 [1854], 333–334). Also Catherine Otten-Froux, “Les Pisans en Egypte et à Acre dans la seconde moitié du XIII^e siècle: documents nouveaux,” *Bollettino Storico Pisano* 52 (1983) 189 (doc. 15). There were also Muslim *funduqs* in Damietta during this period, since Jean de Joinville described how Christians set “fire to the *fonde* where all the merchandise was and all the goods were sold by weight” during an assault on the city in 1249 (*Histoire de Saint Louis*, 58).

institutions through which Ayyūbid and Mamlūk rulers could regulate and profit from international commerce. By limiting western merchant business to Alexandria, and to certain facilities within that city, it was possible to control the movement of both foreign goods and merchants. Taxes could be collected on imports and sales, and trade routes beyond Alexandria could be reserved for local merchants. No doubt some western merchants, perhaps in league with local partners, evaded this system and traded more widely, but they do not leave any trace in sources from the Ayyūbid period.

The grant of a church and bath for the use of the Pisan merchant community, as well as a *fondaco*, were significant. This constellation of facilities associated with a *fondaco* recalls similar groupings in conjunction with *funduqs*, and clauses of this type – combining several facilities together (*fondaco*, church, bath, oven, garden) – would become a standard feature of commercial treaties between Christian and Muslim powers from the twelfth century onwards. The combination was supported not only by the universal needs of travelers for lodging, worship, washing, and food, but also by the ever-present attention devoted to such facilities by urban jurists, governors, and market inspectors. This was the case not only in Egypt, but throughout the Muslim Mediterranean world.

Churches were critical for western merchants in Muslim cities, and, as Vsevolod Slessarev has argued, it may have been access to churches, more than *fondacos*, that anchored the first overseas merchant communities.²⁷ Many of the earliest sources mentioning cross-cultural trade cite the presence of churches, or perhaps church complexes, in which merchants could worship and also lodge and store their goods. The presence of a church associated with a *fondaco* would also have struck a familiar chord in Muslim society, which was long accustomed to the presence of a mosque or synagogue in similar structures. Many diplomatic treaties mention churches, though few provide further information. One unusually detailed document was drawn up between Alfonso III of Aragón and the Ḥafṣids in July 1287, at a period of Aragonese ascendancy. Both its Arabic and Latin versions not only noted a church and allowed the presence of priests to celebrate the mass, but also – notably – permitted the ringing of bells to summon “Christians in all of the *funduqs* (*alfundicos*) and other residences” to services.²⁸

²⁷ Vsevolod Slessarev, “*Ecclesiae Mercatorum* and the Rise of Merchant Colonies,” *Business History Review* 41 (1967) 177–197.

²⁸ Maximiliano A. Alarcón y Santón (ed. and trans.), *Los documentos árabes diplomáticos del Archivo de la Corona de Aragón* (Madrid: Publicaciones de las Escuelas de Estudios Árabes de Madrid y Granada, 1940) 394–400; Giuseppe La Mantia (ed.), *Codice diplomatico dei re Aragonesi di Sicilia* (Palermo:

In Muslim eyes, the grant of western churches must have been akin to the tolerance for churches in the *dhimmī* community. In general, indigenous Christians were prohibited from ringing bells, enlarging church buildings, or allowing them to overtop Muslim structures. When diplomatic agreements overstepped these traditional limits, difficulties could arise. An undated *fatwa* from Tunis responded to the fact that foreign Christians had built a new church with a tower (*ṣawmā'a*) in their *funduq*. In justification of this action, they had presented Muslim authorities with the text of a treaty stating that nobody should stop them from building a place of worship. They also defended the tower on the grounds that it provided light to the church. The *qāḍī* ordered the case to be investigated, but his final decision does not survive.²⁹

Over time, external facilities such as a church, bath, or oven were brought within the walls of the *fondaco*, creating one large compound, but twelfth-century texts usually still show them as separable amenities. Baths and ovens, particularly, began as ordinary urban facilities that were made available for foreign Christian use on a set schedule. As such, they needed careful oversight and regulation. Because neither church nor bath was on the premises of the *fondaco*, the 1173 treaty between Pisa and Saladin made explicit arrangements for the convenience, privacy, and safety of Pisans when they used these facilities. On the day when they went to the bathhouse, nobody else was allowed to bathe, and when they went to church they would be protected both in the street and in the building itself, and services would be undisturbed by any outside intrusion.³⁰

Ovens were also routinely associated with *fondacos*. These were necessary “for cooking bread” (“habebunt furnum ad coquendum panem suum”), as stated by a 1271 Venetian treaty with Tunis, but also needed for other baking and food preparation.³¹ A year before, the Pisan consul in Alexandria had ordered the construction of an oven in his *fondaco*, and as early as 1228, the

Scuola tip. “Boccone del Povero,” 1917; repr. Palermo: Società Siciliana per la Storia Patria, 1990) 377–386 (doc. 167). The Arabic version of the text remarks that it “is the current custom among the Christians in all the *funduqs*” to ring bells, so this treaty may not reflect any innovation.

²⁹ Al-Wansharīsī, *Mi 'yār*, II, 215–216.

³⁰ Amari (ed.), *Diplomi arabi*, 258 (“in die quando illi ad lavandum issent, nullus extraneus debet ire . . . quando ad ecclesias issent, nullam molestiam debent habere, neque per viam, nec intra ecclesiam; et intra ecclesia nulla res debet esse ut verba Dei non possint audire, sicut lex eorum est”).

³¹ G. L. F. Tafel and G. M. Thomas (eds.), *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig mit besonderer Beziehung auf Byzanz und die Levante*, Fontes Rerum Austriacarum 12–14 (Vienna: Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1856–1857) III, 120. Ovens were also closely associated with *funduqs*, as is demonstrated in *waqf* texts (for example the endowment for the *Funduq al-Ḥajar* endowed by Sultan Barsbay, ed. in Denoix et al., *Le Khan al-Khalili et ses environs*, II, appendix, 8–10).

Statutes of Marseille had noted that it was “understood that there would be an oven” in all the Marseille *fondacos*.³²

Ovens were lucrative assets in both Christian and Muslim cities in the middle ages, when it was common practice for people to bring bread and other food to public ovens for baking, and to pay a small fee for the service. The right to run an oven, and to collect these fees, frequently became a farm in medieval cities. The ovens in *fondacos* could be run along similar lines. As early as 1200, a Genoese baker (*fornarius*) was appointed to oversee the oven and bath in the Genoese *fondaco* in Alexandria. The baker was engaged for a two-year period, during which he would live in the *fondaco*, and would receive half of the revenues of the oven (from use and sales of bread) after a deduction for the cost of its upkeep.³³

At first, it appears that ovens used by *fondaco* residents were located outside the *fondaco* buildings, and westerners may have had to pay a fee for their use, but they were later brought within the *fondaco* walls. There would have been several reasons for this shift, both practical and economic. An internal oven was certainly more convenient (provided proper precautions were taken against fire), and it allowed the *fondaco* community greater economic autonomy, since westerners no longer had to pay for the use of Muslim ovens. Indeed, they could now charge local people fees for the use of the *fondaco*'s oven.³⁴ At the same time, an internal oven also promoted segregation of both people and food-ways. From a practical standpoint, it was likewise essential for a residential community living under frequent curfew, behind locked doors, not only at night but sometimes during the day as well, to have access to an internal oven.

The financial and cultural complexity of ovens is made evident in a document from 1308, in which the Ḥafṣid sultan of Tunis responded to a long list of complaints (now lost) from the Aragonese consul regarding – among other things – the oven in his *fondaco*. The sultan's reply provides insight into the reasons, or at least the justifications, for the regulations concerning this facility. He explained, first of all, that “relating to the oven (*furn*) attached to the *funduq*, it is the custom followed with this and with all other Christian ovens, that each *funduq* has its own for its exclusive use for

³² Jacoby, “Les Italiens en Egypte,” 84; Louis Méry and F. Guindon (eds.), *Histoire analytique et chronologique des actes et des délibérations du corps et du conseil de la municipalité de Marseille, depuis le Xme siècle jusqu'à nos jours* (Marseille: Feissat aîné et Demonchy, 1841) 1, 352.

³³ S. Origone, “Genova, Constantinopoli e il Regno di Gerusalemme (prima metà sec. XIII),” in *I comuni italiani nel regno crociato di Gerusalemme: atti del Colloquio “The Italian Communes in the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem” (Jerusalem, May 24–May 28, 1984)*, ed. G. Airaldi and B. Z. Kedar, *Collana storica di fonti e studi* 48 (Genoa: Università di Genova, 1986) 311–312.

³⁴ Jacoby, “Les Italiens en Egypte,” 87–88.

cooking their own food (*ta'ām*) and nobody else may use it, because Muslim law does not allow [Muslims] to cook food in an oven that has been used by Christians." However, he continued, in the event that the Aragonese were to hire the oven out (*iktarūhu*) to a Muslim, in order to cook food for Muslims, then those who had the use of the oven must return the full amount of hire to the *dīwān*, because only the use of the oven was given, not the right to hire out the oven.³⁵ As with the *fondaco* buildings themselves, it was only access to an oven, not the oven itself, which was granted to Christian merchant communities by the local Muslim governments. Apparently, the Aragonese had been renting out their oven and enjoying the proceeds, and the sultan and local Muslim authorities wished to stop this practice. Despite the claim of religious authority, the first rationale of segregated cooking facilities is not well supported in Islamic law, and thus it was the second part of the answer – negotiating financial compensation – that cut to the practical heart of the dispute.

Pisan–Ayyūbid treaties from the early thirteenth century preserved the statutes laid out in earlier negotiations, and cited “customary practice” in arranging the renewal or reinstatement of privileges. Thus, instructions to the Pisan ambassador to Egypt, Marcuzzo dei Teperti, given in 1207, ordered him to not only make peace (“firmet pacem”) with the Ayyūbid sultan, but also “to request the Church of Saint Nicholas, a *fondaco*, scales, and bath, and everything else which the Pisans had been accustomed to have in Alexandria in the past.”³⁶ The wording suggests that commercial relations between Pisa and Egypt had suffered a lapse, and it was necessary to restore the status quo. In response to this Pisan overture, a grant of safe-conduct was issued by the sultan al-Ādil I (1200–1218), probably in 1208. Here, the sultan promised that when Pisans arrived in Egypt, they would encounter “no new taxes or impositions, and all would be as it had been in the past . . . and they would have *fundacum et ecclesiam et balneum*, just as they had been accustomed to have.”³⁷ Another undated

³⁵ Alarcón (ed.), *Documentos árabes diplomáticos*, 266–270 (doc. 120). There may have been a concern that Christians would use ovens for cooking pork – despite the fact that Ḥafṣid authorities strictly prohibited the keeping of pigs in Christian *fondacos* (Robert Brunschvig, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Ḥafṣides. Des origines à la fin du xve siècle* [Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1940] II, 225). Ḥafṣid port officials also kept a careful eye on foreign containers that may have come into contact with pork. For this reason, Pegolotti advised that merchants always use new barrels when importing oil to Tunis (*La Pratica della mercatura*, ed. Allan Evans [Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy of America, 1936] 130).

³⁶ Amari (ed.), *Diplomi arabi*, 281 (“petat ecclesiam sancti Nicholai et fundacum et stateram et balneum et omnia que solita sunt haberi a Pisanis in Alexandria ex antiquo tempore”). See also Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant*, I, 412.

³⁷ Amari (ed.), *Diplomi arabi*, 283. Amari tentatively dates this text to May 1208.

document, probably also from the reign of al-ʿĀdil I, likewise emphasized prior custom, and recorded arrangements for the restoration of the Pisan *fondaco* (“restauracionis fundaci”) “namely, the house (*domus*) in which the Pisans were accustomed to stay while in Alexandria,” together with all else which had been theirs according to custom.³⁸ Despite the regular appeal to customary practice, the system of *fondacos* was still in flux during the thirteenth century, and new innovations indicate ongoing tinkering with form and function.

Pisan traders were not the only Europeans to gain privileges in Ayyūbid Egypt, since Venetian ambassadors arrived the 1170s, while emissaries from Genoa and Marseille followed not long after. As has been noted above, Venice had a *fondaco* in Alexandria by 1173, and Saladin enjoyed good relations with the Venetian doge Sebastiano Ziani.³⁹ Venetian merchants continued to have use of a *fondaco* and a bath-house in Alexandria, and access to the church of St. Michael, in the early thirteenth century. Two undated texts from roughly this period mention a Venetian *fondaco*, and specifically note that Venetian merchants had a lodging-house located in one of the markets in Alexandria.⁴⁰ Venetian trade soon expanded sufficiently to require a second residence, and the presence of two *fondacos* was attested in a treaty with Sultan al-ʿĀdil II, written in November 1238, granting Venetian requests for “duobus fonticis suis.”⁴¹

Security was a continual concern in both the *funduq* and the *fondaco*, since it was necessary to guard both the people and goods within their walls. Protection of commercial merchandise was of preeminent importance in the case of the *funduq*, but personal security became an equal concern in the *fondaco*. Foreign merchants wished for protection and seclusion from local people, while Muslim city officials equally wished to prevent western Christians from wandering freely through the town. For this reason, control of *fondaco* gates, and their schedule for opening and closure, became an issue of negotiation between Christian and Muslim powers. The 1238 Venetian

³⁸ Amari (ed.), *Diplomi arabi*, 290. Heyd (*Histoire du commerce du Levant*, 1, 394) dated this text to the 1150s, since it could be understood as relating to the restoration of the Pisan *fondaco* in 1154. Stern, however, dated it to the reign of al-ʿĀdil I on the basis of comparison with other decrees of this reign. See S. M. Stern, “Two Ayyūbid Decrees from Sinai,” in S. M. Stern (ed.), *Documents from Islamic Chanceries*, Oriental Studies III (Oxford: Bruno Cassirer, 1965) 31.

³⁹ Jacoby, “Les Italiens en Egypte,” 79.

⁴⁰ Tafel and Thomas (eds.), *Urkunden*, II, 189 (“mercatoribus Venetiarum, ut habeant fondicum in Alexandria ad habitandum in eo, quod dicitur Soguediki”). The final clause suggests that the *fondaco* had been converted from an earlier market building, or was located in a market (*sūq*), as was usually the case with ordinary *funduqs*.

⁴¹ Tafel and Thomas (eds.), *Urkunden*, II, 336–341.

treaty ruled that the keepers of the two *fondacos*, the *fonticarii*, would be solely responsible for their internal administration, and would have the power to open and close the doors of the *fondacos* as they wished.⁴² By the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, however, references make clear that the keys to the *fondacos* were kept by employees of the Mamlūk government, and *fondaco* buildings were routinely locked from the outside at night and on Fridays during periods of Muslim prayer.

Venetian merchants, like their Pisan counterparts, sought wider trading privileges beyond Alexandria, and they were doing business in Aleppo by the early thirteenth century. Aleppo was an important source for eastern goods (including cotton, silk, pistachios, and medicinal drugs) coming into the Mediterranean sphere from Anatolia, Kurdistan, Iraq, and Iran. Access to traffic coming through Aleppo was thus an important addition to Venetian economic power, complementing their contemporary presence in Alexandria, in Acre and other Crusader ports, and in Constantinople and the Aegean after the Fourth Crusade in 1204.⁴³ In 1207–1208, a Venetian envoy arrived at the court of the Ayyūbid ruler of Aleppo, al-Malik al-Zāhir, a son of Saladin, seeking a restoration of Venetian privileges in the city. In response to this request, the Republic was granted a bath, *fondaco*, and church in the city “baigno et fontigo et glexia ad Alapo”, and taxes on imports and exports were set at 12 percent.⁴⁴ Nearly a decade later, in November 1225, another Venetian envoy to Aleppo, Tomasso Foscarini, arrived at the court of al-Malik al-ʿAzīz, with a petition to increase concessions, including the grant of a new *fondaco* in Latakia, the port for Aleppo, and the reduction of taxes. In response, tariffs were reduced to 6 percent, while Venetians received the traditional package of *fondaco*, bath, church, and oven in the port. This treaty was only briefly in effect, however, since the accession of a new doge in Venice prompted the dispatch of Giovanni Succugullo, in December 1229, to renegotiate Venetian rights in Aleppo and Latakia, together with an increase in commercial access. This later treaty not only mentions a *fondaco* outside the city (“fondicum qui extra civitatem est”), but it also promised that a new *fondaco*, located near the bridge over the

⁴² *Ibid.* (“ipsi fonticarii habeant potestatem claudendi et aperiendi ad eorum voluntates”).

⁴³ Eddé, *Principauté ayyoubide d'Alep*, 511–529.

⁴⁴ Tafel and Thomas (eds.), *Urkunden*, II, 65; Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant*, I, 374. The early Venetian treaties with Aleppo have also been edited by Marco Pozza, *I trattati con Aleppo, 1207–1254* (Venice: Il Cardo, 1990). Venetian and other western traffic with Aleppo has been studied by several scholars, most recently by Anne-Marie Eddé, “Les Relations commerciales entre Alep et Venise au VIIIe/XIIIe siècle,” *Revue des Etudes Islamiques* 59 (1991) 165–186; and Eugene Wirth, “Alep et les courants commerciaux entre l’Europe et l’Asie du XIIIe au XVIIe siècles,” *Revue du Monde Musulman et de la Méditerranée* 55–56 (1990) 44–56.

Orontes River on the road linking Latakia and Aleppo, would be built for Venetian lodging.⁴⁵ The dispatch of yet another Venetian ambassador to Aleppo in 1254 indicates that Venice continued to do business in the city through the late Ayyūbid period.⁴⁶ Later, following the assertion of Mamlūk control in Egypt and Syria, the reestablishment of Byzantine control in Constantinople, Mongol devastations in northern Syria, and the loss of the crusader ports of Acre, Tyre, and Beirut, Damascus overtook Aleppo as the primary market for Venetian merchants doing business in Syria.

Venetian ambassadors also applied to Seljuq rulers in Anatolia for commercial privileges in the early thirteenth century. As a result, at least three Venetian–Seljuq agreements were concluded, but only one, dating to March 1220, survives. Many treaties between Christian and Muslim powers were of limited duration, but these Seljuq accords were particularly short, being in force for only two years. The 1220 text, negotiated between the Venetian *podestà* in Constantinople and the sultan of Konya, Kay Qubādh (1220–1227), allowed Venetians to trade in Seljuq lands at a very low tax rate (2 percent), and it gave them judicial rights to settle their own disputes with other Christians, not merely Venetians but also Pisans and other westerners. In contrast to their privileges in Ayyūbid lands, however, they were not granted any overt concessions of property (baths, *fondacos*, ovens, churches etc.) in Seljuq cities.⁴⁷ This deficiency may be owing, at least in part, to the prevalence of the *khān* over the *funduq* in regions under Seljuq control.

Despite the evidence of Benjamin of Tudela, with his list of forty different Christian merchant groups with *fondacos* in Alexandria in the 1160s, there is very little other direct data for any western *fondacos* in that city except from those of Pisa and Venice before the thirteenth century. Nevertheless, in some cases Benjamin's account is supported through indirect evidence. Genoese merchants were active in Egypt long before the time of Benjamin's visit, as shown by their own twelfth-century contracts and by their mention in Egyptian Jewish merchant letters from as early as the 1070s.⁴⁸ From the middle of the twelfth century, the Genoese also had *fondacos* and other

⁴⁵ Tafel and Thomas (eds.), *Urkunden*, II, 258, 275–276 (“ad pontem namque promisi illis facere fondicum ad hospitandum”); also in Pozza (ed.), *I trattati con Aleppo*, 40–43, 52–54. See also Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant*, I, 375–377.

⁴⁶ Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant*, I, 376–377.

⁴⁷ M. E. Martin, “The Venetian–Seljuk Treaty of 1220,” *English Historical Review* 95 (1980) 321–329; Elizabeth Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade: Venetian Crete and the Emirates of Menteshe and Aydin (1300–1415)* (Venice: Hellenic Institute of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Studies, 1983) 3–4; Tafel and Thomas (eds.), *Urkunden*, II, 221–225.

⁴⁸ Benjamin Kedar, “Mercanti genovesi in Alessandria d’Egitto negli anni sessanta del secolo XI,” in *Miscellanea di studi storici* II, ed. G. Pistarino, *Collana storica di fonti e studi* 38 (Genoa: Università di Genova, 1983) 21–26; Jacoby, “Les Italiens en Egypte,” 78–80.

merchant facilities in North Africa and Spain where Genoa was ardently concerned to ensure that it enjoyed the same trading privileges as Pisa.

Other western groups may have been slower in acquiring Egyptian *fondacos* during the Ayyūbid period, though like the Genoese, there is evidence of considerable traffic with Egypt before 1250.⁴⁹ After this date, however, numerous sources indicate Christian merchant activity in Mamlūk Alexandria, citing *fondacos* for merchants from Pisa, Genoa, Venice, Florence, Marseille, Narbonne, Montpellier, Barcelona, and elsewhere. These late medieval facilities will be discussed in chapter 8.

FONDACOS IN THE ISLAMIC WEST BEFORE 1300

Markets in Egypt and Syria were not the only important destinations in the Muslim world for western Christian merchants, or the only places in which they obtained commercial privileges. Traders from Italy, southern France, and the realms of Aragón were also very active in the port cities of North Africa, especially Tunis, and in Muslim Spain. Indeed, it is striking that Christian *fondacos* are documented earlier in the western Mediterranean than in the Near East (even though the 1154 Pisan treaty with Fāṭimid Egypt and other data indicate that *fondacos* probably existed before that date). It is possible, even, that the catalyst for changes to the Muslim institution actually began in the Muslim west, perhaps in Muslim Spain where Christian–Muslim contact and commercial exchange began very early, and that this new conception of the *funduq* – in the formulation of the *fondaco* – was then carried eastward by Christian traders seeking similar privileges in Egypt and Syria. However, since early formulations of the *fondaco* also appeared in the Crusader states by the late eleventh century, the data are inconclusive.

The earliest reference to commercial *fondacos* for European merchants in the western Mediterranean occurred not in a treaty between Muslims and Christians, but in promises issued to Genoa in 1146 by the king of Castile, Alfonso VII, and the count of Barcelona, Ramon Berenguer IV. These offered a *fondaco*, bath, oven, and garden in Almería in return for Genoese

⁴⁹ See David Abulafia, “The Levant Trade of the Minor Cities in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries: Strengths and Weaknesses,” *Asian and African Studies* 22 (1988) 183–202. Also D. Abulafia, “The Anconitan Privileges in the Kingdom of Jerusalem and the Levant Trade of Ancona,” in *I comuni italiani nel regno crociato di Gerusalemme: atti del Colloquio “The Italian Communes in the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem” (Jerusalem, May 24–May 28, 1984)*, Collana storica di fonti e studi 48, ed. G. Airaldi and B. Kedar (Genoa: Università di Genova, 1986) 529. This contains a 1231 letter from Pope Gregory IX to Sultan al-Kāmil, complaining that Anconitan merchants had been arrested and robbed in Alexandria. Abulafia argues that the terms of the complaint indicate that Anconitans must have been considered as comprising a separate and defined merchant community by that point, even if there is no reference to their possession of a *fondaco*.

naval help in capturing the city.⁵⁰ Although this soon-to-be-standard formula of concessions appeared here in a treaty made between Christians, the wording almost certainly reflected privileges that Genoese traders already enjoyed in Muslim Almería. Rather than promising new advantages to Genoa, Alfonso VII and Ramon Berenguer IV wished to reassure their potential ally that Genoese traders would have ongoing commercial privileges under Christian rule. Although there is no specific mention of a Genoese *fondaco* in Almería before 1146, there is good evidence of both Genoese commerce with this city and other *funduqs* in the earlier twelfth century. One source noted that a Genoese ship sailed from Almería in about 1120, while Genoese tariff schedules mentioned vessels arriving from Almería in the early 1140s.⁵¹ Likewise, the Spanish Muslim geographer al-Idrīsī cited a very large number of *funduqs* and other commercial facilities in Almería in about 1150.⁵²

Genoese traders certainly had access to *fondacos* in other Andalusi cities at this period. In June 1149, Genoa entered into a ten-year peace treaty with the ruler of Valencia and the Balearics, Ibn Mardanīsh (called Rey Lobo in Christian sources), who granted them “two *fondacos* for themselves, for the purpose . . . of trading and lodging . . . one in Valencia and one in Denia, in which none other [than the Genoese] may lodge, together with the use of a bathhouse on one day a week.”⁵³ Six months later, in January 1150, Ibn Mardanīsh granted similar concessions to Pisa, including rights to *fondacos* in Valencia and Denia.⁵⁴ Both Pisa and Genoa also sought commercial privileges in Seville, where Genoese commercial contracts show merchant activity from as early as 1164 (though trade probably flourished even before this).⁵⁵ In 1167, Pisa negotiated a treaty with the Almoḥad caliph Yūsuf b. ‘Abd al-Mu’min (1163–1184), which included a promise of a Pisan *fondaco* in Seville.⁵⁶ Not to be outdone, Genoa approached Ishāq b. Muḥammad, ruler of the Balearics in 1181, and received trading privileges, though not

⁵⁰ Cesare Imperiale di Sant’Angelo (ed.), *Codice diplomatico della repubblica di Genova*, Fonti per la storia d’Italia (Rome: Tipografia del Senato, 1936–1942) 1, 206–207 (doc. 167) and 214–215 (doc. 169) (“unam Alfonso de genova de melioribus et unum furnum et balneum et iardinum bonum”).

⁵¹ Constable, *Trade and Traders*, 42.

⁵² Al-Idrīsī, *Kitāb nuzhat*, 562–563.

⁵³ Imperiale di Sant’Angelo (ed.), *Codice diplomatico*, 1, 247–249 (“Duos fundicos proprios illorum causa . . . negociandi et habitare . . . in eis, unum in Valentia et unum in Denia. Et nemo ex aliis gentibus ibi habitet. Et unum balneum per unamquamque ebdomadum diem.”).

⁵⁴ Amari (ed.), *Diplomi arabi*, 240.

⁵⁵ O. R. Constable, “Genoa and Spain in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries: Notarial Evidence for a Shift in Patterns of Trade,” *Journal of European Economic History* 19 (1990) 655.

⁵⁶ M. L. de Mas Latrie (ed.), *Traité de paix et de commerce et documents divers concernant les relations des chrétiens avec les arabes de l’Afrique septentrionale au moyen âge* (Paris: Henri Plon, 1865) 22 (“fondacum in Subilia Pisanis habere concessit”). Mas Latrie glossed “Subilia” as “Zouila,” a suburb of al-Mahdiyya, but Seville seems a more likely reading.

a *fondaco*. A few years later, however, new negotiations with his son 'Abd Allāh b. Ishāq, in 1188, produced the promise of a "*fondaco* for Genoese [merchants] wherever the Genoese wished, together with an oven and use of a bathhouse once a week."⁵⁷

This proliferation of treaties with various western Muslim rulers reflects not only the political fluctuations and divisions in this period, but also the limited duration of each treaty (rarely more than ten or fifteen years). The rapidity with which alliances could shift was demonstrated in 1162, when Genoa swore allegiance to the emperor Frederick I, promising him naval assistance against Ibn Mardanīsh, ruler of the Balearics, with whom they had negotiated peaceful relations only a few years earlier in 1149.⁵⁸ Two decades after their agreement with Frederick, the Genoese indicated where they saw their own best interests by reconfirming peace with the Muslim Balearics in 1181.

By the thirteenth century, western Christian merchants were also active in North African ports from Morocco to Tunisia.⁵⁹ The city of Tunis, ruled by the Ḥafṣid dynasty from 1229 until the Ottoman conquest in the sixteenth century, was of particular strategic importance since it controlled one of the critical points of passage for traffic moving between the eastern and western Mediterranean. Western merchants considered Tunis a critical base for their commercial activities, and they hastened to gain access to *fondacos* and other trading rights in this city.⁶⁰ As in Spain, Pisa and Genoa seem to have been at the forefront of European commercial expansion in this region, and a residential "enclosure" (*sūr*) for Pisan merchants and their families in Tunis was mentioned in a treaty as early as 1157.⁶¹ In the second half of the twelfth century, the Pisan mathematician Leonardo Fibonacci traveled as a young boy with his father to the *duana* for Pisan

⁵⁷ Imperiale di Sant' Angelo (ed.), *Codice diplomatico*, II, 271–273 (doc. 133), II, 341–344 (doc. 177) ("promisit dare Ianuensibus fundicum ubicumque Ianuensibus placuerit et furnum et balneum in unaquaque septimana, per diem unum").

⁵⁸ *Liber iurium Reipublicae Genuensis*, *Historiae Patriae Monumenta*, (Turin: Ex Officina Regina, 1854) I (no. 237) cols. 210–211 ("contra sarracenos in toto regno Lupi et regis maiorice et minorice").

⁵⁹ Data on western *fondacos* in Morocco is scarce, although they certainly existed in the thirteenth century. A contract written in Ceuta in November 1236 was drawn up in the *fondaco* of Marseille (Louis Blancard [ed.], *Documents inédits sur le commerce de Marseille au moyen-âge* [Marseille: Baralatière-Feissat père et fils, 1884–1885] I, 108 [no. 73]).

⁶⁰ Christian relations with Ḥafṣid lands are surveyed in detail in Brunschvig's two-volume study *La Berbérie orientale sous les Ḥafṣides*. See also Ronald Messier, "The Christian Community of Tunis at the time of St. Louis' Crusade, AD 1270," in *The Meeting of Two Worlds: Cultural Exchange between East and West during the Period of the Crusades*, ed. Vladimir P. Goss (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1986) 241–255; and Mounira Chapoutot-Remadi, "Tunis," in Garcin (ed.), *Grande villes méditerranéennes*, 241.

⁶¹ Amari (ed.), *Diplomi arabi*, 4.

merchants (“pro pisanis mercatoribus”) in Bougie, where he learned to use an abacus.⁶² Taken along with other contemporary negotiations in Egypt and Spain, these references indicate the presence of Pisan merchant communities across the length of the Mediterranean by the second half of the twelfth century. Other European groups and *fondacos* in Tunisia only appear in the 1220s, especially after the accession of the first independent Ḥafṣid ruler, Abū Zakariyyā (1229–1249). This monarch was famous for his construction of markets and *funduqs* for Muslim traders, suggesting that this was a period of general expansion of commercial institutions with the aid of royal support.⁶³ The western *fondacos* in Ḥafṣid Tunis were all located in the same neighborhood outside the main city and near the port area of Goletta, and they remained in this vicinity into the Ottoman period.

Because of Pisa’s early negotiations for commercial privileges in Tunis, emissaries from both Genoa (in 1223) and Venice (in 1231) based their requests on prior Pisan precedent.⁶⁴ Venetian ambassadors actually quoted the terms of a Pisan treaty drawn up the year before, in August 1230, that had granted a *fondaco*, church, cemetery, use of a bath-house once a week, and their own oven. Pisa had also asked to be allowed to enlarge their *fondaco*, arguing – in turn – that Genoa had been granted this privilege.⁶⁵ Jockeying for commercial advantage continued in August 1234, when Pisan privileges were renewed and they were permitted not only to enlarge their *fondaco* in Tunis, but also to build a wall between their *fondaco* and the Genoese *fondaco* in order that nobody could pass from one building to the other. The treaty of 1234 also referred to Pisan *fondacos* and commercial privileges in other Ḥafṣid cities, including al-Mahdiyya, Bougie, Gabes, Sfax, and Tripoli.⁶⁶ These arrangements must have suited both sides, since they were renewed yet again, in August 1264, following negotiations between Pisa and the Ḥafṣid ruler Muḥammad al-Mustansir (1249–1277).⁶⁷

The later Florentine chronicler Giovanni Villani (d. 1348) also reported that although Pisan merchants were the first to obtain trading privileges

⁶² Leonardo Fibonacci, *Liber abbaci* (dated 1202), in *Scritti di Leonardo Pisano: mathematico del secolo decimoterzo*, ed. B. Boncompagni (Rome: Tipografia delle Scienze Matematiche e Fisiche, 1857) 1.

⁶³ Dufourcq, “Catalans en Tunisie,” 36.

⁶⁴ Brunschvig, *La Berbérie orientale*, 1, 26–27.

⁶⁵ Tafel and Thomas (eds.), *Urkunden*, II, 299–307 (“fontico . . . ecclesia et cimeterium . . . balneum una die hebdomade et furnum proprium . . . debent augmentari fonticum eorum sicut fonticum Januensium”). Also on Venetians in Tunis, see Alberto Sacerdoti, “Il consolato veneziano del regno hafside di Tunisi (1274–1518),” *Studi Veneziani* II (1969) 531–535.

⁶⁶ Amari (ed.), *Diplomi arabi*, 292–293.

⁶⁷ The Italian text of this treaty was almost a direct translation of its 1234 Latin predecessor. It has been edited by both Amari, *Diplomi arabi*, 295–298, and Mas Latrie, *Traité de paix et de commerce*, 45.

in Tunis, their access did not go unchallenged. Villani claimed that Pisan merchants had been held in much esteem by the Ḥafṣid amir al-Mustanṣir until one day in November 1252, when the amir noticed the glint of a gold florin (first minted in Florence that year) among some Pisan silver coins. Much impressed by the quality of the gold, al-Mustanṣir questioned the Pisans about Florence. They gave a disparaging reply, but the amir persisted until a Florentine merchant was found in the city who could give him an account of the glories of his home city. Thereafter, al-Mustanṣir offered to establish a church and *fondaco* for lodging Florentine merchants in Tunis.⁶⁸ This anecdote is surely apocryphal, since although Florentines trafficked in Tunis in Villani's day, there is little evidence for their presence in Ḥafṣid lands in the thirteenth century. However, the tale aptly addresses the reality that Ḥafṣid rulers were attracted by the potential fiscal rewards offered by treaties with European states.

After Venetian merchants had acquired a *fondaco* and other privileges in Tunis in 1231, they continued to renew these rights throughout the thirteenth century.⁶⁹ Unlike Pisa and Genoa, however, Venice had never pursued relations with Muslim rulers in the western Mediterranean or Muslim Spain, and their Tunisian activities were merely an arm of their extensive commercial empire in the eastern Mediterranean. In April 1251, the Venetians renegotiated their rights, stipulating not only that they should have a *fondaco* and church in Tunis, but that nobody could enter the building without their permission, that there be a customs facility (*doana*) located within the *fondaco*, and that Venetians in Tunis should choose their own consul to administer justice among them. Moreover, they insisted that they be allowed to enlarge and improve both their *fondaco* and church as needed.⁷⁰ This last clause harks back to earlier clauses in Genoese and Pisan treaties, and was presumably designed to avoid traditional Muslim restrictions on renovations to Christian buildings. The insistence on consul and customs house were standard requests by the middle of the thirteenth century, and will be discussed later in this chapter.

Genoese treaties with Ḥafṣid rulers included similar requests and privileges, but information on Genoese *fondacos* and commercial activities in Tunis is further enriched by the registers of Pietro Battifoglio, a Genoese notary working in Tunis in the years 1288–1289. Notaries were part of the regular staff of *fondacos*, at least from the early thirteenth century (the

⁶⁸ Giovanni Villani, *Cronica di Giovanni Villani* (Florence: Il Magheri, 1823) II, book 4, chap. 54, 77–78.

⁶⁹ Tafel and Thomas (eds.), *Urkunden*, II, 299–307.

⁷⁰ Tafel and Thomas (eds.), *Urkunden*, II, 452–456.

Statutes of Marseille assumed the presence of a *scriptoris* and *scrivania* in 1228), but Pietro's records are among the few documents of their type to survive.⁷¹ These contracts indicate considerable Genoese traffic in Tunis, and Pietro was only one of more than a dozen notaries serving a semi-permanent Genoese community that may have numbered several hundred people in the late thirteenth century.⁷²

Pietro's contracts indicate that there were two Genoese *fondacos* in Tunis by the late 1280s, the "old *fondaco*" (*fondicus vetus*) and the "new *fondaco*" (*fondicus novus*), both of which were in current use. By the 1280s, the Genoese had been established in Tunis for over half a century, and their community had outgrown its original space.⁷³ Like the Venetian community in Alexandria, they found it necessary to expand into a second and larger building. A treaty made in 1287, soon after a new ruler 'Umar Abū Ḥafṣ came to power in 1284, arranged funding from the Muslim *dīwān* (*dugane*) for the purchase of new houses for Genoese lodging, and the expansion of their *fondaco*.⁷⁴ These renovations led to the construction of a second *fondaco*, a building which would thus have been very new at the time that Pietro Battifoglio was writing in the late 1280s.⁷⁵ Indeed, the Genoese may still have been moving into the new building, while the older *fondaco* remained the locus of most of their business activities. Only two of Pietro's contracts were "actum in fondico novo," whereas about 80 percent of the 133 contracts in his registers were drawn up in the "fondicus vetus Ianuensium."⁷⁶

In spite of the rhetoric of commercial rivalry evident in official treaties, various data suggest that merchants worked together. As noted earlier, a Venetian merchant and a Pisan working in Tunis in 1286 drew up a commercial contract together "in fundaco Pisanorum," although the Venetian merchant could as well have invited his Pisan partner to formalize their contract in his own commercial space.⁷⁷ Pietro Battifoglio likewise did business in

⁷¹ Méry and Guindon (eds.), *Histoire de Marseille*, 1, 352. A Venetian scribe is also noted in Alexandria in 1238 (Jacoby, "Les Italiens en Egypte," 83).

⁷² Felipe Fernández-Armesto, *Before Columbus: Exploration and Colonisation from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic, 1229–1492* (London: Macmillan, 1987) 109; The registers of Pietro Battifoglio have been edited by Geo Pitarino, *Notai genovesi in Oltremare (1288–1289)*.

⁷³ A Genoese *fondaco* appeared in a 1230 treaty (with Pisa) and a 1236 treaty (with Ḥafṣid ruler Abū Zakariyyā). A similar treaty was drawn up in October 1250 (shortly before Venetian negotiations the following April) with al-Mustaṣfir, and yet another with the same ruler in 1272 (Mas Latrie [ed.], *Traité de paix et de commerce*, 119, 123).

⁷⁴ Mas Latrie (ed.), *Traité de paix et de commerce*, 126.

⁷⁵ Pitarino (ed.), *Notai genovesi in Oltremare (1288–1289)*, xxiv.

⁷⁶ Pitarino (ed.), *Notai genovesi in Oltremare (1288–1289)*, 130, 142.

⁷⁷ Abulafia, "A Tyrrhenian Triangle," 61.

non-Genoese *fondacos* when necessary. Two of his contracts were drawn up “in fondico Marsilie,” and another “in fondico Catalannorum.” Evidently he could move between the different *fondacos* as needed to meet the notarial needs of Genoese clients, though he did most of his work in the Genoese facility. In each of these three cases, the matter at hand involved Genoese merchants to some degree. In one case, a ship belonging to a merchant from Valencia was hired by a group of merchants from Mallorca, Tortosa, and Genoa; another, made in the Marseille *fondaco*, arranged a loan between a Florentine and a Genoese; and the third, drawn up in the same place, dealt with a dispute over goods shipped from Genoa to Tunis.⁷⁸

Perhaps the most important *fondacos* in Tunis during this period, or at least the most powerful, were those belonging to traders from the realms of Aragón. The first “Catalan” *fondaco*, as it was generally called, was established in Tunis in 1253. Even more than the merchants of Pisa, Genoa, and Venice, merchants from Barcelona and other Arago-Catalan cities had the backing of political and naval strength to push through their requests for commercial privileges in Ḥafṣid lands. By the middle of the thirteenth century, King James I of Aragón (1213–1276) was already known as a conqueror, having gained vast stretches of territory, including the Balearic Islands and Valencia, in military campaigns against Muslim rulers. Later in the century, the Aragonese looked further eastward toward political expansion in Sicily and other regions in the western Mediterranean basin. At the same time, merchants from the realms of Aragón were enlarging their commercial sphere, competing with Italian merchants for trading opportunities and privileges in Alexandria, Tunis, and elsewhere. The playing-field was relatively equal in Egypt, which was beyond the reach of Aragonese navies, but the Ḥafṣid realms were much more vulnerable.

Weaving a complicated diplomatic web of promises, threats, and financial extortion, Aragonese emissaries negotiated a very different type of *fondaco* for Catalan and Aragonese merchants than those for Genoese and other Italians. Although the Catalan *fondacos* in Tunis and Bougie were functionally similar to other *fondacos* in the thirteenth century, providing a commercial base and safe lodging for Catalan merchants, they were administratively unique. Whereas most *fondacos* in Muslim cities belonged to the Muslim government, just like ordinary *funduqs*, it is clear the James I considered the Catalan *fondacos* in Tunis and Bougie as part of his own royal fisc. He administered them in a similar fashion to those in mainland

⁷⁸ Pistarino, *Notai genovesi in Oltremare (1288–1289)*, 56–57 (doc. 37); 159–160 (doc. III); 148–150 (doc. 103).

Valencia and Catalonia, and invariably referred to them as “his” *fondacos* (“fondaci nostri”). These were, perhaps, among the first examples of the early modern model of foreign merchant colonies, not only inhabited but also controlled by Europeans. For this reason, these Catalan *fondacos* will be discussed in the next chapter, together with *fondacos* in the newly Christian cities of Spain.

CONSULS AND THE ADMINISTRATION OF CHRISTIAN
FONDACOS IN MUSLIM CITIES

Although *fondaco* buildings were generally owned and maintained by local Muslim governments, who paid to repair their walls and roofs, ensured that their gates were closed at the proper times, and monitored their financial affairs, they were staffed by western Christians. There is very little data on the personnel of *fondacos* in the twelfth century, and it is possible that these early facilities lacked regular officials and long-term residents.⁷⁹ But the growth of trade and proliferation of commercial diplomacy in the early thirteenth century necessitated the provision of a full-time staff for *fondacos*, including administrators, priests, notaries, accountants, bakers, and servants.

Chief among the officers of the *fondaco* was the consul, an officer either appointed by the home state or elected by local merchants, who was in charge of the building and of all within it. The consul served as a representative of his state in dealings with the Muslim government, and he was responsible for the day-to-day affairs and administration of justice within his *fondaco*. This post had some affinities both to the representatives of *dhimmī* and merchant groups within the Muslim world and to the later diplomatic post of ambassador, but it differed from both. The consul was not a subject of the Muslim state, as were members of local Christian and Jewish communities, nor was he a local person appointed by Muslim authorities, as in the case of the *wakīl al-tujjār* (representative of the merchants), nor did he enjoy the full degree of power and immunity of a later ambassador. The consuls of *fondacos* also differed from officials of the same name in Christian cities: the consuls who formed the governing bodies of Italian city states, or the offices of “Consul of the Merchants” and “Consul of the Sea” in Barcelona and other cities.⁸⁰

⁷⁹ Jacoby, “Les Italiens en Egypte,” 80.

⁸⁰ These offices developed in southern Europe at roughly the same period, in tandem with the resurrection of Roman law. They must have been linked to some degree, though in ways that are impossible to reconstruct. The prevalence of the term *consul* also makes it difficult, at times, to distinguish

Commercial treaties between Christian and Muslim states routinely included statements relating to the powers of the consul, just as they included clauses detailing merchant rights to *fondacos* and other privileges. Sometimes arrangements were made for a consul, with no mention of a *fondaco*, suggesting that the first could exist without the second, but it is rare to find a *fondaco* without a consul to take it in charge. Sources from the first half of the thirteenth century indicate that the office of consul was not yet stabilized in this period, since they demonstrate a certain amount of tinkering with the definition of the office, its duties, and its remuneration.

At the same time, there are also references to other posts – the *baillius* (*baille*), *fundicarius* (*fundegarius*, *fonticarius*), *vicecomitatus*, *guardianus del fondaco*, *sindicus*, et al. – which may have initially overlapped with the consulship. These posts gradually became either distinct or defunct as the office of consul emerged as the dominant position by the end of the thirteenth century. In Aleppo, for example, Venetian ambassadors to the Ayyūbid court in 1229 arranged that their *fondaco* would be in the hands of a *baillius*, who would have jurisdiction over the Venetian community. As we will see at the end of the chapter, other eastern Venetian colonies, especially in Byzantium, were also under the control of a *baillius*.⁸¹ A decade later, however, in 1238, negotiations between Venice and Egypt established that juridical and physical control of the two Venetian *fondacos* in Alexandria, including the opening and closing of their doors, would be in the hands of two *fonticarii*, and later the position was taken over by a consul.⁸²

The post of “keeper of the *fondaco*” (*fundicarius* and other spellings) appears in several contexts, usually in terms which indicate that its holder was primarily responsible for the financial affairs of the establishment. In 1289, for example, the *fundicarius* in the Genoese *fondaco* in Tunis had the duty of collecting “all of the revenues owed to the Genoese commune,” and his office was clearly subordinate to the consul.⁸³ Through the middle of the

between one use and another. In general, when consuls are mentioned in foreign cities, I take them to be consuls of *fondacos* or western communities abroad. David Jacoby points out, however, that some cases are ambiguous, as in the example of two consuls returning to Genoa from Egypt in 1204 (mentioned in the *Annali Genovesi di Caffaro e de'suoi continuatori* [Genoa: Istituto Sordo-Muti, 1901] II, 86). These men could either be emissaries coming home from a short-term mission, or consuls returning from a more long-term posting in the *fondaco* in Alexandria (Jacoby, “Les Italiens en Egypte,” 86).

⁸¹ Tafel and Thomas (eds.), *Urkunden*, II, 275–276. Donald Queller noted the “complicated question” as to whether the Venetian post of *baillius* was closer to an ambassador or a consul (Donald E. Queller, *Early Venetian Legislation on Ambassadors* [Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1966] 31).

⁸² Tafel and Thomas (eds.), *Urkunden*, II, 336–341.

⁸³ Pistarino (ed.), *Notai genovesi in Oltremare (1288–1289)*, 182–183 (doc. 128).

thirteenth century, however, the office of *fundicarius* sometimes overlapped with that of the consul, perhaps indicating that the two posts were still in the process of definition, melding two cultural traditions as the *funduq* evolved into the *fondaco*. Thus, the post of consul was imported from the European Latin tradition, while the *fundicarius* presumably derived from the Arabic term *funduqī*, a person in charge of a *funduq*. It makes sense, therefore, that the consul would be more generally associated with the European inhabitants of the *fondaco*, while the post of *fundicarius* was more closely associated with the regulation of commerce both within and outside the *fondaco*.

In 1228, the Statutes of Marseille ruled that the keepers of *fondacos* (*fundegarii*) in Ceuta and Bougie ought to be equipped with good and legal weights, according to custom, for weighing the goods coming from merchant ships.⁸⁴ Later rulings from Marseille, about 1255, also confirmed the practical nature of the office, and specifically separated it from that of the consul, noting that “no *fundicarius* [in a *fondaco* abroad] may sell wine or cause it to be sold except according to the rules established by the consul.” Violation of rules set by the consul could result in dismissal from the post of *fundicarius*. On the other hand, the statutes also emphasized that the consul should not interfere in the duties of the *fundicarius*, nor intervene in any matters directly entrusted to this officer by the rectors of Marseille.⁸⁵

Rules could vary, however, as shown in a letter from Pisa, dated 1245, confirming the appointment of one Jacopo, son of Guido Pulchino, to the post of “consulem et fundacarium fundaci Alexandriae” for a three-year term starting from the date of his arrival in Egypt. This overlap of offices contradicted Pisan official statutes, which separated the two offices, but their combination may have been due to a lack of acceptable candidates for the job.⁸⁶ Earlier in the thirteenth century, Pisa had reorganized the methods for selecting overseas consuls, insisting that any consul must have been born in Pisa or within her *contado*, and that every six months the merchants of Pisa were to elect a suitable new consul from among their number. This law, as David Jacoby has pointed out, assumes a fairly large community of merchants to choose from, especially if two candidates were to be selected each year.⁸⁷ By 1245, however, after the election of Jacopo Pulchino, the term of office was extended to two years, but with the stipulation that a consul could not be reelected until ten years had passed since his prior consulship.⁸⁸

⁸⁴ Méry and Guindon (eds.), *Histoire de Marseille*, I, 352.

⁸⁵ Méry and Guindon (eds.), *Histoire de Marseille*, II, 10, III, 79–80.

⁸⁶ Otten-Froux, “Les Pisans en Egypte et à Acre,” 172–173, 167–168.

⁸⁷ Jacoby, “Les Italiens en Egypte,” 82.

⁸⁸ Jacoby, “Les Italiens en Egypte,” 85.

Conditions for the office and the length of its term continued to be negotiated throughout the century, and they varied from *fondaco* to *fondaco*.

By the second half of the thirteenth century, the consul had become the officer most commonly and prominently associated with *fondacos*. A new phase of diplomatic negotiations with Mamlūk rulers after 1250 (to be discussed in chapter 8), and the demise of the Crusader states in 1291, initiated new and greater responsibilities for consuls. These duties were articulated in a grant from James I of Aragón to the municipal council of Barcelona in August 1266, giving them the authority to name consuls for Egypt and Syria, where “consuls were to have full jurisdiction in all matters of ordering, governing, compelling, helping, punishing, and doing all other things to people of our lands arriving by ship from overseas, or resident in those lands.”⁸⁹ Catalan merchants were required to obey their consul in all matters during their sojourn abroad.⁹⁰ These strictures emphasized the juridical relationship between the consul and the merchants of his own nation, and at this point a consul’s duties were largely concerned with the regulation and oversight of the *fondaco* and all those within it.

Increasingly, however, the consul came to serve as a representative of his state in relations with foreign powers, not merely as an administrator for the *fondaco*. It became common, for example, for a consul in Egypt to have regular access to the Mamlūk sultan, and the right to travel to Cairo every six months to discuss the affairs of his community. A similar privilege was already enjoyed by the Genoese consul in Tunis in the late 1280s, when notarial records show that he twice had to appeal to the sultan concerning violations of Genoese–Hafṣid treaties.⁹¹ Two centuries later, Felix Fabri described the western consuls in Alexandria as both ambassadors and mediators:

Each *fondaco* has a patron from the country with which [the *fondaco*] does commercial business, and the patron is called a consul. The consuls of the *fondacos* are powerful men. It is up to each of them to return advice, to reduce taxes on merchandise, to provide for their *fondaco*, to keep the peace, and together with other consuls, to promote by their councils the commerce of the state.

⁸⁹ Antonio de Capmany y de Monpalau, *Memorias históricas sobre la marina, comercio y artes de la antigua ciudad de Barcelona* (Madrid: A. de Sancha, 1779–1792; annotated re-edition Barcelona: Cámara Oficial de Comercio y Navegación, 1962) II, 35 (“... ordinandi, gubernandi, compellendi, ministrandi, puniendi . . .”). See also Amada López de Meneses, “Los consulados catalanes de Alejandria y Damasco en el reinado de Pedro el Ceremonioso,” *Estudios de Edad Media de la Corona de Aragón* (Zaragoza) 6 (1956) 83–183. Before this, Catalan consuls in Alexandria had been named by the king himself, and were appointed for a two-year tenure during which they wielded similar powers within the *fondaco* over as those articulated in 1266.

⁹⁰ López de Meneses, “Los consulados catalanes,” 88.

⁹¹ Fernández-Armesto, *Before Columbus*, 110.

By the 1480s, the office of consul had solidified, and its powers were well established.⁹²

In return for their efforts, consuls in the thirteenth century usually received a percentage of the revenues and duties from goods coming through their *fondacos*. Arrangements varied, presumably reflecting variations in political balance, regional trade, and consular ambitions. Both the local Muslim governments and western trading powers profited from the *fondaco* system, and consuls (at least in theory) collected revenues for the latter. In some cases, it is evident that the post of consul was farmed, giving the consul the right to collect revenues from the *fondaco* in return for a set fee or percentage paid to his home state. In other cases, no return fee is mentioned, suggesting that the consulate was simply a paid position. In 1264, James I permitted the Catalan consul in Alexandria to impose a small levy (*dosita*) “on merchandise of our countrymen who come to Alexandria and take up lodging in the *fondaco* (*alfundico*).”⁹³ Two decades later, in April and May 1281, the Great Council of Venice debated the term-limits and the salaries of Venetian consuls in Tunis, eventually appointing them for a year at a time, and awarding them “two thirds of the income of the *fondaco*, oven, and tavern, with the final third going to the commune for repairs of the *fondaco* . . . and the money which he [the consul] collects from fines ought to be put to use for repairs of the *fondaco* as he sees fit.”

By the fourteenth century, sources refer to a variety of tariffs and fees connected with the *fondaco*, paid either to the consul himself, to other *fondaco* staff, or to Muslim officials. In 1353, the city of Barcelona authorized a levy of 1 percent (perhaps similar to the *dosita* mentioned in 1264) on the value of merchandise brought to and from the Catalan *fondaco* in Alexandria for the support of the consul.⁹⁴ Merchants as well as goods were subject to fees, and a fourteenth-century Catalan merchant manual listed a fee (or perhaps head-tax), called *fondeguatque*, paid by each merchant arriving in Alexandria from Damascus.⁹⁵ Later data from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries indicate a shift whereby consuls received recompense not only from their own governments and *fondacos*, but also directly from the Mamlūk sultan.⁹⁶

⁹² Fabri, *Evagatorium in terrae sanctae*, III, 162–163 [130b], *Voyage en Egypte*, II, 693–694. The duties of consuls in Mamlūk Egypt will be discussed in greater detail in chapter 8.

⁹³ López de Meneses, “Los consulados catalanes,” 88.

⁹⁴ López de Meneses, “Los consulados catalanes,” 94.

⁹⁵ Miguel Gual Camarena (ed.), *El primer manual hispanico de mercaderia (siglo XIV)* (Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1981) 132.

⁹⁶ Consular salaries paid by the Mamlūk government were an innovation of the fifteenth century, and will be discussed in chapter 8.

Consuls also enjoyed other sources of income, since they were often allowed to import and export merchandise through the *fondaco* on their own behalf, as well as imposing steep fees on residents for lodging, food, and storage.⁹⁷ In 1384, an Italian pilgrim, Giorgio Gucci, complained of the many expenses encountered in Alexandria, including the fact that “we paid a ducat each to the consul of the pilgrims . . . with whom we lodged; for wine and biscuits supplied by him during our stay with him, VIII ducats.”⁹⁸ A fellow traveler, Simone Sigoli, confirmed that they “paid in Alexandria one ducat a head to the consul who cares for the pilgrims . . . who lodged us,” adding indignantly that this sum did not even include a “bed or anything else.”⁹⁹ Other pilgrims staying in the *fondacos* in Alexandria, including Felix Fabri, also remarked on steep fees for food and lodging. In Felix’s case, his debt was forgiven when the consul’s wife interceded on his behalf, pointing out his poverty and his clerical status.¹⁰⁰

As well as the consul and *fundicarius*, a *fondaco* would have had a number of other individuals on its staff. Some were personal attendants to the consul, while others filled various duties connected with the building and its affairs. In 1281, the Venetian consuls in Tunis were permitted to bring a priest, four body servants, and two horses with them when they went to take up their post.¹⁰¹ The presence of a priest was particularly important, since commercial treaties routinely granted European communities the right to a church. Latin Christian merchants needed a chaplain, and access to a church or chapel, not only to facilitate daily religious observances, but to attend to the needs of the dying and to assure proper burial. Travel accounts, merchant records, and diplomatic treaties (with clauses to ensure that the consul would protect the rights of any merchant who died intestate) all testify to the fact that death in a foreign land was an ever-present possibility. Latin priests were rare in Muslim lands, however, and usually found only in *fondacos* or traveling as pilgrims or chaplains in Christian armies.¹⁰² In 1215, both a priest and sacristan lived in the Pisan *fondaco* in Alexandria, and

⁹⁷ Mas Latrie (ed.), *Traité de paix et de commerce*, 206–207.

⁹⁸ Giorgio Gucci’s account is included in Lionardo di Niccolò Frescobaldi, Giorgio Gucci, and Simone Sigoli, *Visit to the Holy Places of Egypt, Sinai, Palestine, and Syria in 1384*, trans. T. Bellorini and E. Hoade (Jerusalem: Franciscan Press, 1948) 150, 153.

⁹⁹ Simone Sigoli in Frescobaldi et al., *Visit to the Holy Places*, 166.

¹⁰⁰ Fabri, *Evagatorium in terrae Sanctae*, III, 203–204 [144a], *Voyage en Egypte*, II, 771–772.

¹⁰¹ Mas Latrie (ed.), *Traité de paix et de commerce*, 206.

¹⁰² The following discussion concentrates on chaplains in Tunis and Alexandria. Further west, in Morocco, there were also a limited number of Latin priests in Ceuta and possibly other cities. See Jeronimo de Mascarenhas, *História de la ciudad de Ceuta* (Lisbon: Academia das Ciencias de Lisboa, 1918) 48–53; and Charles E. Dufourcq, “Les Relations du Maroc et de la Castille pendant la première moitié du XIII^e siècle,” *Revue d’Histoire et de Civilisation du Maghreb* 5 (1968) 47, 49.

both men were declared exempt from head-tax. Since this tax would not have been levied on short-term foreign residents in any case, their explicit exemption implies that they were attached to the Pisan *fondaco* for a sojourn of longer than a year.¹⁰³ Another Pisan priest was active in Tunis in 1240, when he was permitted to run a shop (*apothecae*) that was part of the Pisan *fondaco* but located just outside its walls.¹⁰⁴ Later data from 1259 and 1271 show that the Pisan chaplains in Tunis and Bougie were appointed directly by the archbishop of Pisa, to whom they owed an annual portion of their income. Arrangements earlier in the century were probably similar.¹⁰⁵

Not every western *fondaco* had its own chaplain, so those priests who were available divided their duties among the different merchant communities. Felix Fabri mentions going to hear mass at one of the Venetian *fondacos*, there being no priest living in the Catalan house where he lodged. The Venetian chaplain attended the death of Felix's companion, the Count de Solm, who died and was buried in Alexandria.¹⁰⁶ The priest of the Genoese *fondaco* in Tunis performed a similar service for a woman dying in the Marseille *fondaco* in 1289.¹⁰⁷

This latter was Tealdus, chaplain of the church of Santa Maria in the old Genoese *fondaco* in Tunis. His name is recorded as witness or participant in many of the contracts recorded by the *fondaco*'s notary, Pietro Battifoglio. Strikingly, Tealdus only rarely appears in the capacity of chaplain in these documents. Instead, he served as a witness to eighteen contracts (he was presumably often handy at the time they were drawn up), in five others he received or handed over money left in his care by the terms of a will, and in two more he intervened in affairs of the *fondaco*, once being entrusted with the keys of the wine store during a dispute, and elsewhere giving testimony concerning an illegal seizure of a shipment of oil.¹⁰⁸

Bakers, notaries, and other service workers were also required to provide for the day-to-day needs of the *fondaco* building and its residents. Craftspeople were not part of the *fondaco*'s official staff, but they were often Europeans rather than locals. The Statutes of Marseille from 1228, for example, show that a *fondaco* complex could include a variety of shops

¹⁰³ Amari (ed.), *Diplomi arabi*, 286, article 13; Jacoby, "Les Italiens in Egypte," 86.

¹⁰⁴ Mas Latrie (ed.), *Traités de paix et de commerce*, 35.

¹⁰⁵ Mas Latrie (ed.), *Traités de paix et de commerce*, 37, 47. See also Messier, "The Christian Community of Tunis," 249.

¹⁰⁶ Fabri, *Evagatorium in terrae Sanctae*, III, 22 [81b], 32, [85b], 199–200 [142b–143a], *Voyage en Egypte*, II, 406, 428, 764–767.

¹⁰⁷ Pistarino (ed.), *Notai genovesi in Oltremare (1288–1289)*, II–13 (doc. 6).

¹⁰⁸ Pistarino (ed.), *Notai genovesi in Oltremare (1288–1289)*; Tealdus appears in twenty-six documents (nos. 1, 3, 6, 8–11, 14, 18–19, 35–36, 51–52, 55, 60, 61–62, 78–79, 83, 92, 97, 104, 124, and 131).

and workshops, as well as the storerooms and bedrooms normally associated with a lodging-house. These ancillary facilities were to be under the oversight of the *fundicarius*, who was

allowed to have or establish for a year any shop for the work of tailoring, and another for a cobbler, and two others for furriers. Indeed, if there are other furriers or other craftsmen (*ministrales*) among the citizens of Marseille, beyond the aforesaid furriers, tailor, and cobbler who are to be accommodated in the said shops (*botigas*), they should come to the *fondacos*, and then those furriers and other craftsmen are to be allowed to come openly and freely to the said *fondacos* in order to trade and work at their business, yet they are not to work among the shops (*magazenis*) of the said [Muslim] lands . . . and the work of the said craftsmen in the said *fondacos* in the said lands in this fashion must not make any impediment to the merchants in the said *fondacos*.¹⁰⁹

As with European bakers, the availability of western tailors, furriers, and cobblers was a convenience to residents of the *fondaco*, and the availability of these services within the *fondaco* ensured that revenues could be re-circulated within the European community.

Both Muslim and Christian states recognized the profitable potential of a *fondaco*, not only as a location for commerce and commercial taxation, but also as a vehicle for the collection of a variety of rents, fees, and other small levies on its business. Both governments expected to benefit financially from the existence of *fondacos*, a fact which in itself explains their long-term success, but the balance of profits could be a source of conflict. As in the case of the oven in the Catalan *fondaco* in Tunis in 1308, disputes could arise if too many hands – Muslim and Christian – tried to dip into the same financial pot. Muslim governments almost always maintained that the *fondaco* building itself was Muslim property, and Christians enjoyed its use only at the pleasure of the ruler. Christian governments, their consuls, and other westerners thus walked a fine line, skimming off profits to the greatest extent possible without seriously jeopardizing relations with the local Muslim administration.

One problematic issue, involving both religious and financial questions, was the sale of wine in Christian *fondacos*. Limited supplies, religious prohibitions, and restricted points of sale all combined to add both value and complexity to the wine trade in Muslim ports. Islamic rulers had long tolerated the production and use of wine by indigenous Christian communities, in part because wine was necessary for the Christian mass. The consumption of wine by Muslims was prohibited by Islamic law, although medieval

¹⁰⁹ Méry and Guindon (eds.), *Histoire de Marseille*, 1, 351–352.

sources make clear that this stricture was often flouted. Christian *fondacos* were associated with taverns and drinking, since it was a routine provision of commercial treaties that Christians in the *fondacos* would be allowed to import and use wine. Officially, this wine was for Christian consumption within the *fondaco*. A 1238 treaty between Venice and the Ayyūbid sultan al-Malik al-Ādil II, for example, mentioned the “wine that [merchants] may enjoy in the *fondaco*, according to usage and custom.”¹¹⁰ In practice, however, after shipments of wine arrived at a *fondaco* and merchants paid taxes on their cargoes, some of the wine was drunk on the premises but many barrels eventually found their way to Muslim buyers.

The Christian wine trade was well established in Maghribi ports by the early thirteenth century, and documentation of this traffic is much more abundant than for Egypt. The Statutes of Marseille, from 1228, even included a separate section entitled “Who among the citizens of Marseille may sell their wine, or arrange for it to be sold,” in the *fondacos* in North Africa. Although legal materials often reflect theory better than reality, they nonetheless indicate the economic complexities, competing interests, and civic intentions that were involved in this commerce:

We order and institute that all citizens of Marseille, but no other persons, may legally sell and cause to be sold, both retail and wholesale, without any levy (*dacita*), as much of their wine as they bring to the city of Marseille and export from Marseille, to Ceuta, Bougie, Tunis, Oran, and other Saracen lands, [and this will take place] in the small *fondacos* in which it is customary to sell wine in those lands. Regarding those *fondacos* in which wine is sold and which have *fundegarii* (who have a set period of tenure during which they retain [proceeds] for themselves and have a shop according to their own wish, for selling wine to the Saracens), it is right and maintained that no citizen of Marseille is allowed to buy any wine for the purpose of reselling it in the small *fondacos* noted above. [Likewise] it is right and maintained that in the *fondacos* in the said lands in which merchants are accustomed to be received and to store their goods, the *fundegarii* who are in these lands for a set period are not allowed to have or hold or establish for a year, any shop for selling wine, either retail or wholesale, to either Christians or Saracens.¹¹¹

Several points are immediately clear in this passage, and these are also confirmed in other data. First, the rulings permitted merchants from Marseille to transport wine, without paying tax, from their own city to North African ports, where it was sold to both Christian and Muslim buyers. Second, the statutes indicate that the wine was customarily sold to Muslims through small *fondacos*, that were distinct from the larger facilities in which foreign

¹¹⁰ Tafel and Thomas (eds.), *Urkunden*, II, 339.

¹¹¹ Méry and Guindon (eds.), *Histoire de Marseille*, I, 350–351.

merchants stayed and did commercial business. The existence of specialized *fondacos* dedicated to the wine trade is in line both with the tendency for ordinary Muslim *funduqs* to be associated with traffic in particular goods and with the likelihood that local Muslim authorities were especially concerned to oversee and control this commodity. Finally, these smaller *fondacos* for wine were leased to western Christian proprietors (*fundegarii*) for set periods, during which they could collect the profits. These proprietors had the sole right to establish a shop (*maguazenum*) for selling wine to Muslims, while all other merchants from Marseille were prohibited from reselling wine from this *fondaco*.

In the middle of the century, additional statutes from Marseille regarding consuls (“De consulibus”) clarified the relationship between the consul and *fundicarius*, and the role of the consul in sales of wine in *fondacos* in Syria, Alexandria, and Bougie. The consul must prohibit the sale of any wine except for wine from Marseille, so long as this wine was available. Nor was he to rent any shops (*botigas*), nor allow these to be rented, except to citizens of Marseille without the express permission of the *fundegarii fundici*. Finally, the consul could not force the *fundicarius* or anyone else to buy wine or any other item at a higher price than normal.¹¹²

Wine, together with many other goods and services, was subject to a tax – often called the *gabella* or *cabellum* – when it was imported and sold. The Italian term *gabella* applied to a wide range of indirect taxes levied both in Italy and abroad by the thirteenth century.¹¹³ In 1311, for example, the Venetian Zibaldone di Canal described the port of Bône as “a territory in which there is the *gabella*, and nobody may buy [goods] except from those who have the *gabella*, though they may sell imported merchandise, if they wish, after paying a tariff.”¹¹⁴ The *gabella* was paid to state administrators or tax-farmers, and the right to collect the *gabella* on wine might be farmed to a western *fundicarius* or *gabellotto* by local Muslim administrations. Although the word *gabella* probably derived from the Arabic *qabālah*, there is nothing to indicate that the European understanding of the *gabella* had been directly adopted from the context of *fondacos* abroad.

European merchants importing wine to Tunis were required to bring their cargo to the “fundico cabelle Tunisii.” A notary in Palermo in 1287

¹¹² Méry and Guindon (eds.), *Histoire de Marseille*, II, 206, III, 78.

¹¹³ The term had a very broad range of application, taking different forms in different times and places. See, for example, Florence Edler, *Glossary of Mediaeval Terms of Business. Italian Series 1200–1600* (Cambridge, MA: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1934) 130–131, and examples throughout Pegolotti’s *La pratica della mercatura*; also the chapter on the *gabellas* in Siena in William M. Bowsky, *The Finances of the Commune of Siena, 1287–1355* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970) 114–165.

¹¹⁴ Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade*, 134–135.

recorded a shipment of red wine sold by two merchants from Barcelona to a Florentine merchant, who planned to carry it from Sicily to Tunis (“a portu Tunisi, hoc est ab Aquileta”) in a Genoese boat. The wine was to be delivered to the “fundico cabelle Tunisi,” where the Florentine buyer alone would be responsible for payment of the *gabella* tax when he sold the wine (“usque cabellam vini predictam erit totam ad riscum dicti emptoris”). Until that point, the risks of the voyage would be shared with the Catalan sellers.¹¹⁵ As with the earlier “small *fondaco*” in the Statutes of Marseille, this “fundico cabelle Tunisi” appears to have been distinct from the European national *fondacos*. David Abulafia has speculated that this was a “state warehouse within the walls of Tunis proper.”¹¹⁶ However, the specific mention of Goletta, the port of Tunis, suggests that this wine *fondaco* was located near the other western *fondacos*, outside the main city in the harbor area. The western tax-farmer who ran the wine *fondaco* could thus be conveniently under the same surveillance as other Europeans, and Muslim buyers would have to come out to Goletta to make their purchases.

The notarial register of Pietro Battifoglio confirms a distinction between the wine *fondaco* and the residential *fondacos* in Tunis. Pietro described a heated dispute in December 1288 between Ibn Ya‘qūb, a Muslim jurist and superintendent of the customs house (*faqīh* and *mushrif al-diwān* – the Latin gives his name and office as “afachinno Bon Jacopo Racadi, mushirifo in duganna”) and a Genoese called Bertramino Ferrario, the *gabellotto* of the *cabelle magne vini*. Muslim authorities were furious at Bertramino, either because he was selling wine to Muslims, or perhaps for more complicated (though unstated) financial reasons. As a temporary measure until the conflict was resolved, the Genoese consul ordered the closure of the building (*domus*) where wine was sold, and gave its keys into the keeping of Tealdus, the Genoese chaplain.¹¹⁷ Pietro did not return to this matter, so we do not know its conclusion, but other entries in his cartulary further illuminate the status of the wine concession.

Six months later, in June 1289, the commune of Genoa confirmed that it had sold (“vendiderimus”) the office of *scribania* in the *fondaco* in Tunis to a

¹¹⁵ Adamo de Citella, *Le imbreviature del notaio Adamo de Citella a Palermo*, ed. Pietro Burgarella (Rome: Centro de Ricerca, 1981) 1, 179–180 (doc. 296).

¹¹⁶ Abulafia, “A Tyrrhenian Triangle,” 63.

¹¹⁷ Pistarino (ed.), *Notai genovesi in Oltremare (1288–1289)*, 3–4 (doc. 1). Pietro Battifoglio did not use the term *fondaco* in this particular document. In other contracts, this building is noted as the “place where wine is sold (‘ubi venditur vini’).” The debate over the sale of wine appears to have waxed hot in the 1280s, possibly owing to political power struggles among various Ḥafṣid heirs. In 1283, for example, one claimant to the throne initiated a program of religious reform, including closure of the *funduq* in which wine was sold and conversion of the building into a mosque (Brunschvig, *La Berbérie orientale*, 1, 87).

certain Leonardo de Sigenbaldo (described as the buyer, *emptor*) for a period of six years. Leonardo viewed his purchase as an investment, and claimed the right to have a tavern, where he could sell wine, in a shop within the Genoese *fondaco*. At the same time, the contract specifically differentiated his office from that of the *fundicarius*, promising that “there is not to be any *fundicarius*, in any *fondaco* in Tunis without the permission of the buyer or his messenger, nor may there be built or held any shop (*apotecham*) [without his permission], because he ought to have the revenues of the *fondacos*.”¹¹⁸ As with the earlier data from Marseille, these records from 1288 and 1289 indicate a distinction between sales of wine outside the Genoese *fondaco*, which were handled by Bertramino Ferrario (and were of concern to local authorities since Muslim buyers might be involved), and sales of wine within the *fondaco*, which were controlled by Leonardo de Sigenbaldo.

Both Leonardo (explicitly) and Bertramino (presumably) had paid a fee for the right to enjoy the profits of these sales of wine over a set period. Although Leonardo purchased his position from the Genoese commune, there is also evidence that the post of *gabellotto* or *fundicarius* for the wine *fondaco* could be awarded locally, by Muslim authorities. Although the commodity itself was officially prohibited, pragmatic Muslim officials may have preferred to regulate and profit from the wine trade if it could not be fully suppressed. An undated letter sent from the Venetian doge Pietro Gradenigo (1289–1311) to Tunis complained that the Venetian consul in Tunis could no longer profit from sales of wine since the tax-farm on wine had been sold by the king (“fuit vendita per Regem gabella vini”) to a Pisan merchant, Raynerio Martello. The king in question, though unnamed, was presumably the Ḥafṣid sultan.¹¹⁹ Subsequently, “the king revoked this [sale] for unknown reasons and took back the tax farm” (“que pro nescia qua occasione postea Rex detinuit et abstulit gabellam”), apparently causing consternation in the European community.¹²⁰ Since four Ḥafṣid sultans ruled consecutively over these two decades, the shifting policies toward the wine *gabella* probably reflected the differing political and religious agendas of each ruler.

Prostitution, like the consumption of wine, had long been associated with both Christian *fondacos* and Muslim *funduqs* (as with the *pandocheions*

¹¹⁸ Pistarino (ed.), *Notai genovesi in Oltremare (1288–1289)*, 182–183 (doc 128).

¹¹⁹ There were four Ḥafṣid rulers during this period: Yaḥyā III b. Ibrāhīm (1285–1295); Muḥammad II b. Yaḥyā II (1295–1309); Abū Bakr I b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān (1309); and Khālīd I b. Yaḥyā III (1309–1311).

¹²⁰ Tafel and Thomas (eds.), *Urkunden*, III, 395–396; This source calls into question how strict the distinction was between sales inside and outside the *fondacos*.

before them). Traditionally, these facilities provided short- or long-term lodging to male travelers far from home and family, and there is nothing surprising in the fact that these men sought the solace of wine and women – or that governments sought to regulate these pleasures. The 1228 Statutes of Marseille, for example, were firm in condemning prostitution in the *fondacos* in Syria, Egypt, and North Africa. Not only was it “understood that no prostitute (*meretrix*) is to be allowed to stay or take up residence in the said *fondacos*, . . . [but the] consuls who go to the said places must swear on the sainted evangelists that they will not send prostitutes nor allow them to be sent, to any *fondaco* in these lands, nor to allow the said prostitutes to take up residence there.”¹²¹ These strictures, and the imposition of a solemn vow, suggest that past consuls had not always been trustworthy in such matters. Official concern with the presence of prostitutes in *fondacos* apparently arose from moral and administrative interests, and perhaps concern over diplomatic tangles if foreign Christian men were accused of having sexual relations with local Muslim women. There is no evidence of any fiscal aspects of this business, whether fees, fines, or licensing.

Despite the regularity of prohibitions against the presence of prostitutes in *fondacos*, these facilities were not exclusively male communities. In Tunis, at least, Pietro Battifoglio’s contracts refer to three European women – a small yet significant presence. It is possible, even probable, that the relative proximity of Tunisia to Italy encouraged Italian merchants to bring wives, daughters, or female companions to the *fondacos* in North Africa, whereas women rarely journeyed to the more distant *fondacos* of Egypt or Syria. Some European consuls in Egypt married eastern Christian wives, at least in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but there is no evidence of western women resident in the Egyptian *fondacos*.¹²²

On January 14, 1289, Giovanna Zenogia dictated the terms of her will as she lay dying in the *fondico Marsiliorum* in Tunis. She left money to various people, including her servants, and stated that she wished to be buried in the church of Santa Maria in the Old Genoese *fondaco* with her funeral conducted by Tealdus. There is no indication as to whether she was originally from Genoa or Marseille, nor is there any mention of her family in other texts.¹²³ Another document, written the previous day in the church of the Sicilian *fondaco* in Tunis (“Actum Tunexi, in ecclesia fondicis Sicilianorum”) concerned Cali, a woman from Slavonia (“de Slavonia”),

¹²¹ Méry and Guindon (eds.), *Histoire de Marseille*, 1, 352.

¹²² The fourteenth-century pilgrim Frescobaldi commented on the fact that some consuls in Alexandria had married local women (*Visit to the Holy Places*, 38).

¹²³ Pistarino (ed.), *Notai genovesi in Oltremare*, 11–13 (doc. 6).

who wished to repudiate her second marriage to Gado de Budi, made two years previously, on the grounds that she was already married and now wished to return to her first husband, Roger of Sclavonia.¹²⁴ Two months later, in March, Catalina, the daughter of Guido, from Castello di Castro (near Cagliari, in Sardinia) made out a formal testimony that she was three months pregnant by one Columbo di Bobbio. This time, the document was written in the Catalan *fondaco* in Tunis, “in the room inhabited by the said Catalina.”¹²⁵ If Catalina had been married to Columbo, such a testimony would not have been necessary. These brief references offer little information on either the status or reputation of Giovanna, Cali, or Catalina, nor do they explain their presence in Tunis. In two cases, however, the issues of bigamy and pregnancy do indicate that these women were sexually active in the *fondaco* communities.

By the thirteenth century, European *fondacos* in Muslim cities had become enclaves in which western merchants and other travelers could enjoy many of the comforts of home. These facilities provided commercial and living space for foreigners under the watchful eye of local Muslim administrators, and the system ensured profit and security to both sides. Not only traders, but also western administrators, priests, artisans, and entrepreneurs, both male and female, took up residence in these *fondacos* for varying periods, creating foreign colonies within Islamic domains.

Yet these were colonies without any broader framework of colonialism. *Fondacos* provided fiscal and other benefits to both visiting Europeans and local Muslims, yet the buildings themselves were usually controlled and maintained by the territorial government. Genoa, Venice, and other western trading powers had to request access to *fondacos* – together with rights to consuls, legal jurisdiction, salvage, special commercial taxes, and other privileges – in their diplomatic negotiations with the Almohads, Fāṭimids, Ayyūbids, and Ḥafṣids. Only in rare instances did European states feel themselves to be in a dominant position in this relationship.¹²⁶

Analysis of *fondacos* and their administration in the Muslim Mediterranean from the eleventh through the thirteenth centuries reveals regular patterns in both theory and practice across a wide region. However, although the *fondaco* became the dominant model for western commercial and residential space in Islamic cities, this was not the only option available.

¹²⁴ Pistarino (ed.), *Notai genovesi in Oltremare*, 9–10 (doc. 5).

¹²⁵ “Actum Tunexi, in fondico Catalanorum in talamo in qua habitat dicta Catalinna”: Pistarino (ed.), *Notai genovesi in Oltremare*, 45–46 (doc. 29).

¹²⁶ See the discussion of Catalan *fondacos* in Tunis during the reign of James I in the following chapter.

Comparison with commercial spaces in contemporary Byzantium reveals that alternative solutions existed to facilitate the process of long-distance international trade.

MERCHANT COLONIES IN BYZANTIUM

Western European merchants extended their commercial activities into Byzantine cities, especially Constantinople, in tandem with their expansion into Muslim markets. Byzantium had long been a source of precious eastern commodities for European markets, and thus Byzantine administrators and urban officials could draw on centuries of experience in dealing with the western traders who arrived in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Sources indicate a variety of spaces for foreign commerce and lodging in Byzantine cities, but although the chronicler Niketas Choniates mentioned one *pandocheion* housing merchants in Constantinople in the 1180s, references to *pandocheions*, *fondacos*, or other cognate terms are rare.¹²⁷ Instead, there were other words, such as *mitaton* and *embolo*, for spaces that served functions similar to those of *fondacos* in Muslim lands.

The Greek word *mitaton* was a loan from Latin, where *metatus* referred to a dwelling or lodgings in late antiquity. The term was used in this sense in the records of church councils from 536 and 681.¹²⁸ It was also applied to late Roman outposts on the Persian frontier, used for monitoring the movement of travelers and goods, and for collecting taxes.¹²⁹ By the late ninth century, the institution appears in a specifically commercial and regulatory context in the *Book of the Eparch*, a handbook of market regulations for Constantinople compiled during the reign of Leo VI (886–912).¹³⁰ In this period, *mitatons* in Constantinople were official hostleries, particularly designed to handle commercial traffic between the Byzantine capital and the Islamic world. Byzantine officials were concerned to supervise sales of raw silk, but also to segregate Syrian merchants, to monitor their movement, and to ensure that they did not prolong their stay beyond a period of three months.

¹²⁷ Choniates, *Historia*, 1, 445, *O City of Byzantium*, 244. The use of the cognate term *foundax* will be discussed below.

¹²⁸ Councils noted in the *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, "Mitaton," 11, 1385.

¹²⁹ R. S. Lopez, "The Silk Industry in the Byzantine Empire," *Speculum* 20 (1945) 25–26. This article contains one of the most comprehensive discussions of the *mitaton*, although Lopez may overstate its commercial applications. See also Lopez, "Du Marché temporaire," 391.

¹³⁰ (*Book of the Eparch*), *Das Eparchenbuch Leons des Weisen*, ed. Johannes Koder (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1991) 94–97.

According to these rules,

the imported merchandise of the dealers in Syrian silks shall all be deposited in one of the inns (*mitaton*), so that they may all meet together to divide it. The same applies to the Muslim goods coming from Syria . . . All the dealers alike shall be there and share the goods with the Syrian merchants who have dwelt in the capital for a continuous period of ten years. They shall all remain in one section of the *embolo* and not scatter here and there to sell their wares.¹³¹

It continues to rule that these

Syrian merchants who bring in goods shall not remain longer than three months in the inns. Within that time they shall complete the sale of their own wares and the purchase of other merchandise. If any of the imported wares remain unsold by those who ought to market them, these shall report this to the Prefect so that he may make a fitting disposal thereof.

Although these merchants were to be exempt from sales taxes, they were responsible to the cost of food and lodging during their sojourn.¹³²

Regulations in the *Book of the Eparch* specifically pertained to merchants and goods coming from Syria to the *mitatons* of Constantinople, and it may be that the original impetus for the development of the institution grew from the need to regulate commercial exchange across the newly established Byzantine–Abbāsid frontier. Both Byzantine and Muslim officials sought to keep a close eye on foreign merchants and their business activities. It is also possible, as Robert Lopez has speculated, that the favorable terms expressed in the *Book of the Eparch* reflected an attempt to win over support in Syria in advance of a planned – but never realized – Byzantine invasion.¹³³ More likely, however, there was a mutual interest in promoting trade so long as adequate security and protection could be maintained.

It is difficult to know whether there was any relationship between the *mitaton* and the *funduq*. Clearly, there was no linguistic link, and their similarities in function could have been created as much by parallel needs as by direct influence. Nevertheless, it has often been suggested that the *funduq* may have derived aspects of its function from the *mitaton*.¹³⁴ Certainly,

¹³¹ Here, *embolo* probably refers to a colonnaded street or portico. Later, it would become the normal term for a city quarter assigned to a foreign merchant community in Constantinople.

¹³² (*Book of the Eparch*), *Das Eparchenbuch*, 94–97; English trans. (with minor changes) from A. E. R. Boak, “Notes and Documents: The Book of the Prefect,” *Journal of Economic and Business History* 1 (1928–1929) 606–607.

¹³³ Lopez, “Silk Industry in the Byzantine Empire,” 30.

¹³⁴ Robert Lopez noted that “at first glance, the *mitata* must have resembled other medieval lodging houses for merchants,” but he went on to point out specific differences including the limited period of residence (Lopez, “Silk Industry in the Byzantine Empire,” 27–28). David Jacoby has also

the *mitaton* pre-dated the *funduq* (though not the *pandocheion*). However, it seems equally likely that the commercialization of the *mitaton* was influenced by the example of the *funduq*. The encounter between Byzantine administrators and Muslim traders in the centuries between the rise of Islam and the early tenth century may have created a scenario for the *mitaton* to evolve into the regulated facility for lodging merchants that appears in the *Book of the Eparch*.¹³⁵

Muslim traders had been active in Constantinople long before most western Europeans (with the exception of the Venetians) became an established presence in the city. These merchants had access to mosques and other facilities in the Byzantine capital by the later tenth century, and there seems to have been a resident Muslim community by the later twelfth century.¹³⁶ However, a Muslim *mitaton* is only cited from 1203, when a huge fire engulfed the Perama mosque in Constantinople. By this point, European traders were also active in the city. According to Niketas Choniates, the conflagration began when westerners (Pisan, Venetian, and French merchants) “without warning fell upon the synagogue of the Agarenes, called *mitaton* in popular speech; with drawn swords they plundered its possessions.”¹³⁷ Here, the use of *mitaton* implies not only the mosque, but also a residential quarter or building in which Muslims lived and stored their goods. The western arsonists and looters may have been motivated by commercial

remarked on the analogies between the two, concluding that the *funduq* was “un’istituzione che molto probabilmente derivava dal *mitaton* bizantino” (David Jacoby, “Nuovi e mutevoli orizzonti: verso ed oltre l’Oriente mediterraneo,” *Storia d’Europa*, III: Il Medioevo, ed. Gherardo Ortalli [Turin: Einaudi, 1995] 1165). Similarities between *mitaton* and the *fondaco* have also been noted. See particularly Gabriel Millet, “Sur les sceaux des commerçants byzantins,” *Mélanges offerts à M. Gustave Schlumberger* (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Guethner, 1924) II, 323. Jacoby also notes the similarity of the *mitaton* and the *dār al-mānak* (“Les Italiens en Egypte,” 88).

¹³⁵ By the tenth century, *mitatons* apparently also lodged other groups of foreign traders. Bulgarian traders may have had a *mitaton* in Constantinople even before this, and during the reign of Leo VI this facility was farmed out and moved to Thessalonika. The subsequent raising of tariff rates led to discontent among the Bulgarians, and eventually Leo restored the facility to the capital and to imperial control (Lopez, “Silk Industry in the Byzantine Empire,” 32). Russian merchants also wanted a *mitaton* in Constantinople after the conclusion of a commercial treaty of the emperors Leo VI and Alexander with the Russian prince Oleg in the years between 904 and 907 (*Russian Primary Chronicle*, ed. and trans. Samuel Hazard Cross [Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy of America, 1953] 64–65).

¹³⁶ Stephen Reinert, “The Muslim Presence in Constantinople, 9th–15th Centuries: Some Preliminary Observations,” in *Studies on the Internal Diaspora of the Byzantine Empire*, ed. H. Ahrweiler and A. Laiou (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Press, 1998) 125–150. Ibn Shaddād noted the presence of Muslim merchants in Constantinople in 1189, when a new mosque was established for the city’s Muslim community in the wake of a treaty between Saladdin and Isaac I in 1188 (*Sirat Salah al-Din* [Cairo: Mu’assasat al-Khānījī, 1962] 132; trans. C. R. Conder, *The Life of Saladin* [London: Palestine Exploration Fund, 1897] 199).

¹³⁷ Choniates, *Historia*, I, 553, *O City of Byzantium*, 303.

rivalry, and it is noteworthy that there is no reference to either a mosque or *mitaton* for Muslim merchants in Constantinople during the period of Latin domination after 1204.

With the Paleologan restoration, however, facilities for Muslims and Jews were reinstated in the Byzantine capital. A Muslim traveler to the city in 1293 reported that

there is a place (*makān*), which is large like [the one with] two floors in Damascus, [and] is surrounded by a wall with a gate which may be shut and opened, specially designated as a lodging for the Muslims; likewise, there is another place for lodging the Jews. Every night these two gates are closed, along with the other gates of the city.¹³⁸

Physically and functionally, this building was very like a *funduq* or *khān*, similarities that obviously struck the writer (though he employed neither term in his description) since he made the comparison to facilities in Damascus.

The arrival of increasing numbers of western merchants in the eleventh century initiated changes in Byzantine arrangements for handling foreign trade. Apparently, the *mitaton* did not suit the needs of growing western traffic, and instead European merchant communities were often granted a small territorial enclave (*embolum* or *embolo*) to accommodate both transient and more settled western visitors. Each enclave included houses, warehouses, a church, bath, oven, and other amenities required by foreign merchant communities.¹³⁹ That these facilities mirror those granted by Muslim rulers in

¹³⁸ Al-Jazari, "Jawāhir al-sulūk fi ḥulafā wa al-mulūk," Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, MS Arabe 6739, fol. 91v. See also M. Izeddin, "Un Texte arabe inédit sur Constantinople byzantine," *Journal Asiatique* 246 (1958) 453–455. Possibly al-Jazari heard the Greek word *mitaton* and confused it with the Arabic *makān*, a word that would have made better sense to him. Al-Jazari's reference to a residence for Jewish merchants, similar to the lodging house for Muslims, is intriguing. Evidence is scarce for the existence of a Jewish community in Constantinople during the middle ages, and David Jacoby has remarked on the "total obscurity" of a Jewish presence in the period from the fifth to the eleventh centuries. A Jewish quarter in Constantinople only appears clearly in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (David Jacoby, "Les Quartiers juifs de Constantinople à l'époque byzantine," *Byzantion* 37 [1967] 167–227).

¹³⁹ Horatio Brown described the *embolum* as "a place where merchants stored and sold their goods and transacted their business . . . It was a building with an open *loggia* running round it and was of the nature of an exchange house rather than a bazaar. But the word *embolum* soon acquired a secondary and wider meaning and came to be applied to the whole quarter" ("The Venetians and the Venetian Quarter in Constantinople to the Close of the Twelfth Century," *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 40 (1920) 75). On western residences and property in Constantinople, see also Chryssa A. Maltezou, "Las Italiens propriétaires 'Terrarum et casarum' à Byzance," *Byzantinische Forschungen* 22 (1996) 177–191; Paul Magdalino, *Constantinople médiévale: études sur l'évolution des structures urbaines* (Paris: De Boccard, 1996) 85–90; Michel Balard, "L'Organisation des colonies étrangères dans l'empire byzantin (xii^e–xv^e siècle)," in *Hommes et richesses dans l'empire byzantin (viii^e–xv^e siècle)*, ed. Vassiliki Kravari (Paris: P. Lethielleux, 1991) II, 268–269. The decline of the *mitaton* is discussed in K. Ciggaar, *Western Travelers to Constantinople: The West and Byzantium 962–1204* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1996) 24.

connection with *fondacos* is symptomatic of the many similarities in the requirements and regulation of western traders in Byzantine and Islamic cities.

Nevertheless, Byzantine administrators never directly adopted the model or terminology of the *funduq* or *fondaco*. The latter word rarely occurs in a Byzantine context, and then only in texts written in Latin and Romance languages. Thus, the Genoese chronicler Caffaro described the sack of the Genoese *fondaco* (“fundicum Ianuensium”) in Constantinople in 1162, but this use was probably merely his western interpretation of the *embolo*.¹⁴⁰

Although neither *funduqs* nor residential *fondacos* appear in regions under Byzantine rule, the existence of a cognate institution, the *foundax*, has already been discussed in chapter 2. It is worth returning to the *foundax*, however, since its administration shows intriguing parallels to the organization of *funduqs* and *fondacos* in Muslim lands. Although derived from *funduq*, this facility probably evolved separately from *fondaco*, since the Greek term always referred to a warehouse or entrepôt – never a lodging-house for foreign traders. A *foundax* for storing and taxing grain was recorded in Rodosto, the port for Adrianople, during the second half of the eleventh century, when it was apparently run as a tax-farm administered by a *foundacarius* (surely related to *funduqī* and *fundicarius*). This post was described by the historian Michael Attaleiates (d. c.1085):

The leader of these filthy men, the *foundacarius*, who in innovative ways vexed those who were bringing down grain, and basely took it away from them, making harsh demands for the rents, and compelled them to an inferior sale through making innovations in many forms. And so, the *foundax* growing, the earlier prosperity of the city fell to a state of inexorable injustice, and the price of corn went from 18 *modii* per coin to 1 *modios*. From that time on they traded (alas the greed of it!) not only the grain-bearing wagons, but also the remaining things that were for sale, as many as passed by there. But those from the countryside and the neighbors of Rodosto were prevented from selling their personal crops in their own houses. Their measures of grain were taken away, and a single *foundax* was lord and master over all measures of grain. Never had such a thing happened, nor did the sun itself recognize such injustice. For if someone was denounced for selling at home grain from his own harvest, he was treated as a murderer or a thief or some other stranger, and his property was confiscated and seized by the man who presides over the *foundax*. A hundred military aids, representing every sort of evil man, attended the *foundacarius* and obeyed his orders, and attacked the pitiful merchants and farmers from all sides with many vexations.¹⁴¹

¹⁴⁰ *Annali Genovesi di Caffaro e de'suoi continuatori*, ed. Luigi Tommaso Belgrano and Cesare Imperiale di Sant' Angelo (Genoa and Rome: Istituto Sordo-Muti, 1890–1923) 1, 68. Caffaro was already familiar with the institution of the *funduq* and *fondaco* in Muslim cities, including Almería.

¹⁴¹ Attaleiates, *La Diataxis de Michel Attaliatē*, 202–203.

Attaleiates made clear that the problem lay more with the administration of this *foundax*, and its corrupt *foundacarius*, than with the institution itself. Thus, when Nikephoros Bryennios took Adrianople in 1077, "his first act on behalf of the inhabitants was that they should tear down and level to the ground that common offense and injustice, that disastrous contrivance of the auditors, that attack on prosperity, and indeed, an extra-urban *foundax* was to be built anew, and the old one swallowed up to its very foundation."¹⁴² Apparently a well-run *foundax*, like a well-run *funduq* or *fondaco*, could be an asset to merchants, producers, and rulers alike. The structure of this *foundax* resembled not only those of the contemporary Muslim *funduqs* for grain, oil, fruit, cotton, and other commodities, but also that of the *fondacos* for wine in Tunis and elsewhere. All served as commercial entrepôts, where specific types of goods were sold at regulated prices, and where merchants were often required to bring their wares.

Comparison between merchant lodging and commercial facilities in Byzantine and Islamic cities reveals differences in the experience of Christian merchants residing in Christian cities, and of those lodging in Muslim towns. In each case the residents were foreigners, and both Byzantine and Muslim governments were intent on controlling the movement of western merchants and their goods, and ensuring that the proper taxes and fees were collected. Byzantine authorities were likewise perfectly capable of exercising (or seeking to exercise) draconian controls over foreign traders, but it is noteworthy that they did not do this in the case of western Christian groups. Venetians, Genoese, Pisans, and others were certainly regulated, but they were never required to reside and do business in a *mitaton*, even while this institution still existed in connection with Muslim traders. Instead, westerners in Constantinople had their own *embolos*, which included private houses, shops, warehouses and other facilities.

Individual European states obtained differing rights for their nationals in Byzantine lands, though all sought a roughly similar package of religious and commercial privileges.¹⁴³ An early *chrysobull* granted in 991 to Venice, which had the oldest ties to Byzantium, reduced tax rates, protected Venetian shipping, and granted them a building (*domo*) in which

¹⁴² Attaleiates, *La Diataxis de Michel Attaliatè*, 249. In 1157, a Venetian text mentioned property in Rodosto "juxta locum, qui dicitur Fontega in ruga Francigenorum, foras muros civitatis." This may be a reference to a new *fondaco*, or may refer to the earlier site of the *foundax*: Tafel and Thomas (eds.), *Urkunden*, I, 138; also Slessarev, "Ecclesiae mercatorum," 186.

¹⁴³ Western treaties with Byzantium have been edited in a number of collections, most notably, for Venice, the volumes of Tafel and Thomas. See also J. Müller (ed.), *Documenti sulle relazioni delle città toscane coll'Oriente cristiano e coi Turchi fino all'anno MDXXXI* (Florence: M. Cellinie, 1879); Marco Pozza and Giorgio Ravegnani (eds.), *I trattati con Bizanzio* (Venice: Il Cardo, 1996).

to do business, but there was no mention of any further territorial concessions.¹⁴⁴ Not until nearly a century later, in 1082, were they granted a district (*embolo*), shops, a church, and a bakery by Alexius I. Subsequent imperial bulls through the following century repeated these terms (sometimes renewing them after periods of Byzantine–Venetian hostility), and extended further rights to property.¹⁴⁵ By 1170, there may have been several thousand Venetians living in the Byzantine capital, creating intense pressure for housing and other facilities. Despite imperial efforts to contain them within their own quarter of the city, some Venetians apparently took up residence in other neighborhoods.¹⁴⁶ Venetian merchants also settled in a number of Byzantine provincial cities, including Rodosto, where they gained commercial privileges similar to those in Constantinople.¹⁴⁷ This relative freedom of movement, and the significant size of the population, was very different from the Venetian situation in Muslim cities at the same period.

Genoa, Pisa, and other western states also acquired rights to *embolos*, churches, houses, baths, wells, mills, and trading facilities in Constantinople and other Byzantine cities during the 1150s, at the same time that they were negotiating for *fondacos* and commercial concessions in Muslim Mediterranean cities.¹⁴⁸ By the end of the twelfth century, there was a complex network of western enclaves in Constantinople, stretched along the shore of the Golden Horn, providing facilities for docking, storage, and lodging. There were often rivalries, especially between Genoa and Pisa. A Genoese treaty with Manuel Comnenus, negotiated in 1155, provided Genoese traders with an *embolo* and assured them jurisdiction over their own affairs “just as the Pisans have” (“sicut Pisani habent”).¹⁴⁹

After the Fourth Crusade, the dominance of Venice allowed this community to expand even further, while other western groups were restricted or eliminated. Venetian holdings in Byzantine lands grew dramatically under Latin rule, and at the same time the institution of the *fondaco* proper

¹⁴⁴ Tafel and Thomas (eds.), *Urkunden*, 1, 38.

¹⁴⁵ Brown, “Venetians and the Venetian Quarter,” 70–71.

¹⁴⁶ Brown, “Venetians and the Venetian Quarter,” 82–83.

¹⁴⁷ David Jacoby, “Italian Privileges and Trade in Byzantium before the Fourth Crusade: A Reconsideration,” *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 24 (1994) 365–366.

¹⁴⁸ See Angelo Sanguinetti (ed.), *Nuovi serie di documenti sulle relazioni di Genova coll’Impero Bizantino*, *Atti de la Società ligure di storia patria* 28 (Genoa: Società ligure di storia patria, 1897) 339–573. Venetians, Pisans, and Genoese were the dominant groups, but merchants from Amalfi, Ragusa, Ancona, Florence, Montpellier, and Provence also did business in Constantinople. Their privileges were generally fewer, and granted at a later date. See Balard, “L’Organisation des colonies étrangères;” Janin, *Géographie ecclésiastique*, 570–576; Abulafia, “Anconitan Privileges in Jerusalem,” 527; and Kathryn Reyerson, “Montpellier and the Byzantine Empire: Commercial Interaction in the Mediterranean World before 1350,” *Byzantion* 48 (1978) 456–476.

¹⁴⁹ Sanguinetti (ed.), *Relazioni di Genova coll’Impero Bizantino*, 344.

suddenly appeared in the region. This shift not only shows latinization and the increased use of western terminology after 1204, but it also suggests that *fondacos* were the commercial spaces of choice for Venetian merchants and administrators. Venetians were familiar with *fondacos* not only in Muslim cities but also in regions under their own control. They already administered *fondacos* in the crusader cities, for Venetian merchants, and a *fondaco* in Venice itself, for German merchants. In 1209, therefore, when Geoffrey of Villehardouin, prince of Achaea, recognized the overlordship of Venice and Doge Pietro Ziani, he promised that Venetian merchants should have a church, small *fondaco* (*fundiculum*), and court in cities under his control.¹⁵⁰ A year later, when a member of the ousted Byzantine imperial family, Michael Comnenus, needed Venetian support in an attempt to establish a small state in the Balkans in 1210, he likewise offered them churches, *fondacos*, and other facilities, wherever they wished throughout his lands.¹⁵¹ In Constantinople itself, the Venetian *podestà*, Jacopo Tiepolo, organized the construction of a new *fondaco* (*fundicum*) in June 1220, on land that Venice rented from the Latin patriarch.¹⁵² Other western states also sought *fondacos* in this period. When Crete was seized by the count of Malta in 1206, with the help of Genoa, he promised Genoese merchants *fondacos*, baths, ovens, and other traditional concessions in all Cretan cities in 1210. They had little time to enjoy these privileges, however, since Venice took over the island in the following year.¹⁵³ A *fontego communis* existed in Candia under Venetian rule, and was mentioned in the official cadastres in 1242.¹⁵⁴

After the restoration of Greek rule in 1261, and the consequent diminution of Latin influence, references to *fondacos* again became scarce in Byzantine territories. Instead, other terms – especially *loggia* – began to be preferred. When Michael Paleologus renewed Genoese rights in Constantinople in 1261, he granted them a “*loggia*, palace, bath, oven, garden, and as many houses as they needed.”¹⁵⁵ Venice also renegotiated its privileges in 1265, and its merchants soon regained tax exemptions and most of their former rights, including access to houses, baths, and ovens in

¹⁵⁰ Tafel and Thomas (eds.), *Urkunden*, II, 97.

¹⁵¹ Adolf Schaube, *Handelsgeschichte der romanischen Völker des Mittelmeergebiets bis zum Ende der Kreuzzüge* (Munich and Berlin: R. Oldenbourg, 1906) 266 (section 207).

¹⁵² Flaminio Cornaro, *Ecclesiae Venetae antiquis monumentis nunc etiam primum editis illustratae ac in decades distributae* (Venice: Baptiste Pasquali, 1749) III, 99. By 1234, Venice also had a *fondaco* on Rhodes (Tafel and Thomas (eds.), *Urkunden*, II, 320).

¹⁵³ *Liber iurium Reipublicae Genuensis*, I, 553–554; Maria Georgopoulou, *Venice's Mediterranean Colonies: Architecture and Urbanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001) 18–19, 47.

¹⁵⁴ Archivio di Stato, Venice, Duca di Candia, b. 18, Catastico SS. Apostolorum, f. 175; my thanks to Maria Georgopoulou for this citation, and for other advice on *fondacos* and *loggias* in Candia.

¹⁵⁵ *Liber iurium Reipublicae Genuensis*, I (no. 945), cols. 1350–1359.

Constantinople and Thessalonika, but there was no further mention of a *fondaco*.¹⁵⁶

During the later thirteenth century, *loggias* became increasingly common in both Byzantium and Latin territories in the eastern Mediterranean. This parallels contemporary usage in other areas of the Christian Mediterranean, where the word *loggia* evolved from merely signifying an open shaded space to designating a structure dedicated to communal merchant business and trade.¹⁵⁷ Like *fondacos*, *loggias* were cited in connection with particular political communities (“logia Venetorum Famagoste,” “fondico communis Ianue,” etc.), suggesting a degree of communal authority and regulation.¹⁵⁸ Until about 1300, the terms *loggia* and *fondaco* were closely related in meaning, and sometimes overlapped. In Genoese Caffa, for example, the notary Lamberto di Sambuceto wrote at least seventy contracts in the Genoese *fondaco* in 1289–1290, many others in the Genoese *loggia*, and six “in logia sive fondico.”¹⁵⁹ In contemporary Nicosia, the two terms were related but distinct, as indicated in a contract written “in fondico Ianuensium Nicossie, in quo est logia dicatorum Ianuensium” in 1297.¹⁶⁰

In this same period, *fondacos* in Italian overseas territories more frequently appeared as privately held buildings for business and storage, not communal

¹⁵⁶ Tafel and Thomas (eds.), *Urkunden*, III, 62–89, 92–100. See also Julian Chrysostomides, “Venetian Commercial Privileges under the Palaeologi,” *Studi Veneziani* 12 (1970) 290–298.

¹⁵⁷ Originally, *loggia* derived from a Germanic term for an open shaded space, very similar in meaning to the Greek *embolo*. The evolution of the *loggia* in the western Mediterranean will be discussed further in chapters 5 and 6. On western *loggias*, see Kim Susan Sexton, “A History of Renaissance Civic Loggias in Italy from the Loggia dei Lanzi to Sansovino’s Loggetta,” Ph.D. dissertation (New Haven: Yale University, 1997).

¹⁵⁸ These examples are from Valeria Polonio (ed.), *Notai genovesi in Oltremare: atti rogati a Cipro da Lamberto di Sambuceto* (Genoa: Università di Genova, 1982) 221–222, 438–439, index 568–569.

¹⁵⁹ Michel Balard, *Gênes et l’outre-mer* (Paris: Mouton, 1973) 1, 401; *logia sive fondaco* (docs. 38, 56, 353, 392, 416, 423); Laura Balletto, “Da Chiavari al Levante ed al Mar Nero nei secoli XIII e XIV,” *Atti del Convegno Storico Internazionale per l’VIII centenario dell’urbanizzazione de Chiavari (8–10 Novembre 1978)* (Chiavari: Azienda Autonoma Soggiorno e Turismo, 1980) 238, 262–278.

¹⁶⁰ Michel Balard (ed.), *Notai genovesi in Oltremare. Atti rogati a Cipro da Lamberto di Sambuceto (11 Ottobre 1296–23 Giugno 1299)*, Collana Storica di fonti e Studi (Genoa: Università di Genova, 1983) 69 (no. 55). Other overlapping or nesting terms are evident elsewhere. A house (*domus*) in Cyprus was used as a *fondaco* (“tenetur adhuc pro fontego”) in the middle of the thirteenth century (G. Thomas, “Einen Bericht über die ältesten Besitzungen der Venezianer auf Cypern,” *Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Philologische und Historische Klasse* (Munich: Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1878) 150. Thomas dates this to 1278, but David Jacoby prefers 1242–1247. See Jacoby, “The Rise of a New Emporium in the Eastern Mediterranean: Famagusta in the late Thirteenth Century,” *Meletai kai hypomnemata, Hidryma Archiepiskopou Makariou III* (Leukosia: Hidryma Archiepiskopou Makariou, 1984) 1, 155, n. 51. Another contract, drawn up in Famagusta in 1302, was written in a shop in the Genoese *fondaco* (“in apotheca fondici Ianuesium Famagoste”). See Romeo Pavoni, *Notai genovesi in Oltremare. Atti rogati a Cipro da Lamberto di Sambuceto (Gennaio–Agosto 1302)* (Genoa: Università di Genova, 1987) 79 (no. 57).

enclaves. Some were leased, as was probably the case with the Genoese *fondaco* in Famagusta, which was twice noted as “held” (“tenebat”) by a certain Petrus Rubeus in 1300 (although the Genoese *loggia* in this city was never cited in such terms).¹⁶¹ Others were clearly in private ownership. Alongside references to a Genoese communal *loggia* and *fondaco* in Caffa in the 1280s, the powerful Zaccaria family possessed their own *fondaco* in Caffa (“fondico Jachariorum in Caffa”), as did members of the Mallone and Lomellino clans, and other individuals.¹⁶² As will be seen in later chapters, this usage mirrored contemporary trends in southern European cities.

Loggia gradually emerged as the dominant term by the early fourteenth century, when references indicate a growing distinction between these buildings and *fondacos*. Although *fondacos* did not disappear, *loggias* were increasingly the facility of choice when it came to providing space for communal lodging, storage, and trade for Christian merchants doing business in other Christian lands, whether Byzantium, western overseas territories, or southern European cities. *Loggias* had consuls, and served many of the same functions that had once been filled by *fondacos* and *embolos*, becoming centers for public organization, communal identity, business life, and judicial activity abroad.¹⁶³ Like *fondacos* in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, *loggias* were commonly granted to foreign merchant communities in the course of diplomatic negotiations between Christian states in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. When Andronicus II conceded a parcel of land in Galata to the Genoese in 1304, he permitted them to build houses, butcher shops, a *loggia*, bath, and church in the area.¹⁶⁴ A few years later, in 1319, Venetian concessions in Trebizond, from Alexius II, likewise included a *loggia*, church, houses, and bath.¹⁶⁵ On Crete, the Venetian *loggia*

¹⁶¹ Cornelio Desimoni (ed.), “Actes passés a Famagouste de 1299 à 1301 par devant le notaire génois Lamberto di Sambuceto,” *Archives de l’Orient Latin* 2 (1884) III (no. 205), 114 (no. 211). Desimoni’s collection contains numerous other references to the Genoese *loggia* (89, 90, 275, 281, 297, 341, 349) and even more to the Venetian *loggia* (70–75, 77, 108, 282–283, 286–287, 290–291, 293–294, 303, 333). There is no suggestion that either of these facilities was leased.

¹⁶² George Ioan Bratianu (ed.), *Actes des notaires génois de Péra et de Caffa de la fin du treizième siècle (1281–1290)* (Bucharest: Cultura Nationala, 1927) 255–256 (no. 277); Balard, *Gênes et l’outre-mer*, 1, 128 (docs. 323, 324); also docs. 795, 801, 867–869, 871–872, 882; Michel Balard, *La Romanie génoise (XIIe-début du XVe siècle)* (Rome: Ecole française de Rome, 1978) 201, 236, 255, 286, 337.

¹⁶³ Geo Pitarino, “Les Symboles de Gênes dans les établissements d’outre-mer” in *Coloniser au moyen âge*, ed. M. Balard and A. Ducellier (Paris: Armand Colin, 1995) 302.

¹⁶⁴ *Liber iurium Reipublicae Genuensis*, II (no. 160), cols. 441–444.

¹⁶⁵ E. Concina, *Fondaci. Architettura, arte e mercatura tra Levante, Venezia e Alemagna*. (Venice: Marsilio, 1997) 102. A few years later, references to a *fonticum* in Trebizond (in 1320) and a *cavarsara* (c.1330) indicate that there were still a variety of terms in play (*ibid.*, 104), and the term *fondaco* could still be found in Trebizond into the late fifteenth century. A Florentine treaty of 1460 with the emperor of Trebizond requested a *fondaco* “for storage and lodging,” with a chapel, just as the Venetians and Genoese already had (Müller, *Documenti sulle relazioni toscane, 186–187* [doc. 138]).

(*lobium*) in Candia was used for public announcements, meetings, and auctions of state property. In 1325, this *loggia* was moved from the area of the port and reestablished in a new building in the center of the town.¹⁶⁶ Pisa had *loggias* in Famagusta and Limassol from the late thirteenth century, and both the Venetian and Genoese communities received *loggias* in Cyprus in the first decades of the next century.¹⁶⁷ Later, when Emmanuel Piloti commented on a long street in Famagusta in 1441, that was “filled with magnificent *loggias* belonging to every Christian nation with power,” his description is reminiscent of Benjamin of Tudela’s comments on the *fondacos* of Alexandria three centuries before.¹⁶⁸

The evolution of the *loggia* reflects the constant tinkering and ongoing innovation in mercantile terms and institutions in the medieval Mediterranean world. Under some conditions, new forms developed to meet new needs and circumstances, while in other places, older institutions survived and evolved to suit new settings and markets. Although the *loggia* became dominant in Christian ports by the early fourteenth century, the *fondaco* continued to flourish in Muslim cities. From the eleventh century, it was the major institution regulating and facilitating Christian trade in Muslim ports, and it would continue to fulfill this function, with few changes, throughout the Mamlūk period and into the Ottoman regime. Evidently, *fondacos* fulfilled the daily needs and fiscal desires of both foreign Christian merchants and Muslim rulers. That these westerners carried the institution back to their home cities in Europe is further testimony of the endurance and malleability of the *fondaco*. As will be shown in the next two chapters, the fact that Christian rulers and merchants in conquered territories adapted the *funduq* and *fondaco* to suit new circumstances similarly bears witness to its ongoing utility and universality.

¹⁶⁶ Georgopoulou, *Venice’s Mediterranean Colonies*, 84. Later evidence indicates that a *fontico* (now a public warehouse) also continued to exist in Candia (*ibid.*, 51).

¹⁶⁷ Pisa: M. Balard, “I pisani in Oriente dalla Guerra di Aciri (1258) al 1406,” *Studi di storia pisana e toscana in onore del prof. Cinzio Violente* (Pisa: Pacini, 1991) 4. Venetian privileges in Cyprus in 1302 and 1306 are recorded in M. L. de Mas Latrie, *Nouvelles preuves de l’histoire de Chypre sous le règne des princes de la maison de Lusignan* (Paris: J. Baur et Détaille, 1873) 47 and M. L. de Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l’île de Chypre sous le règne des princes de la maison de Lusignan* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1852–1873) II, 104); also privileges for the Genoese in Cyprus in 1326 (Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l’île de Chypre*, II, 156). Merchants from Narbonne received a *loggia* on Rhodes in 1351 (C. Port, *Essai sur l’histoire du commerce maritime de Narbonne* [Paris: Durand, 1854], 119). *Loggias* also became common in early Ottoman territories. In 1353, Venetians had a *loggia*, oven, church, and houses in the emirate of Aydin (Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade*, 127–129).

¹⁶⁸ E. Piloti, *Traité d’Emmanuel Piloti sur le passage en Terre Sainte (1420)*, ed. P.-H. Dopp (Louvain and Paris: Editions E. Nauwelaerts, 1958) 76.

*Conquest and commercial space:
the case of Iberia*

THE IMPACT OF CONQUEST ON COMMERCIAL SPACE

Christian military and political expansion into Muslim-held territories in the central middle ages, like the growth of European overseas trade, had critical consequences for the evolution of commercial space in conquered regions. As Muslim cities in the Iberian Peninsula, Sicily, and the Near East came into Christian hands in the wake of crusade and reconquest in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, Islamic urban institutions – including the *funduq* – were adopted and adapted to fit the needs of their new Christian context. Because many of these facilities were highly lucrative, whether for trade, taxation, or rental, incoming Christian rulers kept a close watch over their preservation and management. In the wake of Christian conquest, merchants also took immediate steps to maintain the *fondaco* system, although their use of these facilities would gradually decline under Christian rule. In Sicily and Spain, conquest initiated a permanent political and religious change, so that by the 1280s and 1290s the *fondaco* and its cognates had taken on a distinctly new Christian form. In the Near East, in contrast, crusader territories would revert to Muslim rule by the end of the thirteenth century.

There are striking similarities in the ways that the *funduq* was converted for Christian use under new regimes in Iberia, Sicily, and the Crusader states at roughly the same period. One obvious link is the presence of Italian traders, who were active in each of these regions, both before and after Christian conquests. In many cases, the Italians petitioned new Christian rulers immediately after their victories for the continuation of trading privileges that they had enjoyed under the previous Muslim administration, or the initiation of rights that they already held elsewhere. In other cases, ambitious conquerors had already promised future concessions (often including

fondacos) to Italian city-states in return for naval assistance in an upcoming campaign.¹

Direct connections are less clear on an administrative and political level. Rulers in Spain, Sicily, and the Latin east were undoubtedly aware of each other's activities, but it seems doubtful that they consciously adopted comparable administrative policies, except in special circumstances (as in the neighboring realms of Castile and Aragón, during Frederick II's regency in Jerusalem, or during the Aragonese domination of Sicily). Instead, most similarities in their approach to incorporating the *funduq* must have arisen from the fact that rulers in different regions were working with similar contexts and constraints. At the same time, differences between the three areas in the reception and incorporation of the Muslim *funduq* reflect not only differences in the commerce of each region, but also in their distinct political structures, economic hierarchies, and earlier familiarity with Islamic forms.

This chapter will survey the administration of *funduqs* in newly Christian regions of the crown of Castile and realms of Aragón in the period from the eleventh through the thirteenth centuries. It will consider the impact of conquest on the structure of enclaves for foreign traders, both in newly acquired Christian territories and – in the case of Catalan colonies in Ḥafṣid Tunisia – in cities still under Muslim rule. The following chapter will then examine parallel developments in Sicily, southern Italy, and the Crusader states.²

The physical structures of Islamic cities – houses, ovens, bath-houses, markets, hostels, stables – often served essentially the same purposes under Christian as under Muslim rule. Thus, many *funduqs* continued to serve as hostelries, warehouses, and places for sales and tax-collection. In some cases, this continuity in function was explicitly stated, even if the actual facilities changed. In 1255, for example, when Alfonso X of Castile required that the Muslim inhabitants of Morón move themselves and their property to Siliebar, in order to make way for new Christian residents, the king promised that they might continue to have “baths, shops, ovens, mills, and *funduqs*” in their new home “just as they had [previously] enjoyed according to the custom of the Moors.”³ Sometimes more fundamental changes

¹ As will be detailed below, Alfonso VII promised *fondacos* and other concessions to the Genoese in Almería in 1146; Frederick Barbarossa made similar pledges in exchange for Genoese help against Sicily in 1162; in 1190, Philip Augustus promised *fondacos* to the Genoese in any Muslim town conquered for France.

² Subsequent evolution of the Christian *fondaco* in these regions and elsewhere in southern Europe, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, will be discussed in chapter 9.

³ Nicolás Tenorio y Cerero, *El concejo de Sevilla. Estudio de la organización político-social de la ciudad desde su reconquista hasta el reinado de Alfonso XI* (Seville: Imp. de E. Rasco, 1901) 264–266.

were necessary, as when mosques and religious schools were converted into churches and other facilities acceptable in a Christian city. Where a Muslim population remained resident, a few mosques usually retained their original identity to serve this group, but it was necessary to convert most buildings, especially larger and more imposing structures, for the purposes of both Christian convenience and propaganda.

Revenue-producing utilities, such as markets and *funduqs*, were quickly integrated into the Christian economic context. Although many of the smaller *funduqs* common to a Muslim town were converted to other purposes (often housing, stabling, or storage) with the advent of Christian rule, it is clear that a certain number became property of the crown and retained an important role in the commercial life of the city. These royal *fondacos*, often referred to as “fondaci nostri” in official documents, are a striking feature of newly Christian regions. They existed in tandem with smaller privately held facilities, and with the *fondacos* assigned to Italian and other merchant communities (“national” *fondacos*), but differed from both. Royal *fondacos* frequently served as depots where incoming merchants were required to bring their goods, or at least certain types of goods, for storage, taxation, and sale. Some royal facilities also served as hostleries, but most increasingly focused on control of goods rather than merchants, ensuring that a certain percentage of commercial revenues were channeled into the royal treasury.

Although not a Christian innovation, royal *fondacos* are prominent in Christian contexts, since this documentary tradition tends to emphasize royal authority. *Funduqs* had long been one among a group of facilities – together with ovens, mills, baths, markets, and religious buildings – which were considered part of government domain in the Islamic world. Arabic texts frequently mentioned *funduqs* associated with rulers. Some were known as the *funduq al-sultān*, and a large number were established by caliphs, sultans, and amirs. Many of these were charitable hostleries, others were profit-making and intended to fund *waqf* projects, while others were state-run commercial emporia established to channel goods for sale and taxation. During a period of recession in Egypt in 1219, for example, the Ayyūbid administration shut down “all of the *funduqs* in which goods such as linen and other things were sold. And it was ordered that nothing should be sold except in the *wakāla* of the Sultan.”⁴ This attempt to control commercial business for government profit describes an administrative

⁴ Sāwirus ibn al-Muqaffāʾ, *Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church* (Cairo, 1943), IV, 32–33 (Arabic); 68 (English).

model very similar to what we see by the thirteenth century in Spain, Sicily, and the Latin east.

The appearance of Christian royal *fondacos* demonstrates not only the degree to which Christian rulers and administrators were able to absorb and adapt Muslim fiscal institutions to their own profit, but also the ways in which the Muslim *funduq* diverged into several distinct yet congruent institutions in Christian contexts. Scholars describing the *alhóndiga* and *fondech* (or *fonduk*) in the Iberian Peninsula, or the *funda* and *fondaco* in the Crusader states, have been struck by the diversity of the application of these terms. Robert Burns, for one, has observed that the word *fonduk* in the Arago-Catalan realms presents something of a “semantic trap,” since the one term may conceal so many different functions, while Jonathan Riley-Smith noted “at least four different meanings” for the word *funda* and *fondaco* in Latin Syria.⁵ Medieval people, however, were aware of the connections as well as the diversity of terminology. Not only were local Romance terms understood as translations of the Arabic word *funduq* within each region, but they were recognized as equivalents across regions. Thus, a thirteenth-century Castilian account of the Crusades, *La Gran conquista de Ultramar*, faithfully reproduced the sense of a Latin charter granting commercial privileges to Venetians in Tyre in 1123 by translating the word *funda* as *alfóndiga*.⁶ It should be noted, to prevent confusion, that the modern Castilian word *fonda* (meaning hotel) also derives from *funduq*, but appears to have come into the language from French (originating in the Latin *funda*) in the early modern period.⁷

The complexity of usage and understanding is not surprising. By the eleventh and twelfth centuries, when Christian traders and conquerors encountered the Muslim *funduq*, it was already an institution with a multiplicity of governmental, commercial, fiscal, social, and artisanal functions.

⁵ R. I. Burns, *Medieval Colonialism. Postcrusade Exploitation in Islamic Valencia* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975) 65–66; Jonathan Riley-Smith, “Government in Latin Syria and the Commercial Privileges of Foreign Merchants,” in *Relations between East and West in the Middle Ages*, ed. Derek Baker (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1973) 115–116. These observations are part of more detailed and excellent descriptions of the institutions in the realms of Aragón and in Latin Syria. See Burns, *Medieval Colonialism*, 64–76 and Riley-Smith, “Government in Latin Syria,” 109–122. Also R. I. Burns, “Baths and Caravanserais in Crusader Valencia,” *Speculum* 46 (1971) 443–458.

⁶ *Pactum Warmundi*, in Tafel and Thomas (eds.), *Urkunden*, 1, 84–89; *La gran conquista de Ultramar que mando escribir el Rey don Alfonso el Sabio*, ed. Pascual de Gayangos, Biblioteca de los Autores Españoles 44 (Madrid: Ediciones Atlas, 1951) 409.

⁷ I have not found the word *fonda* in medieval Iberian texts, and it is first officially documented in the late eighteenth century (in the dictionary of the Real Academia Española in 1791). Its origins remain somewhat mysterious, but it presumably also derives from *funduq*. See Joan Corominas and José A. Pascual, *Diccionario crítico etimológico castellano e hispánico* (Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1980) 11, 927–929.

Within an Islamic context, this diversity was perfectly understood, and presented no problems, but the institution was less comprehensible to incoming westerners, who usually knew little Arabic and had only limited interest in local institutions beyond their own individual concerns.

Thus, western merchants doing business in Muslim ports arrived at their own understanding of the *fondaco* as a communal enclave for lodging, storage, and commerce, where they could enjoy the familiarity of their own language, law, religion, and food-ways. Their understanding of this type of *fondaco* was transferred throughout the Christian Mediterranean, as merchants sought similar conveniences in non-Muslim territories, and even brought versions of the institution home with them to southern France, Catalonia, and Italy. At the same time, when Muslim cities came under Christian political rule in the wake of conquest, their new rulers were eager to adapt the fiscal aspects of some *funduqs* – facilities for taxation and control of trade – to suit their own financial needs. Rulers might also grant national *fondacos* to Italian merchants and others who were seeking to establish or continue trading bases in their realms. Meanwhile, the numerous smaller *funduqs*, so plentiful in Muslim cities, were granted out piecemeal as private holdings or rental properties for Christian housing, commerce, or industry. Some of these retained the title *fondaco*, denoting their origin, but most were absorbed into Christian urban forms, took on other names, and cannot be traced.

Thus, one rather complex Muslim institution split into several related forms under Christian rule. A question immediately arises as to how these different, and often competitive, versions of the *funduq* managed to co-exist in their new Christian setting. Royal *fondacos* and national *fondacos*, as rival commercial spaces, would seem to be at odds with each other in a Christian context, though this had not been the case in the Islamic world. In Muslim cities, most *funduqs* – especially those assigned to foreign merchant communities – were subject to close government regulation and supervision. In contrast, in Christian Spain, Sicily, and the Crusader states, *fondacos* belonging to the Genoese, Pisans, or Venetians were less subject to government control than royal *fondacos*. Italian merchants coming to trade in Seville, Messina, or Acre were not subjects of the local ruler, nor were they infidel aliens without power except for their economic utility. Instead, Italian and other western traders were often in a strong position to demand important concessions and privileges from kings and nobles in the Latin east, Spain, and Sicily since their ships provided naval transport, communications, supplies, and commerce. Western merchants were

therefore granted their own *fondacos* in many newly Christian towns where they lived and did business.

To avoid competition between royal *fondacos* and national *fondacos*, it was necessary to inaugurate separate spheres of business. Arrangements varied (and as with all such legislative attempts, there were often loopholes), but rulers often attempted to impose monopolies over certain types of goods, requiring that these items be traded and sold through royal depots. Foreign merchants must thus either bring their goods to the royal *fondacos* for sale and storage, or they must come to these *fondacos* to buy particular goods, while their own *fondacos* were for lodging and other business activities.

Because these regulations tended to marginalize the *fondacos* held by foreign communities, and because new royal fiscal interests concentrated on regulation of goods rather than merchants, the term *fondaco* gradually dropped from use in many places by the late thirteenth century. In its place, the *loggia* became the more common facility for mercantile lodging, storage, and exchange in Christian cities throughout the Mediterranean, except in a few ports where the cross-cultural commercial environment continued to support the existence of *fondacos*. In Valencia, for example, visiting Muslim merchants were required to lodge in *fondacos* administered by the crown, while Christian traders had their own houses and *loggias* in the city. In contemporary Muslim cities, foreign Christians continued to be segregated in residential *fondacos*. Evidently, there was a growing perception by the late thirteenth century that the *fondaco* was best suited to regulate interaction and exchange across a religious and political interface. At the same time, there was an increasing realization that strict oversight of persons was unnecessary between Christians. Goods, rather than people, became the focus of attention in Christian-held *fondacos*.

One especially intriguing aspect of the transfer of urban institutions from Muslim to Christian rule in the wake of conquest is the degree to which the analysis of this transfer may shed light on earlier or contemporary Islamic forms. This is dangerous ground, since it requires reverse argumentation, but it may be a useful exercise at least for broadening, through hypothesis, our picture of the Muslim *funduq*, and for proposing possible explanations of some of its more mysterious details. Medieval Christian records, especially notarial contracts, royal charters, tax records, and official correspondence, are much better preserved than their Arabic counterparts, and provide a view of the Christian *fondaco* that is unobtainable for the Muslim *funduq*. In regions which shifted from Muslim to Christian control, it is

possible – even likely – that many aspects of the administration of newly Christian urban institutions closely followed earlier Muslim practice. To some degree, the early *funda* and *fondaco* in the Crusader states, *fundicum* in Sicily, *alhóndiga* in Castile, and *fondech* in the realms of Aragón must have resembled the *funduqs* which came before them.

However, while Christian practice often reflected prior Muslim use, in other instances it may also have been influenced by parallel Christian forms. The administration of newly Christian *fondacos* in the thirteenth century, for example, may have derived not only from Islamic practice, but perhaps from observation of policies worked out by earlier Christian administrators in other regions, or from merchants' descriptions of *fondacos* elsewhere. It is even possible that the administration of *fondacos* in Christian territories affected their counterparts in Muslim cities, either through the influence of merchants moving back and forth between neighboring regions (as between Granada and Andalusia, Sicily and Tunisia, and across the border between Muslim and Latin Syria), or when – as in the Crusader states – territories reverted to Islamic control.

Moreover, the appeal of these probabilities of bilateral continuity and cross-cultural influence cannot obscure the significant discontinuities and shifts inaugurated by the Christian military advance. The territorial acquisitions following crusade and conquest in the Near East, Sicily, and Spain marked a phase of radical social, political, and economic rupture. Huge numbers of people were forced to move or change their ways of life, and many lost their lives or livelihoods in the process. Incoming Christian administrators had little interest in the continuity or preservation of Muslim institutions *per se*, except in so far as these earlier forms could be conveniently turned to suit their own needs.

FUNDUQ, ALHÓNDIGA, AND FONDECH IN CHRISTIAN IBERIA

During the thirteenth century, the kings of Castile and of the realms of Aragón pursued analogous agendas of conquest and faced parallel problems of incorporation for their new Muslim cities and urban institutions. Ferdinand III (1217–1252) and Alfonso X (1252–1284) of Castile and James I of Aragón (1213–1276) devised similar but not identical techniques for christianizing their new territories. The *funduq* evolved along comparable paths in both realms, functioning as a royally administered depot, hostelry, and customs-house for goods – all providing substantial revenues to the crown. However, in spite of the existence of royal *fondacos* in both regions, the focus of these facilities differed. In Castile, the *alhóndiga* increasingly

emphasized the earlier *funduq*'s role as an emporium and depot for goods, while in the Arago-Catalan sphere the *fondech* continued to function as a mercantile lodging-house as well as a warehouse. At the same time, national *fondacos* for Italian merchant communities existed in both kingdoms, while Catalan *fondacos* were also founded abroad. As will be discussed later in the chapter, James I's military successes in the eastern Peninsula, and his aggressive style of fiscal management, profoundly affected the administration of Catalan *fondacos* in Ḥafṣid Tunisia, setting them apart from their Genoese and Pisan counterparts discussed in chapter 4.

The campaigns of the *reconquista*, as Christian Spaniards called their military efforts to capture Muslim territory in the Peninsula, brought vast areas of the former al-Andalus under permanent Christian rule. Despite claims that traced this effort back to the ninth and tenth centuries, the effective military success of the *reconquista* began in 1085, with the capture of Toledo by Alfonso VI of León-Castile. This was followed by Aragonese expansion into the Ebro Valley in the early twelfth century, with the acquisition of Zaragoza in 1118, and the Catalan conquest of Tortosa in 1148. Even so, there were many setbacks during the twelfth century, when Almoravid and Almoḥad armies rejuvenated Andalusī forces and strengthened Muslim borders. The turning-point came in 1212, with the victory of combined Christian forces at Las Navas de Tolosa, and the next half century witnessed stunning territorial conquests and expansion under Ferdinand III and James I. City after city came into Christian hands, with Córdoba and Seville falling to Castile in 1236 and 1248, while Mallorca in 1229, then Valencia in 1238, joined the realms of Aragón.

The acquisition of Toledo, Zaragoza, Valencia, Córdoba, Seville, and many other cities forced Christian rulers to develop methods for the incorporation of new territories and the accommodation of their populations. Wholesale plunder and expulsion were not effective options in areas where rulers wished to preserve the economic base in their new territories. Thus, there were efforts to retain rural Muslim populations on the land, often in conditions of servitude, in order to keep up agricultural production. In cities, however, rulers concentrated on preserving the economic viability of the physical urban infrastructure rather than manpower. Many Muslim city-dwellers were required to leave their homes and property, and large numbers of buildings and city lots became available for royal possession and distribution to new Christian residents.

Among these were many *funduqs*, which were generally known as *alhóndigas* (or *alfóndigas*) in Castile and *fondechs* (or *fonduks*) in Arago-Catalan realms. Even before the main victories of the thirteenth century,

these were recognized as valuable assets. As early as 1101, during the brief Christian occupation of Valencia after the city's conquest by Rodrigo Diaz, the Cid, his widow Jimena listed *alfondicis* among a number of commercial and domestic properties granted to the city's cathedral.⁸

Analysis of the incorporation of Muslim institutions in reconquest Spain is particularly fruitful because the documentation is so rich – much more so than for Sicily and the Crusader states. The distribution of newly Christian properties was recorded in a uniquely Iberian form of document, the *repartimiento*, listing the urban and rural real estate given out to the incoming population. These documents were often reworked several times, as territorial distribution fell into place. They list, usually in meticulous detail, each house, shop, oven, mosque, *funduq*, stable, or other structure, urban garden or parcel of agricultural land, with its location and other identifying information, and the name of the person or group to whom it was given. *Repartimientos* survive, in some form, from a number of thirteenth-century towns, the most lengthy and important being from Mallorca, Valencia, Jerez, Murcia, and Seville.⁹ Nearly fifty *fondechs* are mentioned in the *repartimiento* of Valencia, indicating the proliferation of these facilities here and in other Muslim cities before their conquest. Where *repartimientos* are lacking, other sources are available, including Castilian and Aragonese royal charters, to provide a view of the institution as it evolved under the watchful eye of Christian rulers.

As in the Near East and North Africa, medieval and modern place names in Spain provide evidence of the existence of vanished *funduqs*. In 1170, for example, Alfonso VIII granted the village of Alfondega, in the

⁸ Ramón Menéndez Pidal, *La España del Cid* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 5th ed., 1956) 11, 870.

⁹ Manuel González Jiménez and Antonio González Gómez (eds.), *El repartimiento de Jerez de la Frontera: estudio y edición* (Cadiz: Instituto de Estudios Gaditanos, 1980); Julio González (ed.), *Repartimiento de Sevilla. Estudio y edición* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1951); Juan Torres Fontes (ed.), *Repartimiento de Murcia* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1960); Juan Torres Fontes (ed.), *Libro del repartimiento de las tierras hecho a los pobladores de Murcia* (Murcia: Real Academia de Alfonso X el Sabio, 1991); Próspero de Bofarull y Mascaró (ed.), *Repartimientos de los reinos de Mallorca, Valencia, y Cerdeña* (Barcelona: Imprenta del Archivo, 1856); Manuel González Jiménez, "Repartimientos andaluces del siglo XIII. Perspectiva de conjunto y problemas," in *De al-Andalus a la sociedad feudal: los repartimientos bajomedievales*, ed. Manuel Sánchez Martínez (Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1990) 95–117. Unfortunately, the urban portion of the Sevillian *repartimiento* has been lost, and thus there is no record of the division of its houses, *funduqs*, and other city properties. Equally frustrating, the Latin text of the *repartimiento* from Mallorca meticulously records the distribution of mills, ovens, gardens, baths, houses, and lodgings (*hospitia* and *albergs*). The final two terms appear in great number, with twenty or thirty recorded on one street or granted to one person, but because this part of the text does not survive in Arabic, we cannot know if any of these were originally *funduqs* (Bofarull [ed.], *Repartimiento de los reinos de Mallorca, Valencia, y Cerdeña*, 58–68). It should be noted that other Latin and Romance *repartimiento* texts use cognate terms (i.e. *fundicum* etc.), not translations, for *funduq*.

Alcarria, to the Order of the Hospitalers,¹⁰ while the names of places such as Alfondeguilla, a small village in the region of Castellón; Alfândec de Marinyén, near Valencia; and Alhóndiga, in the province of Málaga, all attest to the one-time presence of *funduqs* in these locations.¹¹ Within cities also, the modern names of streets and plazas in Córdoba, Málaga, Seville, and elsewhere still testify to the earlier existence of *funduqs* and *alhóndigas*.¹²

The forms of both the Castilian *alfóndiga* or *alhóndiga* and the Arago-Catalan *fondech* or *alfondech* indicate that the terms were directly adopted from Arabic, as would be expected in the Iberian context, rather than coming through another Christian cognate, such as the Latin *fundicum* or Italian *fondaco*.¹³ Medieval Iberian word lists and glossaries confirm this direct link, and provide further indications of usage and function. The thirteenth-century *Vocabulista in arabico* attributed to Ramon Martí (and almost certainly from eastern Spain) translated both *funduq* and *khān* as *stabulum* in Latin, emphasizing the role of the institution as a place of lodging and stabling in this period.¹⁴ Later, in 1505, Pedro de Alcalá suggested the Castilian words *mesón*, *posada*, *alhóndiga* and *venta taverna en el camino* for the Arabic *funduq*, and proposed *mesonero*, *alhondiguero*, or *ventero* for *fundaqayr* (the keeper of a *funduq*), again indicating the ongoing functions of lodging and sales.¹⁵

Christian administrators in Castile and the realms of Aragón (unlike their northern European counterparts arriving in Sicily and the Crusader states) were already familiar with the *funduq* and many other Muslim institutions, often in christianized variants, long before the actual conquest

¹⁰ Remedios Morán Martín, "La organización de un espacio de la Orden de Calatrava en el siglo xii: la Alcarria," in *Espacios y fueros en Castilla-La Mancha (siglos xi–xv). Una perspectiva metodológica*, ed. Javier Alvarado Planas (Madrid: Ediciones Polifemo, 1995) 291–293.

¹¹ Leopoldo Torres Balbás, "Las alhóndigas hispanomusulmanas y el Corral del Carbón de Granada," *al-Andalus* 11 (1946) 451. On Alfândec de Marinyén, see R. I. Burns (ed.), *Diplomatarium of the Crusader Kingdom of Valencia* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985–2001), III: *Transition in Crusader Valencia: Years of Triumph, Years of War, 1264–1270*, 50–2 (doc. 520) and other places; Maria del Carmen Barceló Torres adds Fondeguilla to this list (*Minorías islámicas en el país valenciano. Historia y dialecto* [Valencia: Instituto Hispano-Árabe de Cultura, 1984] 381).

¹² See for example Jesus Zanón, *Topografía de Córdoba almohade a través de las fuentes árabes* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1989) 73–74.

¹³ On derivation, see Eero K. Neuvonen, *Los arabismos del español en el siglo xiii* (Helsinki: Societa Orientalis Fennica, 1941) 37–38; also Arnald Steiger, *Contribución a la fonética del hispano-árabe y de los arabismos en el ibero-románico e el siciliano* (Madrid: Librería y Casa Editorial Hernando, 1932) 114. As elsewhere in Europe, there were other unrelated Latin terms for hostleries and inns in Spain, mainly derived from *hospes*. These appear in many contexts. See, for example, rulings on hosts and hospitality in the *Fuero of Cuenca*, cap. xli, "De foro hospitorum." *Forum Conche*, ed. George H. Allen, *University Studies* (University of Cincinnati) series 2, 4 (1910) 108–109.

¹⁴ Torres Balbás, "Las alhóndigas hispanomusulmanas," 447–448.

¹⁵ Pedro de Alcalá, *Petri Hispani de lingua Arabica libri duo*, ed. Paul de Lagarde (Göttingen: Arnoldi Hoyer, 1883) 98, 311, 353, 427.

of Muslim cities. The long-term proximity of Christian and Muslim populations in the Peninsula had allowed for the gradual cross-cultural transfer of institutions and terminology. Iberian Christians were aware of many facets of Muslim life even in areas which had never been under Islamic control, since market vocabulary and economic terms – for commodities, coins, agricultural products, foods, institutions, technology, weights and measures – filtered from one side of the border to the other with the movement of travelers and goods. The earliest Iberian Christian reference to an *alfondega* comes from 1033 in León, many miles north of the Andalusí frontier.¹⁶ In the next century, a treaty made shortly before Alfonso I of Aragón's conquest of Tudela in 1119 mentioned Christian merchants who lodged in the city's *alfondecas*.¹⁷ Thirty years later, in 1148, a grant from Ramon Berenguer IV to the Muslims of Tortosa cited Alfonso's earlier concessions, and ensured secure storage of merchandise in *alfondechs*.¹⁸ Other early references, including Jimena's charter to the cathedral of Valencia in 1101, likewise indicate continuity. That *fondacos* could be up and running immediately after the Christian conquest of a region suggests that Christian merchants and rulers were already perfectly familiar with the institution.

After the Christian conquest of Toledo in 1085, it is evident that many local *funduqs* remained in operation. Mozarabic sale contracts and other documents from the early twelfth through the thirteenth centuries, written in Arabic, mention *funduqs* throughout the city. In December 1203, for example, the archbishop of Toledo purchased three houses which bordered on a *funduq*, and a later sale contract, from 1242, concerned a house bordered on one side by a demolished *funduq* ("funduq mahdüm").¹⁹ Evidently, the Mozarab community had been entirely familiar with the *funduq* in its Muslim context, and continued to recognize and cite the institution, using its Arabic name, through the middle of the thirteenth century.

Although many *fondacos* in conquered cities were hold-overs from the Muslim period, it is quite clear that others were newly built facilities. Nearly a century after the capture of Huesca in 1096, a charter from Alfonso II,

¹⁶ M. Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias mozárabes. Arte español de los siglos IX a XI* (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Históricos, 1919) 122.

¹⁷ Tomás Muñoz y Romero, *Colección de fueros municipales y cartas pueblas de las reinos de Castilla, León, Corona de Aragón, y Navarra* [Madrid, 1847]; repr. Madrid: Ediciones Atlas, 1978) 1, 416. The edited text is dated Era MCLIII (1115 CE), though its content would suggest a date after 1119.

¹⁸ Próspero de Bofarull y Mascaró (ed.), *Procesos de la antiguas cortes y parlamentos de Cataluña, Aragón, y Valencia* (Barcelona: D. José Eusebio Monfort, 1849) IV, 133 (doc. 56). A donation by Alfonso II to the monastery of Poblet in 1176 also included reference to an *alfondeg* in Tortosa (AHN, Cod. 992b, f. 12r–v). My thanks to Brian Catlos for this and a number of other unpublished archival references to *fondacos* in Aragón.

¹⁹ González Palencia, *Mozárabes de Toledo*, 1, 270 (doc. 329), II, 149 (doc. 558).

dated era 1229 (1191), referred to an *alfondecham* that had recently been constructed in an area of the city where Muslims lived and worked.²⁰ Later, in 1266, when James I granted a plaza in the market-place of Valencia city to Arnau de Romaní, the gift was given tax-free and in perpetuity, with only the stipulation that Arnau should not convert the property into a *fundicum*.²¹ Two years later, however, James gave permission for another man to build a new *alfondicum* and shops in Barcelona.²²

Fondacos and the crown

James' attention to the creation of new privately held *fondacos* probably stemmed from a desire to protect revenues coming to his own royal facilities. There is evidence of *alhóndigas* and *fondechs* associated with kings in both the Crown of Castile and the realms of Aragón. In some cases these buildings were in the hands of others, who held them from the king, but in many instances they were directly administered on behalf of the crown. Christian rulers, like their Muslim predecessors, desired to oversee traffic in certain products, especially foodstuffs, in order to control prices, to ensure supplies in times of famine, to enlarge the royal treasury through commercial taxation, or all of the above.²³ As with the earlier *funduqs*, thirteenth-century royal *alhóndigas* in Castile and *fondechs* in the realms of Aragón were excellent tools for this purpose, since the government could require that goods be brought to these depots for sale, storage, and taxation, and merchants might be required to lodge within their walls.

Some of the earliest evidence of royal *fondacos* comes from Toledo, where the Mozarabic documents refer repeatedly to a facility called the *funduq al-sulṭān*, located in the neighborhood of the cathedral. A sale document from 1117, roughly thirty years after the conquest of the city, described a house bordered by this facility; testimony from 1187 mentioned another house in the vicinity of the *funduq al-sulṭān*, and real estate sales from 1212 and 1217 both noted a "funduq man [or li-man] aydāhu Allāh" (the *funduq*

²⁰ Cartulario de la Iglesia de San Pedro el Viejo (Huesca), fol. 134v (photographs of this manuscript are preserved at the University of Zaragoza). My thanks to Brian Catlos for this reference.

²¹ Burns (ed.), *Diplomatarium*, III, 236–237 (doc. 692). This grant probably had considerable value. Here, James addressed Arnau in terms of affection, and Arnau later served as bailiff of Valencia city. In 1268, James confirmed the sale of a privately held *fondaco* in Valencia city, also apparently a valuable property, indicating that not all of these facilities were under his direct control (Burns [ed.], *Diplomatarium*, III, 369 [doc. 810]).

²² ACA, c, reg. 15, fol. 107v (15 kal. July 1268).

²³ As noted by Thomas Glick and others, the centralized bureaucratic and fiscal authority of Andalusí rulers seems to have presented an attractive model to Christian kings (T. F. Glick, *Islamic and Christian Spain in the Early Middle Ages* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979] 213).

of he who is in the hands of God), a facility which González Palencia has identified as the “*alhóndiga del Rey*.”²⁴ The contemporary function of this facility is indicated in a sale document from 1170, referring to “the *funduq al-sulṭān* where . . . the Franks slaughter cattle.”²⁵

In the thirteenth century, *alhóndigas* in Castile were often specifically noted as belonging to the king or, as in the case of one building in Jerez, to the queen.²⁶ In 1253, shortly after the conquest of Seville, Alfonso X authorized the grant of a house in Seville bordered on one side by the “Alfondiga del Rey.”²⁷ In another decree of the same year, the king deliberately cited prior practice concerning the royal *alhóndigas* in Seville, when he required that Muslim muleteers who arrived in Seville with grain must come to his *alhóndigas* (“vayan a las mis alhóndigas”) and pay the fees just as they had been accustomed to do under Muslim rule (“en tiempo de Amiralмомenín”).²⁸

Even more than in Castile, it is clear that the *fondech* in the eastern Peninsula was a royal concession and an important source of revenue to the crown. Profits came from its ongoing function as a commercial hostelry, as a facility for storage and deposit, a commercial exchange, and – at least by the fifteenth century – as a licensed brothel and tavern.²⁹ In many cases, facilities in the realms of Aragón were specifically noted as royal property, designated as “alfundico nostro” and “alfundico regis” in Játiva, “alfundico eiusdem domini regis” in Barcelona, “alfundicum domini regis” in Onteniente, or “alfondigam nostram” in Zaragoza.³⁰ As elsewhere, *fondechs* were just one

²⁴ González Palencia, *Mozárabes de Toledo*, 58–59, I, 8 (doc. 10), III, 469 (doc. 469), II, 12 (doc. 396), II, 48 (doc. 441).

²⁵ González Palencia, *Mozárabes de Toledo*, volume preliminar, III, 517–518 (doc. 1099). The sale of a house in 1166 (I, 56–57, doc. 79) also mentioned a *funduq* used as a slaughterhouse, although this is not specifically identified with the *funduq al-sulṭān*. Burns discusses butcher shops as regalian monopolies in thirteenth-century Spain (*Medieval Colonialism*, 43). The *repartimiento* of Valencia also mentioned an “alfundicum carniceriarum” (*ibid.*, 283), and although Burns writes that this “seems to be a misnomer,” parallel evidence makes it likely that this was, in fact, a *funduq* for butchers, or perhaps for sales of fresh meat (*ibid.*, 70).

²⁶ González Jiménez and González Gómez (eds.), *Repartimiento de Jerez* (no. 1827). On royal *alhóndigas* see also Torres Balbás, “Las alhóndigas hispanomusulmanas,” 453–454.

²⁷ A. Ballesteros y Baretta, *Sevilla en el siglo XIII* (Madrid: Establecimiento Tipográfico de Juan Pérez Torres, 1913) xlix (doc. 44).

²⁸ M. Fernández Gómez, P. Ostos Salcedo, and M. L. Pardo Rodríguez (eds.), *El Libro de privilegios de la ciudad de Sevilla* (Seville: Ayuntamiento de Sevilla, 1993) 148. Local Muslims and foreign Muslims residing in the city were exempted from this payment, stated as a “head tax which they each pay per day in my *alhóndiga*” (“pepión que davan por su cabeça cada dia en la mi alhóndiga”).

²⁹ Burns, *Medieval Colonialism*, 65–66; M. D. Meyerson, *The Muslims of Valencia in the Age of Fernando and Isabel: Between Coexistence and Crusade* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1991) 155, 320.

³⁰ Játiva (1252): Bofarull y Mascaró (ed.), *Repartimientos de los reinos de Mallorca, Valencia, y Cerdeña*, 419; R. I. Burns, *The Crusader Kingdom of Valencia. Reconstruction on a Thirteenth-century Frontier*

among a constellation of facilities considered as royal property – so, for example, a document from 1246 records James I's alienation of royal "houses, workshops, baths, mills, ovens, *alfondacs*, and gardens" in Denia in a grant to the lord of Rebollet.³¹

Fondacos and commerce

Data from the *repartimientos* and other contemporary sources from Castile frequently associate *alhóndigas* with particular products, especially flour, wheat, bread, oil, fish, and salt. Staple commodities such as these were often subject to royal monopolies in the thirteenth century, and some of these *fondacos* were established and administered by the crown – a feature that was almost certainly a hold-over from earlier Islamic practice.³² *Funduqs* in the Muslim world, especially in the Maghrib and al-Andalus, frequently served as depots for precisely these types of staple goods. When James I distributed properties in the newly conquered city of Murcia, in March 1266, one grant mentioned houses bordering on the *alfondico del almaczen* (*al-makhzan*, warehouse).³³ Apparently, the new inhabitants of Murcia were not only aware of Muslim usage but also, in many cases, they continued to follow earlier practice.

In Seville, there was an *alhóndiga* for flour (*de la harina* or *farina*) in the parish of San Pedro in the middle of the thirteenth century – probably the same facility to which Muslim merchants had been required to deliver grain in 1253 – and an *alhóndiga* for salt (*del sal*) near the Puerta del Arenal.³⁴ Another *alhóndiga de la sal* appears in the *repartimiento* for Murcia (1266–1272), as a facility recently established at royal command, but built on the site of an earlier Muslim *alhóndiga*.³⁵ The *repartimiento* of Jerez (1269) likewise contains several references to an *alhóndiga de la harina* located

(Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967) 140. Onteniente (1263): Burns, *Medieval Colonialism*, 69. Barcelona (1243): J. Miret i Sans and M. Schwab, "Documents sur les juifs catalans aux IX^e, XII^e, et XIII^e siècles," *Revue des Etudes Juives* 68 (1914) 179 (doc. 26). Zaragoza (1294): ACA, c, reg. 194, fol. 85r (1294).

³¹ Joaquim Miret i Sans (ed.), *Itinerari de Jaume I "El Conqueridor"* (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 1918) 176.

³² The Christian idea of regalian rights over certain products, such as salt, was developing in this same period, possibly also adopted from Muslim practice. See Reyna Pastor de Togneri, "La Sal en Castilla y León. Un problema de la alimentación y del trabajo y una política fiscal (siglos X–XIII)," *Cuadernos de Historia de España* 37–38 (1963) 67–81.

³³ Burns, *Diplomatarium*, III, 212–213 (doc. 671).

³⁴ González, *Repartimiento de Sevilla*, I, 515–516.

³⁵ Torres Fontes, *Libro del Repartimiento de Murcia*, 96r–96v; also Torres Fontes (ed.), *Repartimiento de Murcia* (1960) 244.

on the edge of the city's Jewish quarter.³⁶ Another Sevillian facility, the *alhóndiga del atún*, sold fish in the neighborhood of the cathedral in the 1250s.³⁷ Since olive oil was the most famous Sevillian export, under both Muslim and early Christian rule, it is not surprising that a grant from Sancho IV to Catalan merchants working in Seville mentions an *alhóndiga del aceite* (*alfondiga del azeyte*) in 1292.³⁸

In Castile, the increasing emphasis on the *alhóndiga* as a facility for the storage and sale of goods was also reflected in royal legislation. The *Siete Partidas*, the massive thirteenth-century law code commissioned by Alfonso X, cited the *alhóndiga* as a warehouse and emporium for merchandise, in one case specifically distinguishing between innkeepers (*ostaleros*) and the keepers of *alfondigas* "for wheat, barley, or flour, which has been brought there by muleteers."³⁹ Another law in the same collection dealt with a case in which "one man transfers or sells to another wheat, wine, oil, or any other merchandise in an *alfondiga*."⁴⁰ While there is no direct evidence that these were royal facilities, they clearly played a role as established points of deposit and distribution for certain goods.

Sources from the early fourteenth century and later continue to show the Castilian *alhóndiga* as an important royal tool for controlling trade, especially traffic in grain, and for collecting tariffs. In the 1340s, ordinances of Alfonso XI attempted to regulate the retail sale of goods in Seville through *alhóndigas* for grain and salt, although controls were not as strict as they would become in the next century, when the crown issued more stringent stipulations that merchants should bring their grain to the *Alhóndiga del pan*.⁴¹ One fourteenth-century ordinance mentioned flour sold "in the *alfondiga* and outside the *alfondiga*," indicating that both options were possible.⁴² Likewise, a tariff list from 1344 ordered that none of the *regatones* (merchants who purchased at wholesale and sold at retail) "should dare to

³⁶ M. González Jiménez and A. González Gómez, *Repartimiento de Jerez* (nos. 1631, 1632, 1875, 1882, 1919). It is not certain whether Jerez had two *alhóndigas* for wheat, one bordering several houses in the *judería* (nos. 1875, 1882, 1919) and the other bordering houses (one of which also bordered on the *judería*) in the contiguous parish of San Dionisio (nos. 1631, 1632). I think it more likely that these references refer to the same building.

³⁷ (Alfonso X of Castile), *Diplomatario andaluz de Alfonso X*, ed. M. González Jiménez (Seville: Caja de Huelva y Sevilla, 1991) 277–278 (doc. 250).

³⁸ Capmany, *Memorias*, II, 76.

³⁹ *Las Siete partidas*, partida VII, title XIV, law 7, in *Los Códigos españoles* (Madrid, 2nd ed., 1872) IV, 367–368; trans. Samuel Parsons Scott, *Las Siete partidas* (new edn., ed. R. I. Burns, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001) V, 1382.

⁴⁰ *Las Siete partidas*, partida III, title XXX, law 7, *Códigos*, III, 371, *Las Siete partidas*, trans. III, 851.

⁴¹ The fifteenth-century *Alhóndiga del pan* will be discussed in chapter 9.

⁴² Joaquín Guichot y Parody, *Historia del excmo. ayuntamiento de la muy noble, muy leal, muy heroica é invicta Ciudad de Sevilla* (Seville: Tipografía de La Región, 1896) I, 255–256.

buy wheat or barley to sell in the city, or in the *alhóndiga*, or in any other retail location,” except when sanctioned by the city council.⁴³ Another Sevillian tariff schedule (*alancel*), from 1347, distinguished between retail sales of salt (“por menudo”) which were to occur in the shop (*tienda*) of the *Alfondiga de la Sal*, whereas wholesale transactions (“por granado”) should take place in the *Almacén de la Sal*.⁴⁴

In contrast to the situation in Castile, *fondechs* devoted to particular products were less common in the Arago-Catalan sphere. Certain products that were often associated with *alhóndigas* in Castile, such as grain and salt, were not processed through *fondechs* in the realms of Aragón – although these items were subject to other forms of government regulation and taxation.⁴⁵ There may, however, have been *fondechs* for paper, an important product of the region around Játiva. In 1282, Peter III explicitly released Muslims from Játiva from the requirement that they “lodge, unload, and sell paper” at the royal *fondech*. Three years later, however, in 1286, a Muslim from Játiva was arrested after breaking into the royal *fondech* in Valencia and stealing paper, so the building must still have served as a depot.⁴⁶ Perhaps, as was known to happen in Egypt, the thief was actually a merchant trying to remove his own goods from the *fondech* in order to avoid paying storage fees and taxes on their sale.⁴⁷ Security was clearly an issue, and when Peter III appointed a new custodian for the royal *fondech* in the *morería* of Valencia city in 1276, the appointee was specifically charged with “the care of merchandise or anything else” in the building.⁴⁸

Whereas Castilian *alhóndigas* increasingly concentrated on controlling the movement of goods rather than people, *fondechs* in the realms of Aragón continued to serve as hostels for merchants and other travelers. Many of these *fondechs* – or at least those which appear in the sources – were royal facilities. Some were administered directly, while others were leased out for a set fee or for a percentage of their profits. During the thirteenth century, especially in the reign of James I, *fondechs* seem to have provided lodging all over the kingdom, in cities and rural areas, to both Muslim and Christian travelers. By the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, however, the institution

⁴³ Guichot, *Ayuntamiento*, 1, 247 (item 31). ⁴⁴ Guichot, *Ayuntamiento*, 1, 265.

⁴⁵ Salt, for example, was generally sold through *alfólis*, a word perhaps derived from *al-hurī* (granary in Arabic), instead of *fondechs*. It is noteworthy that later, in the Aragonese realms in Sicily and southern Italy, salt would be distributed and sold through *fondacos* (see chaps. 6 and 9).

⁴⁶ Both references cited by Burns (ed.), *Diplomatarium*, 1: *Society and Documentation in Crusader Valencia*, 170–171.

⁴⁷ Piloti, *Traité*, 180–181.

⁴⁸ Burns, *Medieval Colonialism*, 73–74; J. E. Martínez Ferrando, *Catálogo de la documentación relativa al antiguo reino de Valencia* (Madrid: Imprenta Góngora, 1934) II, 23 (no. 62).

was increasingly restricted to the urban *morerías*, or Muslim quarters. It became compulsory for Muslim travelers and merchants to lodge in these *fondechs*. Since the *morerías* were themselves part of the royal domain, the *fondechs* within them were also under official oversight and control.⁴⁹

It is likely that the *fondech* continued as a commercial hostelry in the eastern Arago-Catalan sphere, more so than in Castile, because this aspect of the institution had a greater degree of ongoing relevance in the eastern Peninsula. Valencia, Barcelona, and other coastal cities in the realms of Aragón had a longer tradition of international commerce, and a larger population of local merchants, than most towns in Castile (with the exception of Seville). Muslim and Christian merchants came from overseas to trade and lodge in the *fondechs* of the Arago-Catalan realms. Even more importantly, Christian merchants from Barcelona, Valencia, and Mallorca were themselves dependent on *funduqs* and *fondacos* when they traded elsewhere in the Mediterranean world.

The residential function of *fondechs* in the realms of Aragón is evident in both older Christian regions and newly conquered territories. In 1243, for example, James I granted protection to all men coming to lodge and live (“*hospitari et habitari*”) in the *fondechs* of Barcelona.⁵⁰ Since this city had always been in Christian hands, these hostelries represented an imported idea, based on the model of *fondacos* in Muslim cities (the same would have been true of an *alfondeca* noted in Jaca in 1252).⁵¹ In 1257, however, when James leased out a *fondech* in reconquered Biar to a Christian couple, this building had probably been a hostelry under Muslim rule. Sanç Pere de Cabezón and his wife Fortada agreed that they would “maintain it ready with stables, beds, and all other necessities, so that merchants and others arriving can be given good quarters with their merchandise, animals, and possessions.” In return for this concession, a rental rate was set at half the profits taken in by the establishment, but this was waived for the first two years in order that they could “rebuild and repair” the building. At the same time, James also granted them rights to establish a tavern (*tabernam*) in the *fondech* to sell wine from Biar and elsewhere.⁵² Leases on *fondacos* were usually of limited duration, perhaps to allow the royal treasury regular reassessment of financial arrangements and lease-holders. Ten years later, in 1266, James re-rented the same *fondech* on a four-year lease “to the

⁴⁹ On later legislation, see Barceló Torres, *Minorías islámicas*, 97.

⁵⁰ Burns, *Medieval Colonialism*, 67.

⁵¹ AHN, Cod. 663b, 42–43 (no. 101) (4 April, Era 1290).

⁵² “Vendere vinum in predicto alfondico”: Burns (ed.), *Diplomatarium*, 1, 204, 11: *Foundations of Crusader Valencia: Revolt and Recovery, 1257–1263*, 24–25.

community of the Saracens of Biar and the totality of Saracens of the same community, present and future.”⁵³

Fondaco administration and finances

Shifts in the fiscal administration of royal *fondacos* in both Castile and the realms of Aragón during the thirteenth century suggest a tinkering with details indicative of a newly acquired, and somewhat unfamiliar, institution. There is no question, however, that Christian rulers recognized the economic potential of these facilities. In some cases, *alhóndigas* and *fondechs* were directly administered by government officers who collected sales taxes, fees for lodging and storage, and other imposts. More frequently, the facilities were leased out as tax-farms or rental properties, so that they provided income to royal coffers but daily oversight was in the hands of others – as in the example of the *fondech* in Biar. The distinction between a tax-farm and a rental is not always clear. In some cases, a building may have simply been rented out as a workshop or living-space, but more often a *fondech* would have produced revenue for the tenant as well as the king. Not all facilities continued to yield profits to royal coffers, however. Some, probably the smaller and less potentially lucrative, were simply given out by the king without the expectation of future rents or taxes. Entries in the *repartimiento* of Valencia noted a number of these freehold properties, such as one *alfundicum* granted “freely and clearly without taxes” and another, “to be used for houses,” which was likewise given “*franche et libere*.”⁵⁴

Rental income from the royal *alhóndigas* could be alienated, and assigned to other beneficiaries besides the treasury. A privilege granted to the city of Lorca by Alfonso X in 1266 not only shows *alhóndigas* as royal rental property, but also confirms their place in the constellation of other similar facilities. In order to provide the city with funds to guard its walls, the king gave “all of my rents from Lorca [deriving] from shops, ovens, mills, baths, *alfondigas*,” and several market taxes, for this cause.⁵⁵ Since the grain *alhóndigas* were also a royal concession, in 1269 Alfonso X was able to donate 600 *maravedis* from the rents on “la nuestra Alfondiga de la farina” in Seville to the Order of Calatrava.⁵⁶

⁵³ Burns, *Medieval Colonialism*, 66. See also Burns (ed.), *Diplomatarium*, III, 334–335 (doc. 774).

⁵⁴ “Alfundicum juxta portale Alcantere francum et liberum sine censu”: Bofarull (ed.), *Repartimientos de los reinos de Mallorca, Valencia, y Cerdeña*, 287, 412.

⁵⁵ (Alfonso X of Castile), *Fueros y privilegios de Alfonso X el Sabio al reino de Murcia*, ed. J. Torres Fontes, Colección de documentos para la historia de Murcia 3 (Murcia: Academia Alfonso X el Sabio, 1973) 92–93.

⁵⁶ Ballesteros, *Sevilla en el siglo XIII*, clxvix (doc. 162).

Castilian citations do not always clarify whether these rents represented a specific annual sum, or whether they fluctuated as a percentage of the income derived from the *albhóndiga*. In contrast, data from the Arago-Catalan realms were usually more precise, showing that a fixed annual payment was more common, at least in mainland Iberian territories, although the king did receive a percentage of the profits from the *fondech* in Biar. Numerous entries in the *repartimiento* of Valencia recorded yearly rent paid on *fondechs* (generally due at Christmas), just like many other urban properties. One entry granted a man and his wife “houses in Játiva . . . and one *alfundicum* which faces onto the public road and workshops which they hold from us for an annual rent.”⁵⁷ Likewise, a *fondech* in Onteniente brought in forty-two *solidi* a year in 1263; a Mudejar *fondech* in Pego paid about seventy *solidi* in 1269; and rents on a *fondech* in Novella came to forty *solidi* in 1315.⁵⁸ Other contracts record comparable leases of varying complexity. Some arrangements of this type were explicitly recognized as hold-overs from an earlier period, as when James I allowed the Muslims of Eslida to continue holding their *fondechs* for the same rent that had been paid in “tempore paganorum.”⁵⁹

A certain amount of fiscal experimentation is apparent in Biar and elsewhere, suggesting that James I shifted his rental policies to suit the best interests of the crown. After the conquest of Valencia, for example, the main *fondech* of the city was leased for three decades to William Escrivá in return for 5 *mazmodins* annually (and further sublet by William to another tenant for 8 *mazmodins*). In the 1270s, however, after the death of William, James I established a new royal *fondech* and revised his rental policy. Thereafter, he retained all profits and instead paid a preestablished sum to the holder of the building.⁶⁰ This new policy continued in the reign of Peter III, when the overseer (*custos*) of the royal *fondech* in the *morería* in Valencia was accustomed to receive a salary “for his labor” from the bailiff of the city.⁶¹

A run of documents, dated 1286 to 1291, disclose struggles over the concession of the royal *fondech* (“alfondicum nostrum”) in the *morería* of Valencia city during the reign of Alfonso III. In September 1286, the king

⁵⁷ Bofarull (ed.), *Repartimientos de los reinos de Mallorca, Valencia, y Cerdeña*, 446.

⁵⁸ Burns, *Medieval Colonialism*, 69; Manuel de Bofarull y de Sartorio (ed.), *Rentas de la antigua corona de Aragón* (Barcelona: Imprenta del Archivo, 1871) 123. The Onteniente document is published in Burns (ed.), *Diplomatarium*, III, 48–49 (doc. 519).

⁵⁹ Burns, *Medieval Colonialism*, 68. Concessions of ovens and mills followed a similar pattern of continuity and royal control. James’ charter to the Muslims of Eslida granted them the right to “bake your bread in ovens that were built in the time of the Saracens” (*ibid.*, 50–51).

⁶⁰ Burns, *Medieval Colonialism*, 71.

⁶¹ Burns, *Medieval Colonialism*, 73–74, nn. 90–93; Martínez Ferrando, *Catálogo de la documentación*, II, 34 (no. 114). As Burns points out, the exact nature of this salary was difficult to establish, especially in times of devaluation, and actual amounts may have fluctuated.

granted this property to Bernard of Bolea, a royal procurator, and reconfirmed the grant a year later, despite some opposition. By the next February, however, the *fondech* had been given to somebody else, but was restored to Bernard the following September. Six months later, in March 1289, the bailiff of Valencia received an order to reconfirm Bernard's possession of the building, along with his daily income of 10 *dineros*. Two years after this, in 1291, a final document warned two men not to interfere with Bernard's continued possession of the facility.⁶²

Evidently, this *fondech* was a contested and valuable asset. Under Alfonso III, Bernard apparently received an established income from the property rather than a percentage of fluctuating revenues. Two decades later, under James II, Bernard still held this *fondech*, now with life-ownership and on rather different terms. A list of royal rents from 1315 noted that "the lord king owns a *fondech* in Valencia that Sir Bernard of Bolea holds at a rental of four hundred *solidos* by grant from the lord king, of which the lord king has granted that he keep for life three hundred *solidos* and the surplus that the said *fondech* is worth each year."⁶³ The continued variation in fiscal arrangements for this *fondech*, nearly a century after the conquest of Valencia, indicates ongoing negotiations over this type of lucrative property.

Non-royal fondacos

Despite the priority accorded to royal facilities in sources from both Castile and the realms of Aragón, it is evident that there were also many *albóndigas* and *fondechs* in non-royal hands, held by nobles, by the Church, or by ordinary people. Most of these buildings had originally been conceded to these individuals by the king, and it is usually – though not always – made clear when these were long-term holdings rather than short-term grants or rental properties.

Data of this sort appear in Castilian records from the twelfth century, and continue through the main reconquest period. In 1162, when the chapter of the cathedral of Toledo loaned out a room "in our *alfondecas* which we have in the neighborhood of Sancte Justo," there seems an emphasis on "nostro" and "quod a nobis habetur."⁶⁴ Likewise, after the conquest of Córdoba, in

⁶² (Alfonso III of Aragon), *Documentos del reinado de Alfonso III de Aragón, relativos al antiguo reino de Valencia y contenidos en los registros de la corona de Aragón*, ed. Rafael Gallofre Guinovart (Valencia: Institución Alfonso el Magnánimo, 1968) 87 (doc. 368), 192 (doc. 892), 231 (doc. 1085), 250 (doc. 1179), 267 (doc. 1270), 270 (doc. 1282), 271 (doc. 1288), 411 (1991). These documents are discussed by Burns (*Medieval Colonialism*, 75, n. 94).

⁶³ Bofarull (ed.), *Rentas*, 88; Burns, *Medieval Colonialism*, 74–75.

⁶⁴ González Palencia, *Mozárabes de Toledo*, vol. preliminar, 60 (no. 3). This building apparently still served as a hostelry in 1162.

1241, Ferdinand III granted both a bath-house and a nearby *alhóndiga* as a residence to Don Gonçalvo, prior of the city, making clear in the language of his charter that this was to be a permanent gift.⁶⁵ In Seville, likewise, Alfonso X granted two *alhóndigas* to the archbishop and chapter of the cathedral in 1276, explicitly including all present and future royal rights to the building.⁶⁶

Ferdinand's 1241 grant of the *alhóndiga* in Córdoba is also noteworthy for the fact that the building granted to Don Gonçalvo was in the close vicinity of two other *alhóndigas*, both apparently in private hands – one held by Don Paris and the other by Pedro Royz Tafur. The majority of *alhóndigas* referred to in Castilian *repartimientos* and other documents are similarly linked with the names of individuals, but it is rare to find further information about the circumstances in which these buildings were held. In Seville, an *alhóndiga* near the cathedral was given to Lorenzo Suarez, a commander in Fernando III's forces, shortly after the conquest of 1248. This is documented in an unrelated gift of some houses bordering "la alfóndiga de Don Lorenço Suarez" to the cathedral chapter in 1254.⁶⁷ In the parish of San Isidro, slightly to the north, Alfonso X gave other houses bordered on one side by "la alfóndega de García Martínez Malrecabdo" and on another by "the *alfóndega* which belonged to Johán Domínguez, which is now held by our man Johán Gonçálvez" in 1264.⁶⁸ The latter was perhaps a royal lease, since it had recently changed hands and was now held by a royal vassal. These same two *fondacos* reappear in a pair of contracts from March 1275; evidently they were landmarks in the neighborhood. In the first contract, dated March 8, Doña María, the widow of Pedro Moral, donated several houses in the parish of San Isidro "between the *alhóndigas* of García Martínez de Campo and of Don Juan González" to the cathedral of Seville. Apparently, Doña María wanted to stay in the neighborhood, however, since three weeks later, on March 27, she purchased two other houses located "between the *alhóndigas* of Iñigo González and García Martínez Malrecabdo."⁶⁹

The *repartimiento* of Jerez cites many *alhóndigas* in private hands, and it provides a much clearer view of the institution than is available for Seville.

⁶⁵ (Fernando III of Castile), *Reinado y diplomas de Fernando III*, ed. Julio González (Córdoba: Caja de Ahorros de Córdoba, 1986) III, 214–5 (doc. 671).

⁶⁶ Ballesteros, *Sevilla en el Siglo XIII*, ccxii (doc. 199); (Alfonso X of Castile), *Diplomatario andaluz*, 450 (doc. 427).

⁶⁷ Ballesteros, *Sevilla en el Siglo XIII*, 19 and lxvi (doc. 65).

⁶⁸ Ballesteros, *Sevilla en el Siglo XIII*, cxliv (doc. 136); (Alfonso X of Castile), *Diplomatario andaluz*, 309–310 (doc. 282).

⁶⁹ González (ed.), *Repartimiento de Sevilla*, II, 354.

Alhóndigas were noted in four of the six parishes of Jerez, but the majority (including the *alhóndiga de la harina*) were located in the parish of San Dionisio, which was also the main commercial district of the city and the site of the main market (*alcaiceria*) under both Muslim and Christian rule.⁷⁰ Some of these facilities were mentioned in association with particular individuals, as in the case of one large *alhóndiga* in the parish of San Salvador granted or leased to Don Çulema Abravalla, the king's *almojarife*, together with other lucrative concessions.⁷¹ Many other entries, on the other hand, merely mention houses bordering on unnamed *alhóndigas*.⁷²

A few of these *alhóndigas* in Jerez appear to have been quite large, since they were subsequently divided into multiple dwellings, or were bordered by a number of houses. In one case, several houses in the same area were bordered on two sides by a single *alfóndiga*, suggesting a sizable and complex facility, with angled extensions or wings.⁷³ In contrast, it is evident that others were fairly small, as suggested by the frequent use of the diminutive form, as in the "alfondiguilla que es de Pedro Guillén."⁷⁴ Some of these seem to have been grouped together, or placed side by side, as with an "*alfondiguilla pequenna* that is bordered one side by the *alfóndiga* owned by Pedro Martín."⁷⁵

⁷⁰ *Repartimiento* texts often mention *alhóndigas* and *fondechs* in the neighborhood of markets, gates, baths, ovens, and other facilities, placement typical of a Muslim city. The *Repartimiento of Valencia* notes *fondechs* near baths (Bofarull [ed.], *Repartimientos de los reinos de Mallorca, Valencia, y Cerdeña*, 606, 656); one next to a stable and mosque (606); near gardens (308, 492); by gates (287); near a butcher shop (448); and several beside ovens (607, 613). In another case, a bath is described in the vicinity of houses, an oven, and an *alfundico carniceriarum* (283); in yet another (382), an oven bordered on a *fondech*, bath, shops, and a butcher shop. In 1275–1276, a butcher in Valencia received funds to build a *fondech* (Martínez Ferrando, *Catálogo de la documentación*, 1, 413 [no. 1893]). Burns remarks on the placement of *fondechs* near churches and gates (*Medieval Colonialism*, 70) and discusses their relationship to baths (*ibid.*, 57–58). In 1258, James I granted a *fondech* "cum furno" to Berenguer of Montcada (Burns [ed.], *Diplomatarium*, II, 164–166).

⁷¹ González Jiménez and González Gómez (eds.), *Repartimiento de Jerez*, xxxiii (nos. 212, 213, 215).

⁷² González Jiménez and González Gómez (eds.), *Repartimiento de Jerez* (nos. 1625–1626, 1669–1674, 1697–1678, 1702).

⁷³ González Jiménez and González Gómez (eds.), *Repartimiento de Jerez* (nos. 1669–1674).

⁷⁴ González Jiménez and González Gómez (eds.), *Repartimiento de Jerez* (nos. 1699, 1700–1701). Thomas Glick has noted the tendency for Christians to use diminutives in describing Muslim buildings (*casiella*, *alfondiguilla*, *mezquitiella* etc.), suggesting that incoming Christians found the *casas moriscas* somewhat on the small side. It was not uncommon for a new Christian inhabitant to combine several houses into one (Glick, *Muslim Fortress*, 148). On the other hand, in some cases, several new houses could be created out of an older *funduq*, even a small one, as in the case of *casas que fueron alfondiguilla* (González Jiménez and González Gómez [eds.], *Repartimiento de Jerez*, 24 [no. 165]).

⁷⁵ González Jiménez and González Gómez (eds.), *Repartimiento de Jerez* (no. 1807). An entry shortly thereafter (no. 1812) grants the latter *alhóndiga* to Pedro Martín (though now it too is referred to as an *alfondiguilla*).

By the time of the formal Christian partition of Jerez in 1269, many of the city's *alhóndigas* already served commercial or domestic functions. In some cases, these uses indicate Christian innovations, while others may replicate earlier Muslim usage. The *alhóndiga* of Pedro Martín served as a tavern (*bodega*), while others served for housing. A number of entries in the *repartimiento* distributed “casas que fueron alhóndiga” or “casas que fueron alfondiguilla.” Often these entries come in clusters, suggesting that a former *alhóndiga* had been divided up into dwellings for several new residents.⁷⁶ In other cases, the building was in disrepair and perhaps no longer suitable to function as an *alhóndiga* proper, as in the case of a house built out of “a tumble-down *alhóndiga* in need of repair.”⁷⁷

References to *alhóndigas* in poor condition are quite frequent. Another building in Jerez was also represented as “una alhóndiga que estava mal parada,” and at least one *funduq* in Toledo was likewise reported as “demolished” (*mahdūm*) in 1242.⁷⁸ There may have been more to these descriptions than objective observation. While it is likely that such buildings naturally fell into disrepair, especially if they were no longer profitable, it is also possible that it was convenient to describe them as in worse shape than they actually were. Many of these *funduqs* would have been *waqf* property under Muslim rule, part of inalienable religious endowments. In Islamic law, a legal strategy to allow the release of such properties for a new *waqf*, or for sale, had been to declare them ruins. New buildings could then be erected in their place, usually with some percentage of profits going to the old *waqf* foundation. Possibly Christian rulers were resorting to a variation on this legal maneuver, motivated by situations in which a particular property was religiously sensitive or likely to cause unrest among the remaining Muslim population.

As in Castile, many *fondechs* in the realms of Aragón were distributed as noble property, and some of these appear to have been very profitable concessions. In July 1258, for example, James I exchanged the lands around the castle of Altea (then held by Berenguer of Montcada, but which the king wished to re-grant elsewhere) for three *fondechs* in Barcelona. These buildings were linked to other facilities, including an oven, workshops, and houses, and they were run by a sub-lessee who paid 160 *morabitinis* annually for the privilege. According to James' grant, the three *fondechs* would come to Berenguer in perpetuity, together with the annual revenues from their

⁷⁶ González Jiménez and González Gómez (eds.), *Repartimiento de Jerez* (nos. 165, 327, 985, 1661, 1663, 1786–1788).

⁷⁷ González Jiménez and González Gómez (eds.), *Repartimiento de Jerez* (no. 1785).

⁷⁸ González Jiménez and González Gómez (eds.), *Repartimiento de Jerez* (no. 1711); González Palencia, *Mozárabes de Toledo*, II, 149 (doc. 558).

lease. Problems arose less than a month later, however, when Berenguer demanded the return of the properties in Altea, although he refused to give up his recently acquired *fondechs*.⁷⁹

Other eastern *fondechs* seem to have been more modest propositions held by ordinary citizens, presumably much like their counterparts in Jerez and other towns in Castile. These buildings were often simply listed in association with a person's name (*alfundico Egidii Garcez*, *alfondec Açicaf*, *alfondiga Marie de Mengit*, etc.), and they could be bought, sold, and inherited like other urban real estate.⁸⁰ A number of privately held *fondechs* were used for commercial or manufacturing purposes, since they are often cited in association with shops, warehouses, workshops, and other appurtenances. In many cases, they appear to have been part of a complex of buildings rather than a free-standing structure.

The Church and the military orders also possessed *fondechs* in the realms of Aragón. Where Alfonso X of Castile had granted revenues from the *alhóndiga de la farina* in Seville to the Order of Calatrava, James I distributed the facilities themselves, granting the same order houses in Burriana in 1233, and buildings "which were an *alfandicum* in the time of the Saracens."⁸¹ Later, in 1245, the Mercederians were given an *alfundicum* to convert into a hospice in Denia, while the Hospitalers received an *alfondicum* in Játiva "for converting into houses" in 1252.⁸² The archbishop of Tarragona also appears to have held several *fondechs* and adjoining houses in Valencia city.⁸³

FOREIGN FONDACOS IN IBERIA AND IBERIAN FONDACOS ABROAD

As well as distributing properties to their own subjects, monarchs in Castile and the Arago-Catalan realms also regularly granted commercial *alhóndigas* and *fondechs* to foreign merchant communities doing business in their lands.

⁷⁹ Burns (ed.), *Diplomatarium*, II, 164–166, 169–170 (docs. 195, 200).

⁸⁰ Bofarull (ed.), *Repartimiento de los reinos de Mallorca, Valencia, y Cerdeña*, 295, 656; Burns, *Medieval Colonialism*, 69, n. 80; Martínez Ferrando, *Catálogo de la documentación*, I, 173 (no. 780), 215 (no. 975).

⁸¹ Miret i Sans (ed.), *Itinerari de Jaume I*, 109; Burns, *Medieval Colonialism*, 68.

⁸² Miret i Sans (ed.), *Itinerari de Jaume I*, 174; Burns, *Crusader Kingdom*, 185, 459, n. 79. In 1266, James I also granted an *alfondicum* in Játiva for the purpose of converting the structure into a hospital (Burns *Crusader Kingdom*, 243; edited in Burns (ed.), *Diplomatarium*, III, 199 (doc. 660); also noted in Martínez Ferrando, *Catálogo de la documentación*, I, 141 (no. 635). The use of a *fondech* as a hospice may continue earlier Muslim precedents linking these buildings to charitable purposes. In Valencia, William Escrivá founded a hospital or *xenodocheion* ("Cenodoxium seu Hospitale") in 1242, but although William held an important *fondech* from the king, he did not apparently use the latter building for his new foundation (Burns, *Crusader Kingdom*, 239).

⁸³ Bofarull (ed.), *Repartimiento de los reinos de Mallorca, Valencia, y Cerdeña*, 291, 576, 635.

At the same time, they were equally concerned to ensure the well-being and success of their own merchants pursuing commerce overseas. The familiarity of Iberian rulers with the administration of *alhóndigas* and *fondechs* in their own lands fostered a unique attitude toward these overseas facilities, unlike that of other European commercial powers. Especially in the realms of Aragón, James I's close attention to the control of his own royal *fondechs* at home directly affected his administration of Catalan *fondacos* abroad.

As the *alhóndiga* and *fondech* evolved in the Iberian Peninsula during the second half of the thirteenth century, their shifting forms had repercussions for international merchants, both Muslims and Christians. Merchants trading to and from newly Christian regions had to keep abreast of the upheaval in institutions and markets that followed in the wake of political and religious change. In the Arago-Catalan sphere, Muslim merchants continued to utilize *fondechs*, as was now required by royal decree, despite increasing commercial competition from local and foreign Christians. In Castile, in contrast, Muslim merchants quickly lost ground in hostleries and markets as their place was usurped by Italian traders.

The growth of Christian merchant power in Iberian port cities went hand in hand with the progress of Christian military victories, and Genoese merchants, in particular, did well in Castile in the second half of the thirteenth century. At the same time, merchants from the realms of Aragón were expanding their business activities abroad in North Africa and Egypt. In both contexts, merchants rapidly adapted their operations to accommodate shifts in political power and new understandings of commercial space. In Seville and other Iberian cities, Christian merchant groups that had been long accustomed to the *funduq* under Muslim rule gradually abandoned the institution in favor of more flexible and less regulated commercial facilities, most notably the *loggia*. Meanwhile, in Islamic cities, especially in Ḥafṣid Tunis and Bougie, Catalan merchants lodged in *fondacos* that closely resembled those in their homeland. For much of the thirteenth century, Catalan facilities abroad – like those at home – were subject to the financial oversight of James I. This ruler demanded more direct control of overseas *fondacos* than was normally enjoyed by other European commercial powers. These two trends demonstrate the degree to which commercial facilities could be adapted, embraced, or abandoned according to the particular fiscal and political needs of time and place.

Foreign Christian merchants in Castile and the realms of Aragón

Genoese and other Italian merchants had traded in southern Spain from at least the middle of the twelfth century and were thus a well-established

commercial presence in the region by the time of the Christian conquest. Immediately after the transfer of Seville to Christian control in November 1248, the Genoese sought to retain their rights to traffic with the city, and Ferdinand III appears to have been equally eager to encourage their continued presence. Not only were Genoese traders an important commercial asset to the city, but Genoese naval strength provided support to the Castilian war effort.

According to the *Annales Ianuenses*, Genoese delegates were already petitioning Ferdinand in 1249 to grant them an *alhóndiga*, houses, a church, and oven (“fondicum, domos, ecclesiam, et furnum”), together with consuls to represent them, just as they had enjoyed in Seville in “tempore quo erat Sarracenorum.”⁸⁴ Although this claim is not specifically attested from Seville, earlier treaties with other Andalusi cities (discussed in the previous chapter) show that this constellation of facilities had indeed been commonly granted to Genoese and other Italian traders in the twelfth century. In 1146, for example, a century before the fall of Seville, the Castilian king Alfonso VII had promised a similar array of facilities (*alfondegam*, oven, bath, and garden) to the Genoese in return for assistance in an assault on Muslim Almería. Genoese negotiations also yielded similar concessions in Naşrid cities during the thirteenth century, indicating that access to these facilities was an ongoing concern in Andalusi markets. A Genoese treaty with the Naşrids in 1279 authorized their access to a bath, oven, church, and storehouses in Granada, and to *funduqs* throughout the realm.⁸⁵

Responding to their request, Ferdinand III issued a lengthy Latin charter to Genoa, in the person of its representative, Nicolas Calvo, in May 1251. The king promised that the Genoese in Seville could elect their own consuls to represent their needs; he guaranteed their free entry into his realm and royal protection; he gave them a church for their use; and he set advantageous taxes on imported and exported goods. He likewise granted the Genoese their own quarter, *alhóndiga*, oven, and bath (“barrium, alfondigam, furnum et balneum”) in the city of Seville, to be built – or perhaps maintained – at their own expense.⁸⁶ In either case, this clause suggests a break with tradition. If the Genoese were to construct a new facility, then

⁸⁴ Caffaro, *Annali Genovesi*, III, 183–184.

⁸⁵ *Liber iurium Reipublicae Genuensis*, I, cols. 1485–1486 (doc. 989). This text records arrangements made in the previous year and probably reconfirms older grants. On this, see J. E. Lopez de Coca Castañer, “Comercio exterior del reino de Granada,” *Actas del II Coloquio de Historia Medieval Andaluza. Hacienda y comercio (Sevilla, 8–10 de Abril, 1981)* (Seville: Excm. Diputación Provincial de Sevilla, 1982) 340. The reference to storehouses (“magazenis ad eorum sufficientiam”) as well as *funduqs* suggests that the latter continued to be residential facilities.

⁸⁶ This document has been reproduced many times based on the version in the Genoese archives and published in the *Liber iurium Reipublicae Genuensis*, I, cols. 1060–1064 (doc. 794). See especially R. Carande, *Sevilla, fortaleza y mercado* (Seville: Universidad de Sevilla, 1972) 72–75. The text cited

apparently Ferdinand did not wish to concede an existing building or one of his own royal *alhóndigas*. If, on the other hand, the Genoese were to be responsible for the maintenance of an existing structure, then there was an intended differentiation between the new Christian and old Muslim contexts, since in the latter *fondaco* facilities usually belonged to and were maintained by the local Islamic administration.

Less than a year later, in January 1252, Ferdinand issued another briefer charter to Genoa, this time in Castilian. This shorter document was issued to the same Genoese ambassador, Nicolas Calvo, but it had a very different tone and emphasis from its earlier Latin counterpart. Unlike the formal Latin version, this charter was almost exclusively concerned with real estate, not only granting the buildings themselves, but also noting their location and the conditions under which they were to be held. Ferdinand granted “a neighborhood in Seville for the Genoese community, where they may have a church, bath, *alfondiga*, and oven,” going on to add that this quarter was located in the plaza of Santa Maria, near the Frankish quarter, close to the market where barley was sold and to the church of the Descalzos. The Genoese could claim all of the promised buildings in perpetuity, except the nearby markets (*alcaicerias*) and the *alhóndiga del atún*.⁸⁷

Into the reign of Alfonso X, Genoese ambassadors and merchants continued to negotiate for the same bundle of privileges in Christian Seville (autonomy under a consul, a *fondaco*, church, baths, ovens, and tax exemptions) that they had sought in earlier trade talks in Seville and elsewhere in the contemporary Mediterranean world. Within the next half century, however, their demands changed and their emphasis shifted away from the *alhóndiga*. It had become clear to all concerned that the context of trade had changed under Christian rule, so that *fondacos* were no longer necessary, or even desirable. Thus, later reconfirmations of the privileges granted by Ferdinand III in 1251 made no mention of a Genoese *alhóndiga* in Seville, although they often granted rights to consuls, streets, houses, wells, and other trade privileges.⁸⁸ By 1300, the Genoese community in Seville had other concerns, and they no longer wanted or needed an *alhóndiga* in order to pursue their commercial affairs in the city.

here is from (Fernando III of Castile), *Reinado y diplomas de Fernando III*, III, 405. A Castilian version preserved in Simancas has been published by I. González Gallego, “El libro de los privilegios de la nación Genovesa,” *Historia, Instituciones, Documentos* 1 (1974) 288–292.

⁸⁷ “. . . En Sevilla un barrio por al comun de Genua, en el qual barrio vos podades fazer eglefia et banno et alfondiga et forno”; this clause only exists in a later reconfirmation by Alfonso X, dated August 1260. It has been edited in (Alfonso X of Castile), *Diplomatario andaluz*, 277–278 (doc. 250).

⁸⁸ González Gallego, “Libro de los privilegios,” 277–358.

Changes in the understanding of the Castilian *alhóndiga* are made evident in a legal case from 1334, involving a dispute over the nationality of a merchant called Jaume Manfré who sometimes claimed to be Mallorcan, and at other times Genoese. Jaume's business involved frequent travel to markets in the kingdom of Granada, as well as to Seville, in the early fourteenth century. Much of the evidence presented by witnesses in the case turned on whether Jaume had been observed in the company of merchants from Genoa or Mallorca, and whether he had resided in the relevant *alhóndiga*. Their testimony shows that the Muslim system of the residential *funduq* for individual communities of foreign traders still flourished in the Nasrid kingdom of Granada during the 1320s and early 1330s, since Jaume had frequently been spotted in the European *funduqs* (*fundicos*) in Almería and Granada. These were evidently facilities for lodging and communal activity, since one witness who met Jaume in Almería in 1326 or 1327 reported that he was "dressed as a Catalan, conducted himself as a Catalan, and was living and lodging in the Catalan *fundico*." In 1333, he was likewise seen staying and eating in the Catalan *fondaco* ("hospitando et comedendo . . . in fundico catalanorum"). Another witness, however, testified that Jaume had stayed with the Genoese community in Almería, and that "he saw this same Jaume with the Genoese, conversing and lodging in their *fondaco*" in 1326.⁸⁹ But in Seville, Jaume apparently stayed in a regular house (*domum*) since, according to one witness, "there was neither a Catalan nor a Genoese *fondaco* in Seville."⁹⁰ Ordinances for Seville established by Alfonso XI in 1337 likewise lack any reference to residential *alhóndigas*, although they mention *posadas*, *ostalaies*, rented houses, and other facilities for lodging travelers.⁹¹

Like the Genoese, Catalan merchants also sought tax privileges and other concessions in Christian Seville, some almost exactly mirroring Italian requests. In the early 1280s, for example, Catalan merchants in Seville petitioned Alfonso X for tax exemptions and rights to a "barrio e alfóndega" along the same lines as those which Ferdinand III "had given to the Genoese" ("ovo dado a los genoeses") thirty years earlier.⁹² Alfonso

⁸⁹ Manuel Sánchez Martínez, "Mallorquines y genoeveses en Almería durante el primer tercio del siglo XIV: el proceso contra Jaume Manfré (1334)," *Miscellània de Textos Medievales*, IV: *La frontera terrestre i marítima amb l'Islam* (Barcelona: Consell Superior d'Investigacions Científiques, 1988) 120, 154, 158. Other witnesses provided testimony of many further instances in which Jaume stayed with either Catalans or Genoese in their *fondacos* in Almería and Granada.

⁹⁰ "In Xibilia non sit fundicus catalanorum neque januensium"; Sánchez Martínez, "Mallorquines y Genoeveses en Almería," 121, 158.

⁹¹ Guichot, *Ayuntamiento*, 219.

⁹² Capmany, *Memorias*, II, 46 (Alfonso X of Castile), *Diplomatario Andaluz*, 514–515 (doc. 485).

apparently granted the Catalan fiscal requests, but without mention of either a *barrio* or an *alhóndiga* in Seville. In August 1284, when the new ruler Sancho IV addressed the issue again, rather than conceding an *alhóndiga*, he ordered that Catalan merchants in Seville be given their own quarter in which they could build “a *lonja* and oven, and where they may sell and buy textiles both wholesale and retail, just as the Genoese do.” These rights to a “*lonja e forno*” were reiterated in June 1292, when Sancho also permitted Catalan merchants to trade in olive oil at the *alfondiga del azeyte* in Seville on the same terms as the Genoese.⁹³ Evidently, the *loggia* was now the locus of merchant activity, while the *alhóndiga* had become a depot for merchandise.

This shift in wording, from *alhóndiga* to *loggia*, is in keeping with a pervasive change in the terminology of Christian commercial space, which took place not only in Spain but also in Byzantium and other regions of the Mediterranean (as was discussed in the previous chapter) in the later thirteenth century. By the end of this century, instead of requesting an *alhóndiga* or *fondech* for lodging and storage, foreign merchant groups increasingly sought control over their own houses, neighborhoods, streets, ovens, and *loggias* in Christian Iberian cities. While *alhóndigas* remained tools of royal fiscal control, foreign merchants now preferred real property that they could manage as they wished. The institution of the *loggia* began to appear in both Castile and the realms of Aragón by the end of the thirteenth century, where it replaced the *alhóndiga* and *fondech* as a residence for Christian merchants and a center for their commercial activities. It is probably no accident that the word first turned up in Seville in reference to the Catalan community, since it is likely that merchants from the realms of Aragón brought the term from eastern Spain to Castile. Later, the Genoese would also acquire a *loggia* in Seville in the fourteenth century, as did many other merchant groups, including quite minor players such as the Milanese.⁹⁴

The reasons for this shift in terminology and facilities are never explained in the sources, but one may guess at an explanation based on changes in the political–religious milieu and in contemporary commercial practice. The *loggia* began as an architectural term, usually signifying a covered porch or arcade, an airy yet shaded space in which it was convenient for merchants to do business and for notaries to set up their tables. Although *loggias* contained warehouse space, the general plan of these buildings was more open

⁹³ Capmany, *Memorias*, II, 53, 76–77.

⁹⁴ González Gallego, “Libro de los privilegios,” 314; González (ed.), *Repartimiento de Sevilla*, I, 343–344. *Loggias* appear in negotiations for Catalan privileges in Corsica and Sardinia in 1321 (Capmany, *Memorias*, II, 158).

than many *fondacos*, and less dictated by the need to secure and regulate both merchants and goods. The term *loggia* had strong associations with commerce in southern European cities such as Barcelona and Genoa, where it did not have any cross-cultural overtones.⁹⁵ The *loggia* became a commercial space in which Christian merchants met to do business with other Christians, and different *loggias* were increasingly identified with particular regional groups of traders, becoming their place of lodging and base for operations. The residential *funduq* and *fondaco*, in contrast, remained strongly associated with Muslim trade, or with Christian traffic in the Islamic world.

Although the *fondaco* and *loggia* could serve similar needs for commercial lodging, security, storage, and commercial space, they differed from each other both administratively and conceptually. As residences, particularly, the former mediated the highly structured context of cross-cultural trade, while the latter functioned in the less regulated atmosphere of inter-Christian exchange. This had become very clear by the later thirteenth century, as Christian political and commercial expansion incorporated new areas of the Mediterranean. Experience in newly conquered Spain, as in Sicily and the Crusader states, taught Christian merchants how different it was to do business in Christian and Muslim lands. Although the economic processes of trade were in many ways similar across the Mediterranean, as was the vocabulary of commerce, the actual experience of Christian merchants living in Muslim cities – where their movement, activities, and religious practice were closely monitored and restricted – was very different from life in cities under Christian administration. European traders, even those who spoke different languages or were citizens of a foreign state, could be integrated within the broader physical and social infrastructure of christianized cities, buying houses and inhabiting whole neighborhoods, to a degree that was impossible in a Muslim urban setting. Christian rulers were eager to extract as much profit as possible from overseas commerce, usually through taxation of goods and protectionist trade policies, but they were rarely concerned with further regulating or restricting the activities and movement of the Christian merchants themselves.

Thus, the *alhóndiga* shifted its focus of operations in newly conquered Castilian cities by the end of the thirteenth century. It abandoned its residential function under the Christian administration, and became instead a facility for storage, wholesale trade, taxation, and distribution. As such, it remained an important source of royal revenues, but these were derived

⁹⁵ On Catalan *loggias*, see Guillem Forteza, "El Cicle arquitectònic de les nostres llotges medievals," *Revista de Catalunya* (Barcelona) 14 (1934) 221–248. Also Sexton, "Renaissance Civic Loggias," 17–20, 81–82.

from control over the movement of goods rather than of people. In 1310, for example, Ferdinand IV granted the Genoese community revenues from the royal “alfóndiga de la farina de Sevilla,” rather than an *alhóndiga* itself, in return for Genoese help during the siege of Algeciras.⁹⁶

In Arago-Catalan realms, the pattern was rather different, since the *fondech* retained its lodging function, though it increasingly catered to non-Christian merchants. As in Castile, immediately after James I’s conquests in eastern Iberia, merchant groups scurried to protect their interests in the new political and religious climate. Port cities in eastern Spain provided critical markets for Italian merchants, who had long sought privileges for their trade in the Balearics and mainland cities. Italian city-states lost no time in assuring their ongoing rights in newly Christian Mallorca, petitioning James I for privileges and citing prior precedent to back up their request. In May 1233, a few years after the conquest of the Balearics, Genoa received rights to build an *alfondico* and church in Mallorca city, and three months later, in August 1233, similar rights were granted to Pisan merchants.⁹⁷ Half a century later, however, the Genoese had a *loggia* rather than a *fondaco* in Mallorca city, although this may have been the same building under a new name. This *loggia* was both a residence for Genoese merchants and a public cross-cultural space, which served in 1286 as the site for a disputation between several members of the Mallorcan Jewish population and a Genoese merchant and self-styled theologian named Inghetto Contardo.⁹⁸ By the fourteenth century, as in Castile, the *loggia* had become the standard locale for Christian business, social, and lodging needs in the realms of Aragón.⁹⁹

⁹⁶ Fernández Gómez et al. (eds.), *Privilegios de Sevilla*, 265–269.

⁹⁷ Miret i Sans (ed.), *Itinerari de Jaume I*, 103–104; A. Santamaría, “La Reconquista de las vías marítimas,” *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 10 (1980) 57. Even earlier, in June 1230, James had granted the Genoese a plaza, houses, church, and garden in Mallorca city, though no mention was made of a *fondaco* (P. Lisciandrelli, *Trattati e negoziazioni politiche della repubblica di Genova [958–1797]* [Genoa: Società Ligure di Storia Patria, 1960] [no. 250]; and *Liber iurium Reipublicae Genuensis*, 1, cols. 888–889 [no. 688]. The text of the treaty with Pisa claimed to renew privileges (including rights to a *fondaco*, oven, and church) granted to Pisa by Ramon Berenguer III during a briefly successful campaign against the Balearics in 1113–1114 ([James I of Aragón], *Documentos de Jaime I de Aragón*, ed. A. Huici Miranda and M. D. Cabanes Pecourt, 1 [Valencia: Anubar, 1976] 318–320 [doc. 186]; also P. Piferrer y Fábregas, *Islas Baleares* [Barcelona: D. Cortezo, 1888] 568–570). Although this early grant is unsubstantiated, there is no question that Pisa had enjoyed almost identical privileges in the Balearics under Muslim rule (see chap. 4).

⁹⁸ Inghetto Contardo, *Disputation, in die Disputationen zu Ceuta (1179) und Mallorca (1286)*, ed. Ora Limor, *Quellen zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters*, 15 (Munich: Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 1994) 169 (also ed. Gilbert Dahan, *Disputatio contra iudeos [Controverse avec les juifs]* [Paris: Les Belles lettres, 1993] 86); Steven Epstein, *Genoa and the Genoese, 958–1528* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996) 174–175.

⁹⁹ Commercial privileges granted by rulers of the realms of Aragón to other Christian groups from the early fourteenth century cite *loggias*, never *fondechs*. The fact that Datini records mention *fondacos* belonging to the firm in Valencia, Mallorca, and Barcelona reflects Italian usage (signifying

As well as requesting continued commercial privileges in recently conquered territories, Italian merchants also enjoyed rights in other territories under James' control. Genoa was granted a *fondaco* in Montpellier, although as in the case of other royal facilities, James maintained close control over this property. A concession from 1263 promised the Genoese use of this building, but they were not permitted to mortgage, constrain, or alienate the *fondaco*, and any trader living or doing business in the *fondaco* was required to go through established royal and judicial channels if they had any complaint.¹⁰⁰

By the end of the thirteenth century, *fondechs* for Christian merchants gradually disappeared in the Balearics and mainland cities in the realms of Aragón. At the same time, facilities of this name were increasingly associated with a Muslim clientele, especially in the region of Valencia. Jaime Vicens Vives has argued that this shift occurred because of increasing commercial activity; with the coming and going of larger numbers of merchants the system of "large collective hostelries became inconvenient," so *alhóndigas* and *fondechs* gave way to a network of smaller inns and hostels.¹⁰¹ This explanation is unsatisfactory on several levels, not least in that it misconstrues the earlier function and size of the *funduq*. All evidence points to the fact that most *funduqs* in Muslim Spain had been fairly small and very numerous, though some very large facilities certainly existed. It seems unlikely that they hampered mercantile expansion, since they continued to serve a vital commercial function in other regions of the Mediterranean. Instead, the strong and ongoing association of the *fondaco* with Muslim trade, and specifically mixed-faith traffic between Muslims and Christians, was responsible for the shift of inter-Christian business to the *loggia*.

Fondacos for non-Christians in Christian Iberia

Fondechs retained their cross-cultural significance in the realms of Aragón, where specialized hostelries for visiting Muslim traders continued to be administered by the crown in the *morerías* through the fifteenth century. In a few examples, as in the case of an *alfondicum* and shops to be built in Barcelona in 1268, these spaces were specifically established for the use, lodging, and security of Christian, Muslim, and Jewish merchants.¹⁰² However,

a warehouse; see chap. 9) rather than its Iberian meaning (G. Corsani, *I Fondaci e i banchi di un mercante pratese del trecento: contributo alla storia della ragioneria e del commercio, da lettere e documenti inediti* [Prato: La Tipografica, 1922] 35).

¹⁰⁰ James I of Aragón, *Documentos de Jaime I de Aragón*, v (Zaragoza, 1988) 49 (no. 1342).

¹⁰¹ J. Vicens Vives, *An Economic History of Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969) 194.

¹⁰² ACA, c, reg. 15, fol. 107v (15 kal. July 1268).

while some *fondech*s may have continued to provide regular lodging for Christians, these facilities were increasingly designated as sites for Muslim accommodation. Muslim traders from Granada and the Maghrib continued to do business in ports in the Arago-Catalan realms, especially Valencia, although they no longer visited Seville or other markets in Castile. The shift in the *fondech* in Biar in 1266, from providing lodging to “merchants and others” to lodging Saracens, already reflected a trend toward legislation that required Muslim merchants to stay in the royal *fondech*s. Not long after his reallocation of the *fondech* in Biar, when James I established a new royal *fondech* in Valencia in 1273, he ordered that this facility “be established for the advantage of the Saracens in the Moorish quarter, in which [building] all Saracens coming to Valencia must lodge by my command.”¹⁰³ There was likewise a royal *fondaco* in the *morería* of Zaragoza, where Muslims visiting the city were to lodge and sell their goods. This facility was sometimes rented to a Muslim administrator, at other times to a Christian.¹⁰⁴ In 1282, Peter III of Aragón was pressured to annul a longstanding rule that Muslim merchants coming to Játiva must lodge, unload, or sell their goods at the royal *fondech*, but the requirement survived.¹⁰⁵ Indeed, regulations of this type would become standard in Arago-Catalan realms from the later thirteenth century into the early sixteenth century.¹⁰⁶

During the period in which James began to require that non-local Muslims lodge in his official *fondech*s, we also see a general and growing distinction in urban living-space for different religious groups. Increasingly, Muslims and Jews in newly Christian cities were encouraged – or required – to live in particular urban quarters set aside for their use. These *morerías* and *juderías* (or *calls* in the realms of Aragón) contained a variety of relevant amenities, including mosques, synagogues, bath-houses, ovens, butcher shops, markets, and *fondacos*.¹⁰⁷ Both foreign Muslim merchants

¹⁰³ Burns, *Medieval Colonialism*, 71–72; Martínez Ferrando, *Catálogo de la documentación*, 1, 347 (no. 1587). One of James’ motives in this action was to reduce traffic to another privately held *fondech*.

¹⁰⁴ A reprimand from Peter III to the bailiff of Zaragoza noted sales by “sarracenis venientibus ad alfundicum nostrum Caesaraugustiae” (ACA, c, reg. 41, fol. 72r (17 kal. June, 1279). This *fondaco* was later noted during the reign of James II as “alfondegá Sarracenorum morarie Cesaug.” (ACA, c, reg. 96, fol. 24r (7 ides Sept. 1293); also ACA, c, reg. 194, fol. 85r (6 kal. Oct [1294]). The register of Gil Tarin, the merino of Zaragoza under James II, also referred to the *Alfondegá de Çaragoça* in the 1290s (*El registro del merino de Zaragoza, el caballero Don Gil Tarin, 1291–1312*, ed. Manuel de Bofarull y de Santorio [Zaragoza: Imprenta del Hospicio Provincial, 1889] 5). My thanks to Brian Catlos for these Zaragoza references.

¹⁰⁵ Burns (ed.), *Diplomatarium*, 1, 170–171.

¹⁰⁶ See chapter 9 for a discussion of these later data.

¹⁰⁷ David Abulafia, “From Privilege to Persecution: Crown, Church and Synagogue in the City of Majorca, 1229–1343,” in *Church and City, 1000–1500*, ed. D. Abulafia et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992) 111–126.

and Aragonese Muslims visiting from the countryside or from other cities were supposed to lodge in these hostelries. They were thus doubly regulated within the walls of the *fondech* and within the boundaries of the *morería*. Although traveling Jews were not subject to specific requirements that they lodge in royal *fondechs*, there seems a general affinity between the various conceptions of residential enclaves.

The regulated Muslim hostels in Valencia and other cities in the realms of Aragón were among the very few Christian *fondacos* to mirror the function of the *fondacos* for foreign traders in Muslim cities (the Fondaco dei Tedeschi in Venice was another noteworthy example). Several factors contributed to this continued cross-cultural commercial role. First, and most important, market forces and royal policies combined to draw Muslim merchants to eastern Spanish ports, where they needed facilities for lodging and trade. Second, as has been discussed above, James I took a very active role in promoting economic policies in his realm, including control of royal *fondechs*. James' unusually high degree of royal oversight within his own realms was also reflected further afield, in his attitude toward Catalan facilities in Tunisian cities. The clear parallels between his administration of royal hostels for Muslims in eastern peninsular cities and of similar facilities for Catalans abroad suggests a direct conceptual relationship between the two as spaces for inter-faith interaction, trade, and taxation.

Catalan merchants and fondacos in Hafsid Tunisia

James' addition of Mallorca and Valencia to his Aragonese and Catalan territories earned him the title "James the Conqueror," and his lengthy reign of sixty-three years gave him the opportunity to follow up on his military achievements. As well as solidifying his Iberian conquests, James looked eastward into the Mediterranean, intent on expanding Arago-Catalan control of strategic Mediterranean islands and trade routes in order to promote his own political ambitions as well as the commercial interests of the merchants of his realm. Marriages between James' daughter, Constance, and the emperor Frederick II, and more importantly, of James' son, Peter (later Peter III) to Frederick's granddaughter, also Constance, the queen of Sicily, created alliances that gave Aragón a claim to the throne of Sicily, the most valuable possession in the central Mediterranean. Sicily provided a critical emporium for goods and merchants in transit between the eastern and western Mediterranean, or between the northern Italian ports of Genoa and Pisa and North Africa. This island, and especially the ports of Palermo and Messina, was an important political and commercial prize, and it is not

surprising that the rulers of Aragón would find themselves in competition for control of Sicily in the last decades of the thirteenth century.

Southward across the sea, the ports of Tunis and Bougie in Ḥafṣid Tunisia were likewise strategically located along long-distance east–west Mediterranean trade routes, and they too were the object of James' attention. These cities were important markets, not only for ordinary articles of Mediterranean traffic, but as outlets for gold coming northward from West Africa. Because of this, European merchants in the thirteenth century were eager to establish commercial relations in Ḥafṣid lands, and to obtain rights to *fondacos* from Ḥafṣid rulers. In most cases, as has been discussed in the previous chapter, these Genoese, Pisan, and other European *fondacos* were very like their counterparts in Alexandria and other Muslim towns.

In the case of Catalan *fondacos*, however, James the Conqueror's fiscal ambition and military strength combined to engineer a different arrangement. As with the royal *fondechs* at home in the realms of Aragón, James always referred to the Catalan *fondacos* in Tunis and Bougie as "our *fondacos*" ("fondaci nostri"), and their revenues were directly controlled by the crown.¹⁰⁸ Although James never went on Crusade against the Ḥafṣids, as did his neighbor and contemporary Louis IX of France, it is clear that he saw himself in a dominant position vis-à-vis Ḥafṣid lands, and felt able to demand economic perquisites for his traders and treasury that were unavailable to other European merchant groups. This attitude grew out of his military successes in Spain, and is reflected in his assumption that Catalan *fondacos* in North Africa should be run with the same advantageous policies that were now familiar to him in his own conquered territories. After James' death, his expansionist policies were continued by his heirs Peter III (1276–1285), Alfonso III (1285–1291), James II (1291–1327), and others.

The earliest Catalan *fondacos* in Ḥafṣid lands are documented in Tunis in 1253, and in Bougie in 1259. Although these may have existed earlier in the thirteenth century, it is significant that they first appear in historical records at a time when James' political and military strength had solidified, boosting the commercial and diplomatic influence of his realm.¹⁰⁹ Relations between the Ḥafṣids and Arago-Catalan rulers were variable during the second half

¹⁰⁸ This usage does sometimes also occur with reference to Catalan *fondacos* in other Muslim cities, even Alexandria, but the internal fiscal and administrative arrangements in these facilities differed from those in Ḥafṣid ports.

¹⁰⁹ C. E. Dufourcq, *L'Espagne catalane et le Maghrib aux XIII^e et XIV^e siècles* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1966) 98, 101. See also A. B. Hibbert, "Catalan Consulates in the Thirteenth Century," *Cambridge Historical Journal* 9 (1947–1949) 352–358; Andrés Giménez Soler, "El comercio en tierra de infieles durante la edad media," *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* 5 (1909–1910) 171–199, 287–298, 521–524.

of the thirteenth century, but despite occasional ruptures there is abundant documentation to show ongoing diplomatic and trade relations. Both sides prospered from this contact, but unlike other European powers, the king of Aragón consistently took the upper hand in economic negotiations. The Catalan *fondacos* in Tunis and Bougie, for example, were considered the direct property of James I, who collected all of their revenues, or leased them to consuls or officers known as *almoxerifs* (tax-collectors) chosen by himself.¹¹⁰ This was in contrast to Aragonese *fondacos* elsewhere in the Muslim world after the 1260s, where consuls and officers were appointed by the city of Barcelona or by merchants on the spot.¹¹¹

Excellent records in the archives of the crown of Aragón make it possible to know both the names of consuls appointed by James to posts in the *fondacos* in Tunis and Bougie and to estimate their income.¹¹² The monetary totals are often remarkable, and aptly demonstrate the reasons why kings and others were so eager to participate in *fondaco* administration. Charles Dufourcq tracked the revenue received by consuls for leasing or sub-letting space and positions in these *fondacos* in the years from 1257 to 1275. Amounts range from roughly 300 bezants annually to about 1,333, not counting the boom years of 1261–1263 in which revenues skyrocketed to over 2,500 bezants per year. Revenues from Bougie were always somewhat less than those from Tunis. Dufourcq estimated that *fondaco* revenues yielded a profit to consuls of at least 100 percent over the price that they had paid to the king for their consulship. At the same time, consuls also collected duties from merchants coming through their *fondacos*, usually representing 1 percent of the value of their goods. This income tripled in Tunis, from 1,000 to 3,000 bezants annually over this twenty-year period; in Bougie it doubled, from 600 to 1,200 bezants.¹¹³

The first Catalan consul in Tunis, Ramon Arnau, held the office in 1253 and paid 1,000 bezants to the king (“domini regi pro emptione fondici

¹¹⁰ Burns, *Medieval Colonialism*, 257; Dufourcq, *L'Espagne catalane et le Maghrib*, 321–324. James also profited from trade itself, since he commissioned mercantile business in Tunis on his own behalf (C. E. Dufourcq, “Les Consulats catalans de Tunis et de Bougie au temps de Jacques le Conquérant,” *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 3 [1966] 474–8).

¹¹¹ Joan F. Cabestany Fort, “‘Consols de Mar’ y ‘Consols d’Ultramar’ en Cataluña (siglos XIII–XV),” in *La genti del Mare Mediterraneo*, ed. Rosalba Ragosta (Naples: Lucio Pironti Editore, 1981) 415–416. Also Dufourcq, “Consulats catalans de Tunis et Bougie,” 471.

¹¹² Capmany provides a list of names of consuls in Tunis and Bougie going back to 1281, together with the names of consuls in other cities throughout the Mediterranean from the thirteenth to sixteenth centuries (*Memorias*, II, 850–860). A brief survey of the surviving diplomatic treaties, letters, ambassadorial instructions, and other material relating to relations between Tunis and Arago-Catalan realms is provided by I. de Las Cagigas, “Un Traité de paix entre le Roi Pierre IV d’Aragón et le Sultan de Tunis Abū Ishāq II (1360),” *Hespéris* 18 (1934) 65.

¹¹³ Dufourcq, *L'Espagne catalane et le Maghrib*, 177–179.

Tunicii”) for a two-year appointment.¹¹⁴ The same man then purchased it again, in partnership with Philip of Denia, in 1258. In July of that year, James made out a grant to the effect that he “sold, gave, conceded, and leased his royal *fondaco* in Tunis” to Ramon and Philip, but he rescinded the appointment a year later, when William of Perilata (who had held the post in the mid-1250s) complained that the two new consuls were abusing their office, and himself offered to pay more for the post. This started a bidding war, as the three men alternated in the consulship, each time paying a higher fee for the privilege and driving the price of the office up 500 percent. In 1261, Ramon and Philip repurchased the office at a price of 5,500 bezants for a two-year period, during which they were also allowed to collect yields from the shops, bakery, and tavern in the *fondaco*. If local Muslims interfered with the business of the *fondaco* (presumably along the lines seen in Pietro Battifoglio’s Genoese records in the late 1280s), then Ramon and Philip could demand reimbursement. They were responsible for providing a notary to keep track of *fondaco* records, but the king himself would appoint a priest to be chaplain “in capella alfundici nostri in Tunicii.”¹¹⁵

The fact that applicants for the consulship were willing to pay such rates reflects the intensity and growth of trade through Tunis and Bougie, traffic that rapidly added value to the position of consul. By 1260, the volume of business had grown to such an extent that two Catalan *fondacos* were needed in each city (two decades later, the Genoese would also acquire a second *fondaco* in Tunis – presumably for similar reasons). James referred to “alfundicos nostros in Bugia” in a document from 1260, and a year later he sold (“vend”) the consulship of “both the new *fondaco* and the old *fondaco* that we have in Tunis” for a two-year period.¹¹⁶ Possibly one building soon dropped from use, putting space again at a premium, since a 1271 treaty between James and the Ḥafṣid ruler Muḥammad al-Mustaṣir (1249–1277) required that the sultan should “enlarge the *fondaco*” in Tunis for merchants from the realms of Aragón.¹¹⁷ It is noteworthy that the costs of this project were to be assumed by the Ḥafṣid ruler, as was normally the case with *fondacos* in Muslim lands, even while James continued to reap the profits.

James’ claim to *fondaci nostri*, and to their considerable revenues, did not extend beyond the borders of Ḥafṣid domains. Although Catalan trade also expanded in other North African port cities – including Tlemcen, Oran,

¹¹⁴ Dufourcq, “Consulats catalans de Tunis et Bougie,” 470.

¹¹⁵ Dufourcq, “Consulats catalans de Tunis et Bougie,” 471–474; Fernández-Armesto, *Before Columbus*, 138.

¹¹⁶ Dufourcq, “Consulats catalans de Tunis et Bougie,” 470–471.

¹¹⁷ Mas Latrie (ed.), *Traité de paix et de commerce*, 282 (article 17).

and Ceuta – during the later thirteenth century, *fondacos* in these regions were run along lines similar to those of other European facilities. They were not directly administered as royal property (although the crown did receive part of their revenues), and they were run on a day-to-day basis by their resident merchant communities.¹¹⁸ Even in Oran, where some references cite *fondaci nostri*, arrangements were unlike those of Tunis and Bougie, since revenues from these facilities were split between the king of Aragón and the Zayyānid ruler.¹¹⁹

In most foreign cities, hostels for merchants from the realms of Aragón were simply called “Catalan” *fondacos*, a tendency that also held true in Tunis. In a document written towards the end of his reign, in 1275, James referred to one of the facilities in Tunis as “alfundicum nostrum qui dicitur Catalanorum.”¹²⁰ The regional designation could thus go hand in hand with royal control, and usually applied to a broader group of merchants than merely those from Catalonia proper.

Although merchants from throughout the Arago-Catalan realms – including traders from Sicily, Valencia, and the Balearics – could be included under the title “Catalan,” they began to break away into their own communities in the later thirteenth century. Their manifest desire to acquire individual *fondacos* in Maghribi cities is evidence of both their aspirations to independent political identity and of the significant financial rewards that a separate *fondaco* could bring. In 1285, three years after the Aragonese acquisition of Sicily, a treaty between the Ḥafṣids and Peter III arranged for Sicilian merchants to have their own *fondaco* in Tunis, although this facility would share a consul with the Catalan *fondaco*.¹²¹ A Sicilian *fondaco* must have been in operation shortly thereafter, since the Genoese notary in Tunis, Pietro Battifoglio, mentioned a *fondaco Sicilianorum* several times in documents written in 1288–1289.¹²² Merchants from Mallorca also agitated for a *fondaco* in Tunis after James I’s death led to the creation of a semi-independent kingdom of Mallorca, but they did not obtain their own facility until the early fourteenth century.¹²³

¹¹⁸ Dufourcq, *L’Espagne catalane et le Maghrib*, 519. On Tlemcen, see C. E. Dufourcq, “Les Espagnols et le royaume de Tlemcen aux XIII^e et XIV^e siècles,” *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* 21 (1948) 5–128.

¹¹⁹ P. Gourdin, “Le ‘Partège’ du Maghreb entre l’Aragón et la Castille au traité de Monteagudo (1291),” in *Le Partage du monde. Echanges et colonisation dans la Méditerranée médiévale*, ed. Michel Balard and Alain Ducellier (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1998) 405–406.

¹²⁰ Dufourcq, “Consulats catalans de Tunis et Bougie,” 472.

¹²¹ Brunschvig, *La Berbérie orientale*, 1, 94–95; D. Abulafia, *A Mediterranean Emporium. The Catalan Kingdom of Majorca* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994) 159.

¹²² Pistarino (ed.), *Notai genovesi in Oltremare (1288–1289)* (docs. 5, 6, 20, 117–119).

¹²³ Dufourcq, “Catalans en Tunisie,” 43–44.

James continued to sell the consulships in Tunis and Bougie until his death in 1276, and his successor Peter III maintained the practice, though with some changes in policy. During the transition of the throne, the office was held by two men, who had in turn sublet the position to a third, Bernard of Rubió. After his succession, Peter invalidated this arrangement, instead farming the consulship directly to Bernard in return for two-thirds of the profits from the concession, which included the *fondaco*, an oven, customs-house, shops, storerooms, and tavern.¹²⁴

Evidently an administrative reform was underway at this point, or perhaps somewhat earlier, as Aragonese kings sought more direct and flexible access to the revenues from their Tunisian *fondacos*. Rather than the auctioning of the concession for a flat fee at two-year intervals, as before, it was now given in exchange for a percentage of revenues. This reorganization of finances was probably linked to contemporary fiscal tinkering in the mainland Arago-Catalan territories, where the extraordinary potential value of *fondacos* – and the danger of losing revenue to sharp-dealing consuls and overseers – was also recognized. In the 1270s, James had changed his policy for collecting revenues from the royal *fondaco* in Valencia city, shifting from a tax-farm to an arrangement whereby all profits went directly to his treasury, while he paid an annual sum to a caretaker. After 1285, a similar arrangement was put in place in North Africa, with the result that consuls began to receive a fixed salary.¹²⁵

The Catalan *fondacos* in North Africa flourished in the last three decades of the thirteenth century. A list of departures from the port of Mallorca in 1284 shows a ship departing for Maghribi ports every couple of days, with thirty-one out of forty-two voyages going to North Africa.¹²⁶ Nevertheless, a changing religious and political climate, and the crusade of Louis IX against Tunis in 1270, ushered in a new phase of western diplomacy and demands. In the wake of this crusade, the Ḥafṣid ruler al-Mustanṣir was obliged to pay large sums of money to France, and in 1277 – shortly after his accession – Peter III of Aragón hastened to extort similar tribute, basing his claim on irregular payments that had been made by the Ḥafṣids to his father.¹²⁷ In fact, it is likely that Peter's actions were more motivated by Aragonese rivalry with France than by a desire to enforce earlier levies or to prove ascendancy over the Ḥafṣids. The efficacy of Peter's demand for

¹²⁴ Burns, *Medieval Colonialism*, 75, n. 94; Dufourcq, "Consulats catalans de Tunis et Bougie," 472.

¹²⁵ Dufourcq, *L'Espagne catalane et le Maghrib*, 275.

¹²⁶ Abulafia, *Mediterranean emporium*, 138, 142–143.

¹²⁷ Dufourcq, "Catalans en Tunisie," 15, 31. See also J. Abun-Nasr, *A History of the Maghrib* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975) 144–145.

tribute has been questioned, but it seems likely that the Ḥafṣids capitulated, especially after the Aragonese seizure of Sicily from Angevin rule in 1282.

A new Ḥafṣid–Aragonese treaty, dated June 13, 1285, renewed earlier concessions for the next fifteen years, and ordered that the Ḥafṣids render an annual tribute of 33,333 and one-third bezants, plus 100,000 to cover back payments for the last three years.¹²⁸ In the same treaty, Peter also claimed rights to a Sicilian *fondaco* in Tunis, a concession that ensured Aragonese commercial control over the critical maritime channel between Sicily and Tunisia. As a further fiscal perk, the Ḥafṣids were to turn over rights to the *gabella* (the concession for the sale of wine, and possibly of other goods) to merchants from the realms of Aragón. It is probable that the reiteration of these lucrative concessions was connected to the fact that a week earlier, on June 5, Peter had signed over half of the revenues from the Tunisian *fondacos* for the next two years to a certain Solomon ibn Zahit (Salamon Abenzahit), a Jew working for the royal court.¹²⁹ In order to preserve sufficient royal profits from the *fondacos*, it was necessary to maximize revenues and restructure arrangements for holding the consulate. In October, Peter dispatched an ambassador to collect the tribute from Tunis, along with a new consul to administer the Catalan and Sicilian *fondacos* and take control of the *gabella*. Instead of collecting a percentage of the *fondaco* profits for himself, this new consul was to be paid a set salary at the king's discretion (“stabitur ad arbitrium et voluntatem nostram”).¹³⁰

Peter III's death soon after this, in November 1285, jeopardized these arrangements, while the demise of both Charles of Anjou and Pope Martin IV shortly thereafter, and a struggle for power within the Ḥafṣid dynasty, further threatened to destabilize the central Mediterranean. Throughout the later 1280s, however, Aragonese rulers continued to keep a sharp eye on *fondacos*, their revenues, and the rights of their merchants to have access to them. In March 1287, King James of Sicily, the younger son of Peter III,

¹²⁸ Capmany, *Memorias*, II, 58–59; Brunschvig, *La Berbérie orientale*, I, 94–95. Josefa Mutgé Vives agreed with Brunschvig's conclusion that the Ḥafṣids did pay this tribute to Aragón, at least briefly (“Algunas noticias sobre las relaciones entre la corona Catalano-Aragonesa y el reino de Tunez de 1345 a 1360,” in *Relaciones de la Península Ibérica con el Maghreb (siglos XIII–XVI)*, ed. M. García-Arenal and M. J. Viguera [Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1988] 144).

¹²⁹ J. Régné, *History of the Jews in Aragón (Regesta and Documents, 1213–1327)* (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, 1978) 250 (no. 1381). Peter made explicit that Solomon was to have revenues from the *fondacos*, but no other rights over these facilities.

¹³⁰ La Mantia (ed.), *Codice diplomatico*, 204–209; Brunschvig, *La Berbérie orientale*, I, 95. Since the exact nature of the *gabella* is not specified, it is difficult to know if it is the same office that was held by the Genoese in 1288–1289 (Pistarino [ed.], *Notai genovesi in Oltremare [1288–1289]*, 3–4), or if each nation had its own *gabella*. A year later, in 1286, the Sicilian consul in Tunis was specifically prohibited from collecting income from the royal *fondaco* without express orders from the king (James II of Sicily) (La Mantia [ed.], *Codice diplomatico*, 299).

sent an embassy to his brother, the new Aragonese ruler Alfonso III, urging peace with the French, although Sicily and other smaller islands, together with the “tribute, *fondaco*, and consulate in Tunis” must remain his own domain.¹³¹ Instead of heeding this advice, a few months later Alfonso III shored up relations with Ḥafṣid Tunis (after a brief Aragonese flirtation with the Marīnid dynasty further to the west), making a treaty in July 1287 with the temporary ruler ‘Abd al-Wāḥid, son of the claimant Abū Ḥafṣ ‘Umar. As part of these negotiations, Alfonso reiterated his own claim to both *fondacos* and to tribute, although he conceded a portion of the latter to his brother. The Arabic text of this treaty promised ongoing rights “to a *funduq* in Tunis with all of the liberties and advantages that such a *funduq* enjoyed, by custom, during the illustrious reign” of James I. It likewise ensured religious freedoms for Latin Christians living in Tunis, and noted the request for payment of 33,333 bezants in tribute to the crown of Aragón (of which 16,000 were to go to James of Sicily).¹³²

Despite this apparent fraternal solidarity, Alfonso was under increasing pressure from the papacy, France, and the Angevins to relinquish Sicily from the realms of Aragón, and arrangements were put in place in early 1291. But Alfonso’s sudden death in June of that year invalidated these negotiations, and put his brother, now James II of Aragón, in control of Sicily, Mallorca, and the mainland realms. After coming to the throne, James II wrote immediately to the Ḥafṣids demanding continued payment of tribute, and he showed that he had no intention of giving up any territory.¹³³ With one ruler now controlling the entire Arago-Catalan empire (both maritime and mainland territories), “Catalan” mercantile endeavors flourished in the western Mediterranean, as did royal revenues.

The Catalan and Sicilian *fondacos* in Tunis continued to be of great strategic and monetary value, and James collected the profits of both until the Treaty of Anagni forced him to relinquish Mallorca and Sicily in 1295. Almost immediately, the Mallorcans demanded their own *fondacos* and consuls in Tunis and other North African ports, a situation that seems to have created some confusion at the Ḥafṣid court. An undated letter from the Ḥafṣid ruler Muḥammad II (1295–1309) to James II referred to the fact that the ruler of Mallorca (presumably James of Mallorca, an uncle of Alfonso III and James II who claimed power on the island after 1298) had written “requesting that [the Mallorcan merchants] have a *funduq* different

¹³¹ La Mantia (ed.), *Codice diplomatico*, 364.

¹³² Alarcón (ed.), *Documentos árabes diplomáticos*, 398. The Latin version of this treaty was published in La Mantia (ed.), *Codice diplomatico*, 377–386 (doc. 167).

¹³³ Brunschvig, *La Berbérie orientale*, 1, 102.

from that of the [merchants] of Barcelona” on the grounds that Mallorca was now a separate realm.¹³⁴ Apparently the Ḥaḥṣīd ruler was unwilling to act without authorization from Barcelona, but in this case the Mallorcan request was justified and they gained their own *fondacos* in Tunis shortly thereafter.

During the course of the thirteenth century, the identity of the *funduq* changed dramatically in those regions of the Iberian Peninsula that were conquered by Christian armies. In both the Crown of Castile and the realms of Aragón, the *alhóndiga* and *fondech* retained attributes of their Muslim predecessor and model, yet these new institutions evolved along different lines to suit the needs of their new Christian contexts. In general, it appears that the fiscal utility of these facilities was perceived as their most valuable asset, and the one most easily transferred across cultural boundaries. Iberian rulers, including Alfonso X of Castile, James I of Aragón, and their heirs, were interested in control over *alhóndigas* and *fondechs* for regulating, storing, and taxing foodstuffs and other commercial goods. Beyond this, these facilities were initially viewed as useful for lodging foreign merchants, just as they had done in Muslim al-Andalus. This attitude changed by the 1280s, however, as it became apparent that the structure of inter-Christian trade fostered more flexible and less restrictive institutions, notably the *loggia*. Thus, the Castilian *alhóndiga* increasingly became a facility devoted to the regulation of goods, although the Arago-Catalan *fondech* still served the needs of cross-cultural commerce and lodging in cities where Muslim merchants continued to do business.

As the Arago-Catalan economic and political sphere stretched eastward across the Mediterranean in the later thirteenth century, Aragonese merchants and rulers encountered *fondacos* in North Africa and in Sicily. In both regions, their familiarity with the commercial and fiscal structure of *fondechs* at home inflected their understanding of parallel institutions abroad. In Tunis and several other Ḥaḥṣīd cities, James I and his successors took the upper hand in the financial administration and governance of local *fondacos* for Catalan merchants. Meanwhile, in Sicily, they encountered *fondacos* in an already christianized form and incorporated these facilities into their administrative policies.

Iberia was not the only Mediterranean region in which Muslim urban institutions were adapted by Christian administrations in the wake of

¹³⁴ Alarcón (ed.), *Documentos árabes diplomáticos*, 400–401. Alarcón suggested a date of 1295, immediately after Muḥammad II attained the throne. This is possible, but a date shortly after 1298 seems more likely. See also Abulafia, *Mediterranean Emporium*, 12.

military conquest. Sicily had been a Muslim territory before its conquest by the Normans in the eleventh century. The *funduqs* in Sicilian cities had sustained a parallel but rather different experience of adaption and latinization under Norman and Hohenstaufen rule in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries. Still further east, in Syria and Palestine, *funduqs* in crusader cities also underwent a similar yet distinct process of integration and evolution under Christian rule. The points of difference and (even more strikingly) the aspects of similarity between the christianization of *funduqs* in the western, central, and eastern Mediterranean tell a great deal about the flexibility and utility of this fiscal and commercial institution.

Fondacos in Sicily, south Italy, and the Crusader states

The last chapter examined the consequences of Christian conquest on commercial spaces – specifically *funduqs* – in the Iberian Peninsula during the period from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries. But this was not the only region of the Mediterranean world where incoming Christian conquerors encountered and embraced these institutions. In 1080, the Norman leader Robert Guiscard granted a *fondaco* in Amalfi, with all of its appurtenances, to the monastery of Montecassino. This grant was confirmed by his son, Duke Roger, a decade later, and continued to be cited in papal documents through the next century.¹ Like the contemporary *funduq* in Valencia, granted to the city's cathedral by Rodrigo Diaz in the 1090s and reconfirmed by his widow Jimena in 1101, this building in Amalfi was evidently a lucrative facility and thus worthy of both donation and repeated notation. In the eastern Mediterranean, Bohemond of Taranto – the crusader son of Robert Guiscard – likewise granted a *fondaco* to Genoese merchants in Antioch in 1098, shortly after his capture of this city. Possibly this gift reflected the continuation of privileges that Genoese merchants had already enjoyed under Muslim rule (as would later be the case in post-conquest Seville). This Genoese *fondaco* in Antioch was the first of many similar facilities that would be granted to western merchant communities in crusader cities during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The value of these *fondacos* is demonstrated by their proliferation. This chapter will

¹ Grants by Robert and Roger were recorded in the *Chronicle of Montecassino* by Leo Marsicanus and Peter Deacon, ed. Hartmut Hoffman, MGH, *Scriptores* 34 (Hanover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1980) 439, 475; also *PL*, CLXXIII, 795C and 833A. Perhaps Robert Guiscard's marriage to the Lombard princess Sikelgaita accelerated his recognition and assimilation of local institutions. On this *fondaco*, see Henry M. Willard, "The *Fundicus*, a Port Facility of Montecassino in Medieval Amalfi," *Benedictina* 19 (1972) 253–61. Papal documents from 1097 to 1208 mention this *fondaco* (Willard, "The *Fundicus*," 257; also *PL*, CLXII, 147A (Paschal II in 1105), 1252B (Calixtus II in 1122), CC, 77D (Alexander III in 1159), CCXV, 1597A (Innocent III in 1208). By 1280, this *fondaco* no longer belonged to Montecassino, although it was still associated with the abbey (R. Filangieri di Candida [ed.], *Codice diplomatico amalfitano* [Trani: Vecchi, 1951] 177). It is likely that this *fondaco* was destroyed along with much of the lower town of Amalfi by a devastating storm in 1343 (Willard, "The *Fundicus*," 261).

examine the evolution of the *funduq* under Christian rule in Sicily, south Italy, and the Crusader states, and will survey the ways in which this Muslim institution was adapted to suit the fiscal, commercial, and regulatory needs of new Christian administrations in these regions.

CHRISTIANIZING THE *FUNDUQ* IN SICILY
AND SOUTHERN ITALY

Muslim *funduqs* in Sicily and Spain were probably very similar in the period before the eleventh century. Arabic sources provide considerably better data on Andalusī *funduqs*, however, since socio-economic materials from Muslim Sicily are notoriously scarce. Even Ibn Ḥawqal, who left a detailed description of Palermo in 973, meticulously listed its various markets but mentioned no *funduqs* in the city. On the other hand, since he explicitly remarked on the lack of *funduqs* and markets in the neighboring suburb of Khalisa, this may imply their presence in Palermo.² Unfortunately, there has been no archeological work to confirm the existence or evolution of particular hostelries under either Muslim or Christian rule.³

Sicily came under Christian rule during the second half of the eleventh century, when it was conquered by Norman forces led by the brothers Robert and Roger Guiscard. At the same time, the Normans also wrested parts of southern Italy from Byzantine and Lombard control, and thus linked these two realms. Both the Arabic *funduq* and Greek *foundax* were probably established in south Italy at this time, and it is possible that some version of the *fondaco* was also familiar through early trading contacts between Amalfi and Egypt.

There is little evidence for the process of assimilating these institutions under early Norman rule. However, it is well established that the Norman court, chancery, and treasury incorporated Byzantine and Muslim institutions and administrative forms, as well as ones imported from northern Europe.⁴ It is unlikely that the astute administrators of the Norman court, many of whom were Greeks and Muslims well acquainted with earlier practice, would have overlooked the potential revenues from *funduqs* in

² Ibn Ḥawqal, *Kitāb ṣurat al-'ard*, 119.

³ Geneviève and Henri Bresc have remarked on the need for archeological work in linking Christian Sicilian *fondacos* with earlier counterparts ("*Fondaco* et taverne de la Sicile médiévale," in *Hommage à Geneviève Chevrier et Alain Geslan. Etudes médiévales*, ed. Joëlle Burnouf et al. [Strasbourg: Centre d'archéologie médiévale de Strasbourg, 1975] 101–102). I am also grateful to Jeremy Johns for his advice on this question.

⁴ On links between Fāṭimid administrative models and the Norman court, see Jeremy Johns, *Arabic Administration in Norman Sicily* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

their realms. Certainly, Robert Guiscard's grant of the *fondaco* in Amalfi to Montecassino, in 1080, indicates an early recognition of the value of such facilities. Other patrons also cited them among grants to religious houses. A slightly later grant to Montecassino by Duke William in 1114 conceded another *fondaco* in the port area of Salerno, with all of its appurtenances. Its location "ad portam maris" suggests income accruing from lodging and trade.⁵ In 1143, George of Antioch, the chancellor to Roger II, included two *funduqs* in Palermo among gifts to the newly established church of Santa Maria dell'Ammiraglio.⁶

Fondacos appear more clearly in Christian Sicily and south Italy during the second half of the twelfth century, by which point the institution took several familiar forms, serving not only as a hostelry for merchants and other travelers, but also as a warehouse, customs-house, and commercial exchange. These functions had links to Arabic prototypes, as is evident in the geographer al-Idrīsī's formulaic description of Palermo in the 1150s. Writing under the patronage of Roger II, al-Idrīsī must have been intimately familiar with the buildings and topography of the Norman capital, yet he wrote of it using precisely the same terms ("with many mosques, *funduqs*, bath houses, and shops for merchants") with which Muslim geographers traditionally described Islamic cities throughout the Mediterranean sphere.⁷

When the Muslim traveler Ibn Jubayr arrived in Sicily in the 1180s, on his way home to Spain from the Near East, the island had already been under Norman rule for over a century. Nevertheless, Ibn Jubayr described Sicilian *funduqs* in much the same terms as those he had recently encountered in Egypt and Syria, and he lodged in *funduqs* in Messina, Termini, and Palermo.⁸ In each city, he remarked that he spent the night "in one of the *funduqs*," implying that there were a number of such hostelries. In Palermo, he added that the *funduq* in which he lodged was the one "used by the Muslims." It is unclear from his comment whether this was required by Norman authorities, not unlike the practice in Christian *fondacos* in Muslim cities and later in the Muslim *fondechs* in the Crown of Aragón, or if it was according to the preference of the Muslim merchants themselves, reflecting the regional, religious, and occupational segregation long common in *funduqs* in the Islamic world.

⁵ Tommaso Leccisotti (ed.), *Le Colonie cassinesi in Capitanata*, IV: *Troia* (Montecassino: Miscellanea Cassinese, 1957) 87.

⁶ Johns, *Arabic Administration*, 110. Since George of Antioch had lived in both Syria and the Maghrib (*ibid.*, 80–86), he would have been familiar with *funduqs* in the Muslim world and with the common practice of including commercial buildings in *waqf* endowments for mosques.

⁷ Al-Idrīsī, *Kiṭāb nuzhat*, 591.

⁸ Ibn Jubayr, *Rihla*, 327, 331, 333; *Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, 343, 347, 350.

There is also other evidence of twelfth-century *fondacos* in Palermo and elsewhere. In December 1183, at about the same time that Ibn Jubayr visited the Norman capital, a text recording the gift of a garden to the monastery of Santa Maria della Grotta in Palermo described it as bordered on one side by a “fundaci olagiorum.”⁹ The meaning of this name is debatable; it may have been a privately owned *fondaco*, or hostel, but more likely it was a *fondaco* for olive oil, or perhaps for traders in olive oil, very like similar facilities in Muslim towns and later in Christian Iberia. A decade later, in Messina, a grant made by the Emperor Henry VI in 1195 mentioned a property as located “ante fundacum magnum.” This must have been a recognizable landmark, though its function, and whether it was *the* large *fondaco* or merely a large *fondaco*, remain obscure.¹⁰

The Greek term *foundax* also appears in documents from Palermo from roughly the same period, testifying not only to the multicultural context of the city, but also to the ongoing potential for overlap and influence between Arabic, Greek, and Latin usage. The exact function of these facilities is unclear, and perhaps use of the term *foundax* simply reflects a Greek notary’s on-the-spot translation of *funduq* or *fondaco*. Certainly, these buildings appear similar to other contemporary *fondacos* in Palermo in terms of their perceived value and physical structure.¹¹ A *foundax* appeared in a donation text from Palermo in 1153, when it was granted to a monastery by a married couple and their son. More than a simple building, this was a complex enclosing several houses, a well, and an orchard – perhaps comparable to the earlier *fondacos* and appurtenances (*pertinentiis*) given to Montecassino by Robert Guiscard and his heirs. A second document, dated 1196, mentioned the sale of part of another *foundax* in Palermo.¹²

Although Norman rulers recognized the value of *fondacos*, their administration and control of these facilities was unsystematic and often ineffectual.¹³ In 1190, for example, a *fondaco* appears in a series of four letters sent by Tancred to Nicholas, archbishop of Salerno, disputing possession of this structure. In June, the king wrote requesting that the tithe on wine

⁹ C. A. Garufi (ed.), *I Documenti inediti dell’epoca normana in Sicilia* (Palermo: Società Siciliana per la Storia Patria, 1899) 195–196.

¹⁰ D. Clementi, “Calendar of the Diplomas of the Hohenstaufen Emperor Henry VI concerning the Kingdom of Sicily,” *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 35 (1955) 141.

¹¹ Although there is no reason to link these twelfth-century facilities in Palermo to the grain *foundax* established in Constantinople in the 1080s, the word *foundax* survived in twelfth-century Byzantine Greek usage.

¹² S. Cusa (ed.), *I Diplomi Greci ed Arabi di Sicilia* (Palermo: Stabilimento Tip. Lao, 1868) 87–88 (no. 171); 31–33 (no. 92).

¹³ See comments in David Abulafia, “The Crown and the Economy under Roger II and his Successors,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 27 (1983) 1.

and food that was customarily paid to the church in Salerno should be rendered to the royal fisc in exchange for an earlier debt of 50 gold *tari*. At the same time, Tancred also required that Nicholas hand over a *fondaco* held by the church, which was located in the main square of Salerno, with all of its shops, buildings, and apartments.¹⁴ Like other roughly contemporary *fondacos*, this facility apparently encompassed a complex of buildings, including spaces for commerce and lodging. It must have been a valuable asset and was probably of substantial size. The property had originally been given to the Salernitan church, but the king now wished its return to the crown. Apparently the archbishop dragged his feet over the exchange, forcing Tancred to dispatch further missives in August and October.

Tancred's letters confirm that in Sicily and south Italy, as in Iberia and the Muslim world, the *fondaco* was considered a lucrative royal asset. Norman kings and their administrators recognized its potential, as did later Hohenstaufen and Angevin rulers, and the institution appears in royal legislation and tax codes (as well as private contracts) with increasing frequency in the thirteenth century and later.

When the young Hohenstaufen emperor Frederick II attained his majority, he immediately set to work to revise and reinstate Sicilian legislation that had fallen into disarray, and to regain control over feudal holdings lost since the end of Norman rule and during his own minority. It is at this point that the Sicilian and south Italian *fondacos* come more clearly into view in our sources. Although the institution had been under Christian rule for a century and a half, its true process of christianization and assimilation dated to the thirteenth century. Like his contemporary, James I, Frederick took pains to bring administrative and fiscal facilities, including *fondacos*, under more direct administration by the crown. He established a set number of royally administered *fondacos*, and reclaimed several Norman royal facilities that had fallen into clerical or private hands. Although the legislation of Frederick II and his successors often cited Norman precedent, it demonstrated a much more dominant and proprietary royal attitude toward fiscal institutions in the realm. As described by David Abulafia, Frederick's new regulations for *fondacos* "brought order and standardization to what had previously been an ill-organized structure of control."¹⁵

¹⁴ "Fundicum pertinens Salernite ecclesie, quod est in platea maiori Salerni, cum omnibus apotecis et edificis et tenimentis suis": H. Zielinski (ed.), *Tancredi et Willelmi III regum diplomata* (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 1982) 10–12 (doc. 4), 13–15 (doc. 5), 20–21 (doc. 7), 22–23 (doc. 8). This must have been a different *fondaco* from the one noted in the port area of Salerno in 1114.

¹⁵ David Abulafia, *Frederick II: A Medieval Emperor* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2nd ed., 1992) 216. Also on Frederick II's *fondaco* policies, see G. Paolucci, "Le finanze e la corte di Federico II di Svevia," *Atti della Reale Accademia di Scienze, Lettere e Belle Arti di Palermo* 3rd series, 7 (1904) 16–27.

This work began during the 1220s, with the Diet of Capua (1221), and continued with the promulgation of the *Constitutions of Melfi* (*Liber Augustalis*) in 1231 and after, a legal compendium combining earlier Norman legislation with a unified imperial vision and the elegant vocabulary of Roman legal tradition. Additions to the *Constitutions of Melfi* in 1246 included a chapter relating to *fondacos* and their administration (“de fundicariis,” book I, title LXXXIX), regulating traffic and taxation of iron, steel, salt, and other commodities passing through Sicilian *fondacos*.¹⁶ These particular items were often the subject of regalian monopolies, and, as we have seen, were similarly associated with *fondacos* in Castile and other regions. Elsewhere, Frederick also noted merchants selling textiles in royal *fondacos* (“fundicis nostris”) in 1241.¹⁷ Other legislation likewise emphasized the emperor’s ambition to fix prices, regulate *fondacos*, and control their revenues. In May 1231, two royal chamberlains were dispatched to repossess a large *fondaco* on Ischia and another smaller *fondaco*, both of which had been part of the royal domain in the time of the last Norman ruler, William III.¹⁸ A few months later, in August 1231, a list of tariff revisions concluded with a list of official *fondacos* for storing and taxing goods, of which there were to be four in Messina, two in Syracuse, and the same number “as there currently are” (“sicut est”) in Palermo.¹⁹

Frederick II’s pragmatic legislation documents the *fondaco* as a commercial and fiscal enterprise of the crown, specifically concerned with the control of certain commodities. Title 89 in the *Constitutions of Melfi* even added that once a merchant had placed his goods in a *fondaco*, as required, then he was free to seek his own accommodation in the city. Nevertheless, a broad set of earlier regulations promulgated in October 1232 indicates that *fondacos* in Frederick’s realm had functioned as sites for both lodging and commerce. According to these rules, the custodians of *fondacos* must

¹⁶ This text has been edited a number of times, most recently see (Frederick II), *Die Konstitutionen Friedrichs II. für das Königreich Sizilien*, ed. Wolfgang Stürner, MGH (Hanover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1996) 264–266; also (Frederick II), *Die Konstitutionen Friedrichs II. Von Hohenstaufen für sein Königreich sizilien*, ed. Hermann Conrad, Thea von der Lieck-Buyken, and Wolfgang Wagner, II (Cologne and Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 1973) 136–137; and (Frederick II), *Historia diplomatica Friderici Secundi, sive constitutiones, privilegia, mandata, instrumenta quae supersunt istius Imperatoris et filiorum ejus*, ed. J. L. A. Huillard-Bréholles (Paris: Henri Plon, 1852–1860) IV, 211–212. My thanks to James Powell for his advice on this section.

¹⁷ E. Winkelmann (ed.), *Acta Imperii inedita saeculi XIII et XIV. Urkunden und Briefe zur Geschichte des Kaiserreichs und des Königreichs sizilien*, I (Innsbruck: Neudr. d. Ausg., 1880; repr. Aalen: Scientia Verlag, 1964) 655 (doc. 853).

¹⁸ “Revocont ad demanium curie fundicum Iscle et fundicum parvum domne Trocce, sicut ipsa fundica fuerunt in demanio tempore regis Guillelmi”: Winkelmann (ed.), *Acta Imperii inedita*, 612 (doc. 781).

¹⁹ Winkelmann (ed.), *Acta Imperii inedita*, 616–617 (doc. 790).

not only provide scales for weighing goods, and charge established fees for their use, but they must also supply beds, lights, blankets, and firewood to their merchant guests.²⁰ Likewise, a decree to the royal *fondaco* in Naples in September 1231 had referred to “guests who lodge in the *fondacos* of others when our royal *fondacos* (*fundici nostri*) are full.”²¹ Thus, it appears that merchants were supposed to stay in royal hostelries whenever beds were available, and that there were also privately run *fondacos* to accommodate any commercial overflow. There are clear parallels here – in both proprietary language and lodging regulations – with contemporary legislation in the crown of Aragón. Private *fondacos* in Sicily could also be appropriated for lodging by royal order, as later when a certain Balduccius, a *fundicarius* in Palermo, was required to stable several horses in his *fondaco* “according to the usage of *fondacos* for lodging and the requisition of the court” in 1298.²² This type of regulation in the thirteenth century suggests that Ibn Jubayr’s comment in the late twelfth century regarding the *funduq* “used by the Muslims” in Palermo did refer to a legal requirement that Muslim travelers lodge in this facility.

FONDACOS FOR FOREIGN MERCHANT COMMUNITIES

Just as Muslim merchants and travelers may have lodged in a particular *fondaco* in Palermo, northern Italian merchants also sought to have *fondacos* in Sicilian cities under Norman and early Hohenstaufen rule. These facilities were apparently similar to Genoese, Pisan, and Venetian *fondacos* elsewhere in the Mediterranean world during the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, but there are no data to show whether Christian merchants had once had such facilities in Muslim Sicily.²³ In 1116, however, a document from Roger II, in Greek, granted land in Messina to two Genoese merchants for building – or perhaps rebuilding – an *ospition*, or lodging-house. This appears to have been a personal grant to these individuals, rather than a concession to Genoa, but it indicates the presence of Genoese traders on the

²⁰ Richard of San Germano, *Chronicon*, in L. A. Muratori (eds.), *Rerum Italicarum scriptores* (Milan: Typi Societatis Palatinae, 1723–1751) vii, 1030. Also in G. Del Re (ed.), *Cronisti e scrittori sincroni della dominazione normanna nel regno di Puglia e Sicilia* (Naples: Stamperia dell’Iride, 1868; repr. Aalen: Scientia Verlag, 1975) II, 76.

²¹ Winkelmann (ed.), *Acta Imperii inedita*, 620 (no. 793).

²² Adamo de Citella, *Imbreviature*, II, 3 (doc. 1).

²³ Although there were surely Muslim *funduqs* on the island before the eleventh century, the Norman conquest took place before the earliest reference to a Christian mercantile *fondaco* anywhere in the Mediterranean. The earliest reference is from 1098 in Antioch (see final section of this chapter).

island, even if not a *fondaco* per se.²⁴ Venetian merchants were also present, and apparently had a church in Palermo by the 1140s, though there was no specific mention of a Venetian *fondaco*.²⁵

In 1162, however, the German emperor Frederick I suddenly promised Genoa the standard package of concessions – the rights to consuls, reduced taxes, exclusive access, and a “street for their merchants with a church, bath, *fondaco* and oven” – in return for Genoese help in wresting Syracuse and other cities from Norman control. At the same time, he offered similar concessions and incentives to Pisa.²⁶ This promise must be understood in the context of imperial political ambitions, and Frederick Barbarossa never had the opportunity to fulfill this pledge. However, the date of the promise and list of facilities are strikingly similar to those of contemporary grants to Italian merchants in other cities around the Mediterranean in the middle of the twelfth century. The familiar reiteration of church, bath, oven, and *fondaco* suggests that the list originated in standard Genoese demands, based on precedents in Iberia, Byzantium, and the Muslim world, rather than in a package of imperial incentives imported from a northern context.

By the late twelfth century, Italian merchants were well established in Sicily and south Italy, where they gained advantageous trade concessions from the new Hohenstaufen rulers in return for their later support of the German takeover from Norman rule. North Italian interests were concentrated in eastern Sicily and south Italy, particularly along routes through the Straits of Messina, and they do not appear to have either requested or received *fondacos* in Palermo. Instead, Genoese, Pisan, and Florentine merchants had establishments in Messina by the last decade of the century, and Italian consuls appear in Messina in 1189.²⁷ In 1191, Henry IV promised Pisa a street with houses for the use of Pisan merchants, apparently renewing concessions granted by Tancred.²⁸ By 1194, rivalry between Genoese and Pisan merchants in Messina even led to violence, as Pisans attacked and took possession of the Genoese *fondaco* of St. John, and looted a number

²⁴ Cusa (ed.), *I Diplomi greci ed arabi*, 359–360 (no. 33); David Abulafia, “Pisan Commercial Colonies and Consulates in Twelfth-century Sicily,” *English Historical Review* 93 (1978) 70.

²⁵ Abulafia, “Pisan Commercial Colonies,” 71.

²⁶ *Liber iurium Reipublicae Genuensis*, 1 (no. 236) cols. 207–210; Lisciandrelli, *Trattati e negoziazioni* (no. 53); (Frederick I), *Friderici I. Diplomata*, ed. H. Appelt, MGH Diplomata (Hanover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1979) 200, 222. Also F. Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination normande en Italie et en Sicilie* (Paris: A. Picard et fils, 1907) II, 296–297. Shortly before this, in 1156, Genoa had concluded a treaty with the Norman king William I, promising neutrality.

²⁷ Abulafia, “Pisan Commercial Colonies,” 68, 75, 78.

²⁸ “Rugam unum com domibus convenientem Pisanis mercatoribus”: MGH, Legum sectio IV, ed. L. Weiland (Hanover, 1893) 474 (no. 333).

of private houses belonging to Genoese traders.²⁹ These actions mirrored events in Constantinople, where Pisans had sacked the Genoese *fondaco* thirty years before, and demonstrate the degree to which the *fondaco* buildings were seen as the heart of commercial activity and communal identity abroad in the later twelfth century. However, the fact that Genoese houses were attacked in 1194, as well as their *fondaco*, makes clear that Christian merchants in Sicily were not confined to lodging within one building, as in Muslim cities, but were permitted to own houses and other real estate. A diploma in the name of Frederick II, dated December 1200, confirmed this access to a variety of properties, since it granted houses (each designated *domum*) to the Genoese in three Sicilian cities (Messina, Trapani, and Syracuse), together with rights to trade in the royal *fondaco* (“fundicum nostrum”) in Naples.³⁰

Northern Italian merchants continued to do business in the *fondacos* in Sicily and southern Italy throughout Frederick II's reign, although at times relations were strained, especially with the Genoese. In 1220, Genoese merchants lost their privileges in the region for a period, including their rights to the Margaritus palace in Messina, which had been given to them in 1200 (possibly as a replacement for the *fondaco* taken over by the Pisans in 1194).³¹ Pisans, however, remained allies of the emperor and continued to traffic in Messina. A contract written in San Gimignano in 1232 concerned local merchants trading pepper in Messina and mentioned that they went to the Pisan *fondaco* in the city. Ten years later, in 1243, another contract from San Gimignano was sent to the Pisan *fondaco* in Naples, a city where Florentines also had a *fondaco* of their own.³² These data lend veracity to a tale in Boccaccio's *Decameron* which begins “In Messina there once lived three brothers, all of them merchants who had been left very rich after the death of their father, whose native town was San Gimignano . . . in one of

²⁹ Caffaro, *Annali Genovesi*, II, 48.

³⁰ (Frederick II), *Historia diplomatica*, I, 66; Imperiale di Sant' Angelo (ed.), *Codice diplomatico*, III, 183–186 (doc. 72). See also J. M. Powell, “Medieval Monarchy and Trade: The Economic Policy of Frederick II in the Kingdom of Sicily,” *Studi Medievali* 3rd series, 3 (1962) 447.

³¹ Caffaro, *Annali Genovesi*, II, 171. This building had probably belonged to Margaritus of Brindisi, admiral of the Norman fleet from 1184 to 1194, before he was captured by Emperor Henry VI. The emperor then gave the building briefly to the Genoese in 1200, until relations broke down. Genoese trading activities in the *regno* were restored in 1245. The Constitutions of Capua, in 1220, revoked all concessions granted since the death of William II in 1189, including Genoese privileges gained during Frederick II's minority. See J. M. Powell, “Genoese Policy and the Kingdom of Sicily,” *Mediaeval Studies* 28 (1966) 346–349, and Powell, “Medieval Monarchy and Trade,” 500–502.

³² R. Davidsohn, *Forschungen zur Geschichte von Florenz* (Berlin: Ernst Siegfried Mittler & Sohn, 1900) II, 305 (no. 2324) June 7, 1232, 306 (no. 2327) Nov. 4, 1243. Another document from June 1242 (Winkelman [ed.], *Acta Imperii inedita*, 681 [doc. 897]) also mentioned Pisan merchants selling wood and vegetables in the *fondacos* in Naples.

their *fondacos* (*in uno lor fondaco*) the three brothers employed a young Pisan named Lorenzo, who planned and directed all of their operations . . .”³³

By the second half of the thirteenth century, as in Iberian cities at the end of the century, the *fondaco* dropped from the list of desirable assets granted to foreign traders in Sicily and southern Italy. Instead, the *loggia* appeared in its place. In 1259 and 1261, Manfred granted the Genoese *loggias* in Messina, Syracuse, Naples, and other towns, and added that wherever they had a *loggia* they might also have consuls who would have jurisdiction over the Genoese community.³⁴ Likewise, although merchants from Marseille already had a *fondaco* in Messina in 1269, early in the reign of Charles of Anjou, the king permitted them to build *loggias* in Messina, Trapani, Palermo, Syracuse, and Naples during the later 1270s.³⁵ Other sources confirm this shift in terminology under Angevin and Aragonese administration during the later thirteenth century, mentioning *loggias* in Sicily and south Italy belonging to merchants from Genoa, Amalfi, Pisa, Venice, Montpellier, and Narbonne.³⁶ In 1286, two years after Catalan merchants received a *loggia* in Seville, King James of Sicily requisitioned a house in Messina on the grounds that it was built too close to the “logiam Cathalanorum” – a facility recently commissioned by the same king – and thus might harm the business affairs of the *loggia*.³⁷

This evidence from Sicily and south Italy shows a pattern in the adoption of the *loggia* similar to that in Spain (see chapter 5). Functionally, the late thirteenth-century *loggia* was not unlike the earlier *fondaco*, in the sense of being a lodging and business facility associated with a particular national community, administered by consuls, and often under royal oversight. However, the chronological succession of the two terms indicates a

³³ G. Boccaccio, *The Decameron*, Fourth Day, fifth story, 4–5 (Novara: Istituto geografico de Agostini, 1962) 1, 436, trans. G. H. McWilliam (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1972) 366. Although Boccaccio was using the term *fondaco* more in its fourteenth-century Tuscan sense – as a branch of a privately owned commercial firm, with its own manager (see chap. 9) – his contemporary audience would have appreciated the verisimilitude of his setting. Boccaccio was familiar with his subject, since he had himself been an apprentice in a commercial firm in Naples as a young man.

³⁴ “In quacunque civitate regni habent logias genuenses possint habere suos consules”: Q. Sella (ed.), *Pandetta delle gabelle e dei diritti della curia di Messina* (Turin: Stamperia Reale, 1870) 93; *Liber Iurium Reipublicae Genuensis*, 1 (no. 944) cols. 1346–1349.

³⁵ Georges Lesage, *Marseille angevine* (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1950) 100–101.

³⁶ “Logiam Amalfie maritime Panormi,” 1287 (Adamo de Citella, *Imbreviature*, 1, 118–119 [no. 185]); “apothecam suam sittam retro logiam Ianue,” 1287 (*ibid.*, 124 [no. 194]); “Actum Neapoli prope logiam Pisanorum,” 1294 (F. Artizzu [ed.], *Documenti inediti relativi ai rapporti economici tra la Sardegna e Pisa nel medioevo* [Padua: Casa Editrice Dott. Antonio Milani, 1962] 1, 32 [no. 23]); “logiam Pisanorum Panormi,” 1298 (Adamo de Citella, *Imbreviature*, 11, 160 [no. 160]); *loggias* of merchants from Montpellier and Narbonne, 1300 (Sella [ed.], *Pandetta delle gabelle*, 136, 138).

³⁷ La Mantia (ed.), *Codice diplomatico*, 323.

pervasive and conscious shift in terminology that went hand in hand with changes in the political, religious, and commercial context.

FONDACOS AND THE ROYAL FISC

Despite the increasing prevalence of *loggias* for foreign merchants, *fondacos* continued to flourish as private warehouses and official commercial facilities in Sicily and south Italy. The differentiation between the two is evident in a contract written by the Palermitan notary Adamo de Citella in 1299 describing a house as being “behind the Pisan *loggia* in Palermo and between a house on one side and the *fondaco* of Bonfilii de Lampo on the other side.”³⁸

As in Castile, christianization had brought an increased focus on commodities, storage, sales, assessment, and taxation rather than lodging. The *Constitutions of Melfi* had laid down rules for the sale and resale of salt, iron, steel, and other exported goods (though not foodstuffs) brought through royal *fondacos* and handled by royally appointed officers (called *fundicarius* or *fundegarius*). A tariff list for Naples, from 1231, ruled that “all goods that are brought for sale into the realm either by men of the realm or by foreigners, either by land or by sea, must be brought to the [official] *fondacos*” in order that toll might be paid. The text continued by establishing different tolls for linen, silk, and other imported goods, indicating that Muslim merchants were to pay higher fees than their Christian counterparts.³⁹ Other items also came through the *fondacos*, including wood, a variety of textiles, tiles, olive oil, grapes, vegetables, hemp, flax, wheat, and barley.⁴⁰ The spectrum of these commodities was similar to the range of items associated with *funduqs* in the Islamic world and *alhóndigas* in Castile, where these facilities also served as warehouses, emporia, and points for weighing and taxation.

In Sicily and south Italy, the tax in question was the *ius fundici*, one of the many commercial tolls collected by the crown. This tariff was paid by the buyer of imported goods at the time of a sale (usually 2.5 or 3 percent

³⁸ Adamo de Citella, *Imbreviature*, II, 160 (no. 160).

³⁹ Winkelmann (ed.), *Acta Imperii inedita*, 616–617 (no. 790).

⁴⁰ In July 1231, Frederick required that one-twelfth of the harvest of grain, vegetables, flax, and hemp must be brought directly to royal warehouses (Winkelmann [ed.], *Acta Imperii inedita*, 615 [doc. 787]). Later, in June, 1242, Pisan merchants were mentioned coming to the *fondacos* in Naples for wood and vegetables (*ibid.*, 681 [doc. 897]); during 1286 and 1287, Simon de Pactis, a *fundicarius* in Palermo, was regularly involved in transactions of wheat, barley, tiles, and grapes (Adamo de Citella, *Imbreviature*, I, 28, 35, 65, 67, 79, 87–90, 170); Pegolotti mentioned oil stored in *fondacos* in Apulia in the early fourteenth century (Pegolotti, *La pratica della mercatura*, 163).

of value), while another tax, the *ius dogane* (at the same rate), was paid by merchants carrying and selling imported and exported goods. The *ius fundici* was thus explicitly connected with sales of imported items, and was paid only at the point when goods were sold and left the *fondaco* (hence the aphorism “you pay the *fondaco* tax once, but the customs tax a hundred times”).⁴¹ This supports the conclusion that the facilities themselves were primarily viewed as warehouses and emporia.

As with other commercial regulations, these taxes were regularized and increased under the watchful oversight of Frederick II and his successors.⁴² Instructions issued in 1231 for tax-collectors in Trani and Barletta explained that “foreigners who sell goods pay *ius dohane* on the sale, and if they buy other goods with the money received for these sales, then they pay *ius fundici*.” Local people who bought goods “in a *fondaco*” were also to pay *ius fundici*, as were other merchants, including “Muslims of the realm, who are to pay the *iura fundici et dohane* just as Christian merchants.” However, “both citizens and foreigners who bring goods to a *fondaco* and are unable to sell them, may carry them away without any payment of the *ius fundici*” since no transaction had occurred.⁴³ This text exempted certain goods (oil, cheese, wine, and meat) from these regulations, on the grounds that special rules applied to them, but later tax statutes included these items. Particular merchant groups might also obtain exemptions from time to time, as when Manfred released merchants from Fermo from payment of the *ius fundici* and other imposts in 1264.⁴⁴ Legislation promulgated by Charles of Anjou, in about 1275, established taxes paid by buyers for various types of merchandise, including oil, cheese, iron, steel, silk, and salted meat (but specifically not live animals) that owed the *ius fundici*. Rates were set in ounces of gold (Sicilian *tari*) paid according to the weight of the goods, which was assessed using the official scales in the *fondaco*.⁴⁵ This system was still in place in the early fourteenth century, when Pegolotti recorded rates and tariffs from all over the Mediterranean in his handbook of merchant practice (written 1310–1340). Pegolotti listed the *doana* and *fondaco* among names for taxes “per tutta Cicilia e per tutto il regno di Puglia,” explaining also that “whenever merchandise is sold” in Apulia or Naples, foreigners

⁴¹ “Uno essere il fondacho, e cento le dohane”: Abulafia, “Crown and Economy,” 9.

⁴² For further details, see W. A. Percy, “The Revenues of the Kingdom of Sicily under Charles I of Anjou, 1266–1285 and their Relationship to the Vespers,” Ph.D. dissertation (Princeton: Princeton University, 1964) 285–7. Also W. A. Percy, “The Indirect Taxes of the Medieval Kingdom of Sicily,” *Italian Quarterly* 85 (1981) 73–85.

⁴³ Winkelmann (ed.), *Acta Imperii inedita*, 619 (doc. 792).

⁴⁴ Winkelmann (ed.), *Acta Imperii inedita*, 419 (doc. 505).

⁴⁵ Winkelmann (ed.), *Acta Imperii inedita*, 759 (doc. 999).

must pay one rate for *fondacaggio*, while local traders were charged another rate.⁴⁶

The appearance of the *ius fundici* in Sicily and south Italy, and these clear records of its application, present intriguing possibilities for illuminating undocumented procedures in an earlier period. Taxes on sales in *fondacos* presumably increased the later retail price of certain goods, but because sellers were required to do business through these depots, *fondaco* sales continued to flourish. This phenomenon, by which prices were kept artificially higher than those in an open market, was also a peculiar characteristic of early Muslim *funduqs*. For example, the ninth-century jurist Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar (writing not in Sicily, but across the straits in Tunisia) complained that prices were higher in *funduqs* than in the *sūqs*.⁴⁷ Perhaps a similar tax structure and inflation was at work over a long period in both the Maghrib and Sicily, and the thirteenth-century *ius fundici* was simply a continuation of an earlier Muslim tariff on goods passing through *funduqs*.

The administration of state *fondacos* in Sicily and south Italy, the provision of lodging and storage facilities, and the collection of the *ius fundici* were entrusted to royal officers. These officials, called *fundicarii*, were among the administrative positions reorganized by Frederick II in his reform policies, and special emphasis was placed on the requirement that these be trustworthy and upright men, who were faithful to the crown. The revenues flowing through *fondacos* in Sicily, as elsewhere, could be very tempting and royal legislation sought to prevent corruption either among the *fundicarii* or any others doing business within the royal *fondacos*. All transactions in the *fondacos* and goods passing through had to be thoroughly documented in writing in order to avoid the possibility of abuse, double-taxation, or evasion of the system. This was established in the *Constitutions of Melfi*, and repeated, in varying forms, in later legislation.⁴⁸

When Charles of Anjou took control of Sicily in 1266, he was faced with the task of realigning the institutional and administrative infrastructure to suit his own political and fiscal agenda.⁴⁹ Like other rulers before and during the thirteenth century, he was concerned with the needs of his treasury, and according to Jean Dunbabin, “he inherited a system geared to the enrichment of the ruler by the exaction of customs dues and by the

⁴⁶ Pegolotti, *La pratica della mercatura*, 15, 161–162.

⁴⁷ Al-Wansharīsi, *Miʿyār*, vi, 426.

⁴⁸ (Frederick II), *Die Konstitutionen Friederichs II*, book 1, title LXXXIX; Winkelmann (ed.), *Acta Imperii inedita*, 655 (doc. 853). Compare James I’s contemporary ordinances in the realms of Aragón.

⁴⁹ On these and other Angevin economic methods, see John Pryor, “Foreign Policy and Economic Policy: The Angevins and the Economic Decline of Southern Italy, 1266–1343,” in *Principalities, Powers, and Estates. Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Government and Society*, ed. L. O. Frappell (Adelaide: Adelaide University Union Press, 1979) 43–55.

imposition of monopolies.”⁵⁰ *Fondacos* were a critical element in this system, and a contemporary chronicler specifically listed the office of *fundicarius* among those positions up for evaluation and reappointment under the new regime.⁵¹ Charles likewise instituted revised statutes for the *fondacos* (“*novi statuti super iure fundici*”) around 1275, perhaps in an effort to appease local traders. According to these rules, no merchant should be forced to do business in a particular *fondaco*, but if he decided to move his goods

from one region to another within the kingdom, where there is a *fondaco*, he ought to offer a pledge of security to the *fundegarius* [*sic*] of the place or of the *fondaco* from which he removes the aforesaid merchandise, that he is bringing these to another land or place, where there is an established royal *fondaco* (“*ubi sit fundicus regius constitutus*”), and he must bring from here to the *fundegarius* of that place letters guaranteeing the nature of the goods brought from here for sale.⁵²

Precautions of this type are confirmed in Pegolotti’s merchant handbook, which carefully explains measures taken in Naples to ensure that if the *fondacaggio* had been paid in one *fondaco*, it would not be collected again in another.⁵³

In contrast to the explicit documentation from the crown of Aragón concerning the *fondech* and its administrators, there is very little indication of what a *fundicarius* in Sicily or south Italy received in return for his labor. There are no explicit references to tax-farming, although such an arrangement was possibly intended in a diploma dated 1200, given in the name of Frederick II (then aged six) to Genoa, granting rights to one of the royal *fondacos* in Naples in return for 10,000 ounces of gold, to be paid in installments over the next five years.⁵⁴ This *fondaco* may have lodged Genoese merchants, and was presumably for their commercial use, but the Genoese may also have purchased the right to collect taxes from other merchants using the facility. Somewhat later, in 1238, when Frederick II wrote to Thomasio de Acco, his *magister camerarius* in Abruzzo, he noted that for reasons of both utility and profit (“*valde forum utile et lucrosum*”) “it pleases us that . . . the *fondaco* in Sulmona where local people and foreigners bring goods . . . shall be in your hands so that you can look after

⁵⁰ J. Dunbabin, *Charles I of Anjou: Power, Kingship, and State-Making in Thirteenth-Century Europe* (London: Longman, 1998) 163.

⁵¹ This passage occurs in the anonymous supplement to the chronicle of Niccolo Jamsilla, *De rebus gestis Frederici II imperatoris ejusque filiorum Conrad et Manfredi Apuliae et Siciliae regum*, in Muratori (ed.), *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, VIII, 609. Also in Del Re (ed.), *Cronisti e scrittori*, II, 675.

⁵² Winkelmann (ed.), *Acta Imperii inedita*, 759 (doc. 999).

⁵³ Pegolotti, *La pratica della mercatura*, 184.

⁵⁴ “. . . in Neapoli, fundicum nostrum quod est in porta Morizini, cum introitibus et exitibus, et omnibus finibus suis”: Imperiale di Sant’ Angelo (ed.), *Codice diplomatico*, III, 183–186 (doc. 72).

it in the best interests of the court.” Frederick then went on to instruct that the *fundicarii* and other royal officials must be prepared to render an account of their expenses to the court.⁵⁵ As well as being in the interests of the ruler, this arrangement was presumably also – to some degree – in the best interests of Thomasio, though the document does not state any salary or percentage of profits, nor is there any reference to a fee paid by Thomasio for the office. Later a letter written by Charles, Prince of Salerno, to the keepers of *fondacos* in Naples, in 1284, ordered that they render money for the income of Beatrice, daughter of Manfred, to pay for her food and maintenance.⁵⁶ It is again unclear where this money would have been assigned under normal conditions (presumably at least part of it went to Charles), or whether the *fundicarii* were losing income that they might otherwise have claimed for themselves.

PRIVATE FONDACOS

Some *fundicarii* were appointed by the crown to oversee royal facilities, but others seem to have been private individuals running *fondacos* for their own profit. These buildings could be acquired through sale, or held as a lease. An endowment deed from 1143 noted that a *funduq* in Palermo had been purchased by George of Antioch from its Muslim owner, Ḥasan ibn Nāsikh.⁵⁷ Data on private transactions are rare from the Norman period, but this reference suggests that a number of commercial buildings probably passed from Muslim into Christian hands through sale from one individual to another. Later, they continued to be transferred between Christians.

During the thirteenth century, despite the efforts of Frederick II to reclaim royal property that had fallen into private hands, many *fondacos* in Sicily and south Italy were still small establishments run by ordinary people. For example, a complicated legal case from Messina, in 1239, concerned the division, upkeep, and repair of a *fondaco* held by two owners. One, Jean Chipulla, had received half of the building from his father-in-law, while the other owner, a widow named Rose, had purchased her half of the property. Evidently, a *fondaco* could be bought, sold, or given in gift like any other freehold real estate. At the time of the dispute, the eastern side of the property, inhabited by Jean, included several rooms, some fairly large with windows overlooking the street, and a kitchen. Meanwhile, the western half

⁵⁵ Winkelmann (ed.), *Acta Imperii inedita*, 635 (doc. 818).

⁵⁶ Winkelmann (ed.), *Acta Imperii inedita*, 595–596 (doc. 755).

⁵⁷ Johns, *Arabic Administration*, 110.

of the building, belonging to Rose, had fallen into disrepair – a situation that created dissension between the two owners.⁵⁸ As well as belonging to private people, some *fondacos* came into the possession of religious houses and orders, as seen in grants from the Norman period, and in the fact that the Templars possessed a *fondaco* in Messina in 1270.⁵⁹

As in Christian Iberia and the Muslim world, these smaller facilities provided lodging, storage, and commercial space at a less prominent or lucrative level than the state-sponsored *fondacos*. Owing to their private nature, these individual *fondacos* rarely appear in legislative texts or official documents, except in passing, as in the 1231 decree mentioning “guests who lodge in the *fondacos* of others” in Naples when the royal *fondacos* were full.⁶⁰ Private papers and contracts, on the other hand, are filled with references to *fondacos*, and show that these buildings served as shops, ateliers, and residential housing.⁶¹ In one such example, a document from 1299 recorded that a young man in Palermo had been declared unfit for military service after his father brought witnesses to the *fundacum* in which the family lived, in order to view the invalid “lying on his bed in the aforesaid *fundaco*.”⁶² Possibly, as in newly conquered Iberian cities, the title *fondaco* was a hold-over from an earlier time, and current Christian usage had little to do with the name. Yet analysis of the data does show consistent trends in the application of the term *fondaco*, while other evidence (such as the shift from *fondaco* to *loggia*) indicates that Christian occupants were perfectly capable of changing a name that was no longer appropriate.

In many cases, private *fondacos* are merely cited by chance, as in sales contracts for other properties which mention that they are adjacent to *fondacos*. A document written by the notary Adamo de Citella in 1299, for example, recorded the acquisition of a garden and seven houses in Palermo bordered by the “fundacus Pucii de Riccomanno et fundacus Francisci de Pagano.” In other texts, as when Adamo de Citella recorded the sale of a *fondaco* itself, or listed a *fondaco* among the assets included in a dowry, it is

⁵⁸ Léon-Robert Ménager, *Les Actes latins de S. Maria di Messina (1103–1250)* (Palermo: Istituto Siciliano di studi Bizantini e Neolentini, 1963) 150–158. This *fondaco* was located in a part of Messina where many foreigners lived. It bordered on a street belonging to the Pisan community, and was also near buildings owned by people from Amalfi and Ravello.

⁵⁹ Bresc and Bresc, “*Fondaco et taverne*,” 95. Compare with other thirteenth-century *albondigas* and *fondechs* granted to military orders in Iberia.

⁶⁰ Winkelmann (ed.), *Acta Imperii inedita*, 620 (no. 793).

⁶¹ Adamo de Citella, *Imbreviature*, II, 218–219 (doc. 278). The same notary also recorded similar situations in other contracts: I, 82–83 (doc. 116), I, 202–203 (doc. 335), II, 160 (doc. 160). Another privately held *fondaco* was recorded in Naples in 1293 (Artizzu [ed.], *Documenti inediti*, I, 30 [doc. 22]).

⁶² Adamo de Citella, *Imbreviature*, II, 199–200 (doc. 252).

clear that these buildings were of considerable value and merited individual attention.⁶³

A number of Adamo de Citella's texts mention specific business activities, trades, and artisanal work taking place in the private *fondacos* of Palermo, including sales of leather and rabbit skins, smithing, and the production of tiles.⁶⁴ This last must have been especially common, since both tile-makers (*celamidarii*) and their tiles (*celmidis*) appear many times in contracts written between 1286 and 1299. Some related to *fondacos* in which tiles were manufactured, while others concerned the sale of tiles in *fondacos*.⁶⁵ In February 1286, a tile-maker promised delivery of 4,000 tiles to Simon de Pactis, a *fundicarius*, to be delivered next April at the *fondaco* where he worked. Another sale a year later, involving different people, specified that 2,000 tiles would be delivered in the *fondaco* where the seller (another *celamidarius*) worked ("ipsas celamidas dare in fundico quo ipse venditor laborat"), while a sale for another 2,500 tiles in April 1299 specified that they should be delivered "in fundico dicti emptoris."⁶⁶ These transactions all show that *fondacos* were sites for busy and profitable private business in thirteenth-century Palermo. Later records collected by Henri Bress indicate that the institution continued to be common in Sicily during the later middle ages, when it retained the sense of lodging-house, tavern, and even brothel, especially in rural areas.⁶⁷

⁶³ Sale contract: Adamo de Citella, *Imbreviature*, 1, 134 (doc. 215), dated March 1287; dowry lists: *ibid.*, 1, 45–46 (doc. 49), January, 1287, 1, 208–209 (doc. 345), July 1287, 11, 356–357 (doc. 459), June 1299.

⁶⁴ In 1287, Adamo de Citella mentioned a *fondaco* belonging to a leather worker (*corridaturus*) (*Imbreviature*, 1, 208–209 [doc. 345]) and a sale of rabbit skins in another *fondaco* (*ibid.*, 1, 90–91 [doc. 132]), both in Palermo. A contract from 1307 recorded the rental of part of a *fondaco*, also in Palermo, to a farrier for the exercise of his trade (H. Bress, "In ruga que arabice dicitur zucac . . ." Les Rues de Palerme [1070–1460]," in *Le Paysage urbain au moyen âge: Actes du xie Congrès de la Société des historiens médiévistes de l'enseignement supérieur publique* [Lyon, 1980] [Lyon: Presses universitaires de Lyon, 1981] 174).

⁶⁵ Rental of a *fondaco* in Palermo for making tiles, March 1287 (Adamo de Citella, *Imbreviature*, 1, 110 [doc. 169]); sale of a *fondaco* for making tiles, February 1299 (*ibid.*, 11, 196–197 [docs. 248, 248a]). The Latin word is a Sicilian version of the Greek *cianamira*, a type of tile (*ibid.*, 1, 272). A connection between *fondacos* and the making of tiles may also be referred to in the "Novis statutis super iure fundici," promulgated by Charles of Anjou, around 1275, which mentioned a tax on dyestuffs and tiles ("tura tintorie et celendre") in conjunction with the *ius fundici* (Winkelman [ed.], *Acta Imperii inedita*, 760 [doc. 999]). The connection between *fondacos* and tiles (and, by extension, kilns) might also stem from the long-held association between *fondacos* and ovens.

⁶⁶ February 1286: "ipsas celamidas dare in fundico in quo ipse laborat" – in this case, it is unclear whether the buyer or seller worked in a *fondaco* (Adamo de Citella, *Imbreviature*, 1, 87 [doc. 125], 1, 80–81 [doc. 112] February, 1287, 11, 276–277 [doc. 356] April, 1299). Another similar contract was drawn up in February, 1287 (*ibid.*, 1, 88–89 [doc. 128]).

⁶⁷ Bress and Bress, "Fondaco et taverne"; also H. Bress, *Un Monde méditerranéen. Economie et société en Sicile 1300–1450* (Rome: Ecole française de Rome, 1986), 1, 359, 368.

These data from Sicily and south Italy, spanning the Norman through the Angevin regimes, make clear that all three types of *fondacos* – royal, communal, and private – flourished in this region. The various functions which these facilities might fulfill all had parallels not only in earlier Muslim models, but also with contemporary *fondacos* elsewhere in newly Christian realms in the western and eastern Mediterranean.

FONDE AND FONDACO IN THE CRUSADER STATES

As in Iberia and Sicily, the *funduq* was quickly incorporated into Christian administrative policies in the Crusader states. Both *fondacos* administered by the crown and *fondacos* belonging to Italian city-states appeared under crusader rule, and in many ways these resembled their counterparts elsewhere in the Mediterranean world. There are also limited references to facilities devoted to the sale of particular products, as in other regions, including a *fondaco* for fruit noted in Latakia in 1172, one for sugar in Tyre (1209), and another for wine in Antioch (1231).⁶⁸

These similarities make it tempting to understand crusader *fondacos* in light of those in other newly Christian territories. However, there were several important differences, most notably the prominence of the Italian merchant communities and the complex relationship between their *fondacos* and those belonging to the crown. There is also the fact that *fondacos* in crusader cities are among the earliest examples of the christianized form. Thus, although some cross-Mediterranean influence is probable, especially through mercantile connections, chronology suggests the largely independent development of crusader forms from models of the *funduq* and *fondaco* in the *Dār al-Islām*. Differences may also stem from the distinct context of the Crusader states, especially the relatively greater power of Italian merchant groups in crusader port cities, and the lesser familiarity of European crusaders with indigenous Muslim institutions. Like their Norman contemporaries in Sicily, but unlike kings in Castile and the Crown of Aragón, early rulers of the Crusader kingdom came from northern Europe, and had no prior exposure to Islamic forms of urban and fiscal administration. Nevertheless, they learned rapidly, and were quick to adopt

⁶⁸ “Fundo fructus”: *Cartulaire général de l’Ordre des Hospitaliers de St. Jean de Jérusalem*, ed. J. Delaville Le Roulx (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1894–1906) 1, 303 (doc. 437); “fontica de çucarò”: Morozzo della Rocca and Lombardo (eds.), *Documenti del commercio*, II, 52 (doc. 513); “funde del vin”: *Cartulaire général*, II, 428 (doc. 2001). All of these items were commodities traded between Europe and the Near East. Large quantities of sugar, especially, were produced in the Latin kingdom for export to Europe (see Edna J. Stern, “The Excavations at Lower Ḥorat Manot: A Medieval Sugar-Production Site,” *Atiqot* 42 [2001] 277–308).

and adapt institutions of obvious utility. As in other christianized regions, some existing *funduqs* apparently retained both their name and function under the new administration. In other cases, Muslim buildings shifted to new uses, as with one Fāṭimid hostelry converted into an infirmary by the Hospitalers.⁶⁹

Scholars of the Crusader kingdom have already devoted considerable attention to the commerce and fiscal institutions in the Latin east. Their work indicates the diversity and flexibility of administrative terms, which included the Latin *funda* and vernacular *fonde*, as well as the more common cognates *fondaco*, *fonticum*, *fundicum*, and so forth. Sometimes these words were used to indicate specific buildings or administrative facilities, but at other times they were loosely applied to a number of different things, both physical and conceptual. This imprecision has created subsequent debate and disagreement, demonstrating the difficulty of pinning down solid and consistent meanings. It seems reasonable to assume that this terminological variety arose from the complex linguistic, religious, and economic mix of peoples in the Crusader states, which brought together – among others – French nobles, Sicilian Normans, northern Italian merchants, and local Muslims. Each group would have brought its own understanding and idioms to the development of crusader institutions, but there is no reason to believe that the resulting diverse vocabulary (that so easily confuses modern scholars) presented any actual obstacles to pursuing business in Acre or Antioch in the twelfth or thirteenth century. Recent scholarship has likewise debated the origins of certain taxes and economic institutions in the Crusader states, seeking to determine whether they derived from European or Muslim fiscal traditions.⁷⁰ In the case of the crusader *fonde*, the answer becomes quite complex, since foreign experiences of the institution (particularly those brought by Normans, Genoese, and Venetians) mingled with indigenous versions.

Jonathan Riley-Smith has provided a useful summary of the spectrum of meanings for *fonde* and *fondaco* in Latin Syria, noting facilities ranging from those under royal control, for example the twelfth-century *funda regis* in Acre, to the warehouses owned by Italian merchant communities. Some *fondes* were very similar to contemporary *funduqs* and *khāns* under Islamic administration, providing space for lodging, storage, and sales. Many of

⁶⁹ Z. Goldman, “Le Couvent des hospitaliers à Saint Jean d’Acre,” *Bible et Terre Sainte* 160 (April 1974) 15.

⁷⁰ See, for example, Paul Sidelko, “Muslim Taxation under Crusader Rule,” in *Tolerance and Intolerance. Social Conflict in the Age of the Crusades*, ed. Michael Gervers and James Powell (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2001) 65–74.

these seem to have been held by the crown, as well as by nobles, private individuals, military orders, or western merchant groups. Other *fondes* were markets for specific types of goods (wine, fruit, etc.), or buildings containing many different shops under one administration.⁷¹ As in Spain, Sicily, and the Islamic world, *fondes* and *fondacos* in the Crusader states served as points for the sale, taxation, and control of commercial goods. There is little evidence, however, that they functioned as official depots for royal monopolies (for example, on grain or salt), as in some other conquered regions. Although many *fondes* were not directly administered by the crown, it is clear that royal administrators still tried to keep watch over these commercial spaces and their revenues.

ROYAL AND LORDLY *FONDES*

A royal *fonde* first appeared in charters from the reign of Baldwin I (1118–1131), and references to similar official facilities continue to appear until the late thirteenth century. The idea was surely derived from royal *funduqs* (*fanādiq al-sultān*) in the contemporary Muslim milieu. The *fonde* was one of two royal institutions that oversaw commercial activities in crusader cities. It was associated with markets and the sales, while the other, the *cathena*, generally dealt with exported goods. However, as Joshua Prawer has pointed out, “the relations between the *cathena* and the *funda* are not always clear.”⁷² According to Jonathan Riley-Smith, most goods coming into crusader cities were brought by law to the royal *fondes* for storage, weighing, trade, and taxation. Certain western merchant groups had obtained exemptions from this requirement, and conveyed their goods to their own *fondacos* for sale and storage. Riley-Smith noted a distinction – at least in Acre – between the royal *fonde en amont* in the main city and *fondacos* around the port (collectively called *fonde en aval*) belonging to Italian communities. Buyers, including western traders, who wished to purchase items from the royal *fondes* had to come to these facilities to make their

⁷¹ J. Riley-Smith, *The Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1174–1277* (London: Macmillan, 1973) 70–75, 95–96; also Riley-Smith, “Government in Latin Syria,” 115–116. Also Joshua Prawer, *The Crusaders’ Kingdom. European Colonialism in the Middle Ages* (New York: Praeger, 1972) 407–415.

⁷² Prawer went on to note that “one would assume that the *cathena*, certainly a market and not only a customs house, catered to export only, and the *funda* to local commerce. This is not quite certain. If the Syrian weavers of Tyre were freed by royal decree from a fee at the *cathena* which they would otherwise have paid at the Venetian *fonde*, relations were more complicated than meets the eye” (Prawer, *Crusaders’ Kingdom*, 413). See also R. B. Patterson, “The Early Existence of the *Funda* and *Catena* in the Twelfth-century Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem,” *Speculum* 39 (1964) 474–477.

purchases, and the goods were taxed at the time of sale.⁷³ Taxes on a wide variety of goods sold in the *fonde* were listed in meticulous detail in the thirteenth century, and may have resembled the *ius fundici* in Sicily or earlier Muslim commercial levies.⁷⁴ Royal facilities were administered either directly or through tax-farms, and they were sufficiently lucrative for it to become common to grant out their revenues.

When Ibn Jubayr arrived Acre in 1184 from Damascus, he described a commercial facility that was almost certainly the royal *fonde*:

We were taken to the custom-house, which is a *khān* prepared to accommodate the caravan. Before the door are stone benches spread with carpets, where are the Christian clerks of the customs with their ebony ink-stands ornamented with gold. They write in Arabic, which they also speak. Their chief is the *ṣāhib al-dīwān*, who holds the contract to farm the customs . . . All the dues collected go to the contractor for the customs, who pays a vast sum (to the government). The merchants deposited their baggage there and lodged in the upper story. The baggage of any who had no merchandise was also examined in case it contained concealed (and dutiable) merchandise, after which the owner was permitted to go his way and seek lodging where he would. All this was done with civility and respect, and without harshness or unfairness.⁷⁵

The fact that Ibn Jubayr used the term *khān* rather than *funduq* is not significant, since these two terms were virtually synonymous in Syrian Arabic at this time. What is clear is that this *khān* had an official status and was run as a tax-farm by the government. It was a place where incoming goods were assessed and taxed, and where arriving merchants were encouraged – but not required – to lodge. The fact that it was staffed by Arabic-speaking Christians, under the oversight of a *ṣāhib al-dīwān*, and that business was conducted in Arabic, speaks of institutional continuity from the Muslim period, even after nearly a century of Christian rule. Ibn Jubayr's description was probably characteristic of state-run *fondacos* not only in the Latin east but also elsewhere in the medieval Mediterranean world.

A later passage from the thirteenth-century *Livres des assises de Jerusalem* confirms that both local and western scribes ("escrivein Sarasinois ou Fransois") were employed in *fondes* in crusader cities. Although this section

⁷³ Riley-Smith, "Government in Latin Syria," 109–122; also Riley-Smith, *Feudal Nobility*, 74, 95–96. Riley-Smith described a relationship whereby European imported goods were sold in the western *fondacos*, where no tax was paid on sale, but the crown had the opportunity to collect tax on them if they left through the city gates. If western merchants wished to buy certain eastern goods, however, they were obliged to visit the king's *fonde* and pay tax on their purchases.

⁷⁴ *Les Livres des assises et des usages dou reyaume de Jerusalem*, ed. E. H. von Kausler (Stuttgart: A. Krabbe, 1839) I, 274–287.

⁷⁵ Ibn Jubayr, *Rihla*, 302–303; *Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, 317–318.

of the text refers to facilities held by lords, and thus not directly controlled by the crown, their structure was no doubt similar. The author was particularly concerned that the lucrative transactions taking place in the *fonde* might tempt its employees to theft and embezzlement:

If it happens that there is a Saracen or Frankish scribe in the lord's service in the *fonde* . . . and that scribe robs the lord of his rights or conspires with merchants or villeins to rob the lord and divide the proceeds with them, or keeps for himself the dues paid in the *fonde* . . . and he does this by false accounting or bookkeeping . . . if that scribe can be proved guilty of this larceny, either by evidence of his books or by that of the merchants, of allowing export without the payment of dues or of diminishing the half of the dues that ought to be given to the lord in favor of the other half, or in favor of the third which is paid in cash (*en diniers*), without the knowledge of his *bailli* or the lord . . . [then he will be hanged].⁷⁶

This passage not only describes the possible fiscal misdeeds of accountants, but also provides clues to the structure of *fonde* administration. As with royal facilities, and like *fondacos* elsewhere in the Christian Mediterranean, this *fonde* was farmed by the lord in return for a percentage of its profits either in cash (one-third) or in kind (one-half). The reference to a *baillius* suggests that this was the person who held the farm, and who employed the scribes and other staff working in the building.

FONDACOS FOR WESTERN MERCHANTS

Western traders had communal *fondacos* in several crusader ports, usually located in their own city quarters, where they brought goods from abroad and did business. These merchant communities made money from the sales that took place in their *fondacos*, and from the rents and other fees derived from their real-estate holdings in crusader cities. The western *fondacos* were themselves royal or noble concessions, negotiated through diplomatic exchange. Some were explicitly granted in return for naval or other assistance, whereas others may have been farmed to European communities. The latter is suggested in a reference – admittedly in a Venetian, and thus possibly hostile, source – to the Pisan *fondaco* in Tyre “which they purchased from the king” (“fonticum Pisanorum quod emerunt a rege”).⁷⁷

⁷⁶ *Les Livres des assises*, I, 344–345. Translation from Riley-Smith, *Feudal Nobility*, 55. The text varies slightly in describing the payment of the third of revenues. One version – preferred by Riley-Smith – indicates that this was paid in cash (“li paia en diniers”), the other (“li paia derieres”) perhaps that this was paid at a later date.

⁷⁷ Tafel and Thomas (eds.), *Urkunden*, II, 385.

Western merchant communities from Venice, Pisa, and Genoa held considerable power in the Crusader states, more than in other newly Christian regions, and in consequence their demands and rewards were greater than elsewhere. Italian ships provided vital transport, supplies, commerce, and naval support to the Crusader kingdom, and its rulers repaid Italian efforts with unprecedented grants of land and commercial privileges. As well as obtaining buildings or complexes called *fondacos* in Acre, Tyre, Antioch, Beirut, Jaffa, and Latakia, some western merchant communities were awarded whole city quarters (even as much as a third of the city), with houses, churches, baths, warehouses, shops, plazas, streets, and other amenities.⁷⁸ As in other regions, *fondacos* soon became part of a standard package of concessions, as is evident from the promises of Philip Augustus, made to the Genoese in 1190 but never granted, of a church, *fundicum*, oven, bath, and street in any Muslim town that they helped to conquer for the French crown.⁷⁹

Western traders were eager to obtain these concessions, since political and economic developments in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries had increased the activity and value of markets in Syria and Palestine. Precious eastern goods such as spices and silk came overland to eastern Mediterranean ports through Syria, Iraq, and the Persian Gulf, as did more local products including sugar, cotton, and flax. In the thirteenth century, the arrival of the Mongols caused initial economic disruption in the region, but the subsequent extension of their empire and advent of the *pax mongolica* improved overland links between Syria and the East – at the expense of Egyptian and Red Sea traffic. Western traders were routinely excluded from inland markets in Egypt and North Africa, where overland traffic was controlled by local merchant groups. In Syria, however, Europeans seem to have had greater mobility, and gradually came to traffic not only in crusader cities such as Acre and Antioch, but also in the inland markets of Muslim Damascus and Aleppo. Ibn Jubayr remarked that “one of the astonishing

⁷⁸ A list of charters and treaties granted to Italian city-states may be found in J. L. La Monte, *Feudal Monarchy in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem 1100–1291* (Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy of America, 1932) 261–275. See also Robert Kool, “The Genoese Quarter in Thirteenth-century Acre: A Reinterpretation of its Layout,” *Atiqot* 31 (1997) 189–200. On the broader context of Italian activities in the Crusader kingdom, see Marie-Louise Favreau-Lilie, *Die Italiener im Heiligen Land: vom ersten Kreuzzug bis zum Tode Heinrichs von Champagne (1098–1197)* (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1989).

⁷⁹ (Philip Augustus), *Recueil des Actes de Philippe Auguste roi de France*, ed. F. Delaborde (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1916) I, 448; also *Liber iurium Reipublicae Genuensium*, I, cols. 355–356 (doc. 362). The advance grant of these particular concessions has strong similarities to promises made by Alfonso VII of Castile to Genoa in 1146, in return for their assistance in the conquest of Almería, and by Frederick I to Genoa in 1162 in regard to Sicilian conquests.

things . . . is that though the fires of discord burn between the two parties, Muslim and Christian . . . yet Muslim and Christian travelers will come and go between them without interference.” Muslim caravans traveled through Christian territory between Egypt and Damascus, or between Damascus and Acre, “and likewise not one of the Christians was stopped or hindered” in Muslim territories.⁸⁰

It has often been assumed that the power and success of western merchant communities in the Latin east allowed them to dominate the economic life of crusader cities, and to demand whatever privileges they wished – often at the expense of royal revenues. Certainly, the national *fondacos* granted to western merchant groups in Acre and other crusader cities were subject to many fewer restrictions than their counterparts in Muslim ports, and they appear more successful and independent than those in Christian Spain and Sicily. Nevertheless, these Italian *fondacos* did not funnel all commercial revenues away from royal coffers. Instead, the royal *fonde* collected taxes of its own and existed in symbiosis with the western *fondacos*. Latin rulers were well aware of the benefits – indeed, the necessity – of maintaining the presence of western traders in crusader markets, but they were by no means blind to their own opportunities for profit.

Relations between the various commercial spaces were complex, but not chaotic. However, any attempt to discern a regular pattern is impeded by the frequency with which individual groups arranged exclusive deals with the crown for tax exemptions, trading rights, and other privileges. As elsewhere in conquered territories, incoming Christian rulers in the Latin east struggled to adapt local institutions to their preconceived administrative models, and attempted to preserve crown income while at the same time placating demands on all sides for special grants and concessions. The result was functional, though not elegant.

Thirteenth-century data from Acre and other crusader cities indicate that both royal and foreign facilities profited from the revenues of trade and merchant activity.⁸¹ In the early 1240s, receipts to the crown totaled 50,000 pounds of silver a year, a sum that derived from many sources, including commercial tariffs, rents, and tax-farms, as well as from the royal *fonde* in Acre.⁸² Income from the latter was sufficient for rulers to grant out significant portions as stipends and concessions to vassals, royal relatives,

⁸⁰ Ibn Jubayr, *Rihla*, 287, *Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, 300–301. Accounts of atrocities and bloodshed in other contemporary sources suggest that Ibn Jubayr’s personal observations were not universal.

⁸¹ Joshua Prawer has argued that the national *fondacos* in Acre took precedence over the royal *fonde* (Prawer, *Crusaders’ Kingdom*, 412), but both appear to have been important in their separate spheres.

⁸² Riley-Smith, “Government in Latin Syria,” 109.

and other recipients.⁸³ In April 1229, for example, Frederick II granted 3,000 bezants annually from the royal *fonde* in Acre (“funde nostre Acconis”) in exchange for another property.⁸⁴ In comparison, an accounting of annual Venetian income from rents on real estate in Acre in 1244 (not counting other revenues) totaled nearly 3,500 bezants, plus returns of just under 200 bezants a month for rental of rooms in the *fondaco* and other lodgings during the sailing season.⁸⁵

Antioch

As in Castile and Aragón, western merchants gained concessions in crusader cities shortly after their conquest. The earliest of these appears to have been the Genoese *fondaco* in Antioch granted by Bohemond of Taranto in 1098, but there were also Genoese and Venetian quarters in Acre not long after that city’s capture in 1104.⁸⁶ The Genoese *fondaco* in Antioch is especially noteworthy as the earliest known example of its type, dating half a century before *fondacos* for Christian merchants were first documented in Spain (in 1146), Fāṭimid Egypt (in 1154), or Tunis (probably in 1157). In this regard, it is significant that Bohemond, unlike most other leaders of the First Crusade, would already have been familiar with the institution of the *funduqlfondaco* from living in recently conquered Norman Sicily and south Italy.

The form and language of Bohemond’s grant – giving the Genoese community a church, *fondaco*, well, houses, and a plaza – was similar to later concessions.⁸⁷ The constellation of facilities in Antioch is not identical to those granted elsewhere (a bath and oven are notably lacking) but the

⁸³ R. Röhricht, *Regesta regni Hierosolymitani* (Oeniponti: Libr. Acad. Wagneriana, 1904; repr. New York: Burt Franklin, 1962) 1, 122 (no. 465), 161 (no. 608), 166 (no. 628), 175 (no. 657), 261 (no. 989). In some cases, revenues from the royal *fonde* and *cathena* in Acre were granted to Italian cities, as to Pisa in 1188 (*ibid.*, 180, no. 674). In other cases, revenues went to military orders. For example, Bohemond IV assigned the Hospitalers 500 bezants annually from a *fonde* in Latakia in 1205, and another 316 bezants from the *fonde* of Tripoli in 1231 (*Cartulaire général*, II, 48 [doc. 1215], II, 428–429 [doc. 2002]).

⁸⁴ (Frederick II), *Historia diplomatica*, III, 117–131. Also Röhricht, *Regesta*, I, 263 (no. 1002), 264 (nos. 1004 and 1008), 265 (no. 1012). The total sum was 6,400, with 3,200 coming from the royal *cathena* and another 3,000 from the *fonde* (“et alia tria milia bisancios sarracenos in redditibus funde”). The remaining 200 may have been omitted in error. The text continues with careful provisions and calculations to cover the event that either *fonde* or *cathena* took in insufficient revenues in a given year.

⁸⁵ Tafel and Thomas (eds.), *Urkunden* II, 390–397.

⁸⁶ Slessarev, “*Ecclesiae Mercatorum*,” 192; D. Jacoby, “Crusader Acre in the Thirteenth Century: Urban Layout and Topography,” *Studi Medievali* 3rd series, 20 (1979) 26, 30.

⁸⁷ Imperiale di Sant’ Angelo (ed.), *Codice diplomatico*, I, 11–12 (doc. 7).

familiar wording suggests that this was an early version of what would soon become a standard list in *fondaco* grants in both Muslim and Christian contexts. However, the inclusion of thirty houses with the grant indicates that there was no compulsory residence in this *fondaco*, unlike counterparts in Muslim cities.

It is impossible to determine the model for this earliest documented example of a *fondaco* granted to an Italian merchant community. Bohemond might have been influenced by examples in Sicily, or perhaps the Genoese had requested concessions that they already enjoyed elsewhere, maybe in Sicily or Spain, or even in Antioch itself. Equally likely, this *fondaco* was directly adapted from a Muslim facility already functioning in the city. These certainly existed, since somewhat later in 1140, Raymond of Poitiers would grant another building in Antioch to a monastery with the explicit comment that this had been “called *funeidec* in Arabic.”⁸⁸ It intriguing to recall that this early *fondaco* appeared in precisely the region where *pandocheions* had been most common in late antiquity, and where the institution had been first adopted into Arabic.

Genoese privileges in Antioch were reconfirmed in 1127 by Bohemond II, who also extended them rights to another *fondaco* and street in the port of Latakia at the same time.⁸⁹ By 1140, Venice had gained similar grants of houses and a *fondaco* in Antioch, and these were regularly renewed, along with Venetian rights to self-jurisdiction of their community in the city, during the later twelfth century.⁹⁰

Acre

Although Antioch was an important market, particularly for trade coming overland through Anatolia, western merchants were much more eager to obtain privileges in Acre, the most important commercial port in the Latin kingdom. Although the harbor at Acre was not deep enough for large ships, it was better than any others further south (including Jaffa, the primary port for Jerusalem) and was thus well located to serve the capital and the central Crusader kingdom. Italians never established bases in Jerusalem itself, or in other inland crusader towns. Because of its strategic importance, the region

⁸⁸ Röhricht, *Regesta*, 1, 48 (no. 195). *Funeidec* transcribes the Arabic diminutive form, thus “the little *funduq*.”

⁸⁹ Imperiale di Sant’ Angelo (ed.), *Codice diplomatico*, 1, 57 (doc. 47). This grant was renewed again in 1169 (11, 102 [doc. 49]). In Latakia, as in Antioch and other conquered cities, Muslim *funduqs* may have been converted into various types of Christian property. A grant made by Bohemond III in 1185, for example, gave a building in Latakia “quae etiam vetus funda vocabatur” to the Church (Röhricht, *Regesta*, 11, 42 [no. 642a]).

⁹⁰ Tafel and Thomas (eds.), *Urkunden*, 1, 102–103, 134, 149, 176.

around Acre (and also around the port of Tyre, to the north) was directly under royal control, as was the territory surrounding Jerusalem, while most other areas of the Latin kingdom had been granted out as feudal estates. Grants to Italian merchant communities in Acre and Tyre were thus made at the behest of the king.

Acre came into Christian hands in 1104, and later became the political heart of the Crusader kingdom after the recapture of Jerusalem by Saladin in 1187. Although Acre returned briefly to Muslim control in the same year, it was retaken by Conrad of Montferrat during the Third Crusade in 1190, and remained Christian for another century until 1291, when it was among the last crusader territories conquered by Mamlūk armies. An early fourteenth-century map of Acre, showing the layout of the city in about 1285, still marked various foreign quarters and *fondacos* arranged in a semi-circle around the harbor area.⁹¹

Western merchants in Acre lived either in their own houses or, if their residence was relatively brief, they rented rooms in their communal *fondacos*. The frequent grant of houses to Genoese, Venetians, and others shows that most resident merchants both preferred and were permitted to live outside the *fondacos*.⁹² Indeed, many royal grants to Christian merchant groups in Acre did not even mention a *fondaco*, citing instead only houses and other facilities. For those communities that had a *fondaco*, it seems that this was generally used for consular offices, as rented lodgings for transient merchants during the sailing season, or as space for storage, sales, and other transactions.

Each European merchant colony in Acre and other crusader cities was under the rule of a consul, or in the case of the Venetians, a *baille* (or *baillius*), who held legal jurisdiction over members of the community, oversaw the financial affairs of the *fondaco*, and appointed officers and administrators. At least on paper, many of the duties of Italian consuls in crusader cities were not unlike those of their counterparts in Islamic ports. Consuls and *bailles* in Acre, such as the Pisan “consul Acaille et totius Syrie” in the late twelfth century, generally had broad powers of oversight over lesser consuls and colonies throughout the Levant.⁹³

⁹¹ This map shows a distinctly Venetian bias, reflected in the relative sizes of different buildings and features. One large building in the Venetian quarter has been identified as the Venetian *fondaco*. Although the foreign compounds were located near the harbor, they did not have direct access to it (Jacoby, “Crusader Acre,” 2, 6, 30).

⁹² Praver estimated that the actual number of resident foreign merchants was never very great, probably not more than several hundred in each community (*Crusaders' Kingdom*, 92–93).

⁹³ Praver, *Crusaders' Kingdom*, 89; D. Jacoby, “L'Expansion occidentale dans le Levant: les Vénitiens à Acre dans la seconde moitié du treizième siècle,” *Journal of Medieval History* 3 (1977) 231–233; Otten-Froux, “Les Pisans en Egypte et à Acre,” 165.

The *fondacos* in Acre also had other staff, but this group of people would not have formed the closed and close-knit group characteristic of *fondacos* in Muslim towns. Instead, merchants and staff were free to come and go throughout the city, and could lodge where they pleased. In 1244, the Venetian *fondaco* in Acre housed several officers, including the *plazarius*, Johannes Gastaldio, who received his small room as part of his salary, together with money and a clothing allowance. Another room in the *fondaco* was inhabited by a priest (*sacerdos*), who presumably served as chaplain for the Venetian community. His duties were probably less extensive than those of a priest like Tealdus, in the Genoese *fondaco* in Tunis, since there was no scarcity of Christian clerics in Acre.⁹⁴ As in *fondacos* elsewhere, notaries would also have pursued their trade in the building, recording the sales, partnership arrangements, loans, and other business that took place in the *fondaco*.

The Venetians were the first to obtain rights in Acre, six years after the conquest of the city. This grant was enlarged in 1123, when the *Pactum Warmundi* granted tax exemptions and jurisdictional privileges, extensive territorial holdings in Tyre (a third of the city) and in Acre, access to baths, ovens, churches, streets, plazas, and mills in these cities, and the right to use their own weights and measures for sales of wine, oil, and honey within the Venetian community. The privilege of their own weights and measures applied to sales between Venetians within their own quarter. Any purchases outside the community were conducted with royal weights and measures and owed tax at the royal *fonde*.⁹⁵ Although some restrictions were added when Baldwin II reconfirmed the grant in 1125, the *Pactum Warmundi* became the standard model for later Venetian and other Italian commercial negotiations in the Latin east.⁹⁶

Genoese, Pisan, and other western merchant communities also had property in Acre in the twelfth century, although the evidence is less plentiful than for Venetian holdings.⁹⁷ Shortly after Acre's conquest, Genoa received

⁹⁴ Tafel and Thomas (eds.), *Urkunden*, II, 392. Another priest ("unos de sacerdotibus") lived in a house adjacent to the *fondaco* (393).

⁹⁵ Tafel and Thomas (eds.), *Urkunden*, I, 84–89; this grant was also described in detail by William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done beyond the Sea*, trans. Emily Atwater Babcock (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943) I, 553–555.

⁹⁶ Tafel and Thomas (eds.), *Urkunden*, I, 90–91; J. Prawer, "I Veneziani e le colonie veneziane nel regno latino di Gerusalemme," in *Venezia e il Levante fino al secolo XV*, ed. Agostino Pertusi (Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1973) I.2, 637; Jacoby, "L'Expansion occidentale," 226.

⁹⁷ Merchants from Marseille also had concessions in Acre, while smaller European trading centers more frequently did business under the auspices of larger communities. See Hans E. Mayer, *Marseilles Levantehandel und ein akkonensisches Fälscheratelier des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1972) 176, 178, 215, etc. Abulafia, "Levant Trade."

rights to a city quarter from Baldwin I, in gratitude for their naval help in taking the city, but with no specific mention of a Genoese *fondaco*. Even at the end of the century, when Conrad of Montferrat reconfirmed privileges to the Genoese in Acre in 1192 (this time in thanks for their help in retaking the city from the Ayyūbids during the Third Crusade), privileges included rights to “buy and sell in the [royal] *fundico* and *cathena*” only.⁹⁸ In contrast, the Pisans received charters in 1168, 1182, and 1187, the latter two granting ovens, baths, mills, houses, and – explicitly – a “fundacum Pisanorum.”⁹⁹

Both royal and national *fondacos* became more prominent in Acre in the thirteenth century, as the city took on greater importance following the loss of Jerusalem in 1187. The conception of the *fondaco* itself may also have become more institutionalized, after a century of evolution under Christian control in the Latin east, Spain, and Sicily. Certainly, when Frederick II became regent in the Holy Land in 1228, ruling for his son Conrad after the death of his wife, Queen Yolanda of Jerusalem, he seems to have regularized the system of crusader *fondacos*, and may have imported a Sicilian administrative understanding of the institution to add to the eastern Mediterranean model.

A long list of revenues from the *fondaco* and from other Venetian properties in Acre drawn up for the *baillius* Marsiglio Ziorzi in 1244 reveals details of size, layout, and profits. This shows the *fondaco* as a complex of buildings, containing a variety of different houses, rooms, chambers, stables, and storage areas.¹⁰⁰ Venetians could also own private property in the city, as is demonstrated in sale documents for real estate.¹⁰¹ The *fondaco* itself was Venetian property, and thus the responsibility of the commune. In 1286, the Venetian senate authorized the shipment of seventy-two tons of worked stone and pitch for repairs to their *fondaco* and other buildings in Acre, indicating not only that these properties were still very much an ongoing concern, but that the commune was liable for their upkeep and repair.¹⁰² A decade earlier, in 1277, Venice received permission to buy – or to build – a *fonde* for commercial transactions in Tripoli.¹⁰³ These references contrast

⁹⁸ *Liber iurium Reipublicae Genuensium*, I (no. 401) cols. 400–401. Riley-Smith doubts whether there was ever a Genoese *fondaco per se* in Acre (“Government in Latin Syria,” 119). In contrast, a parallel grant in Tyre, in 1190, specifically mentioned *fondaco eiusdem* (see below).

⁹⁹ Müller (ed.), *Documenti sulle relazioni toscane* (docs. 23, 31); D. Jacoby, “L’Evolution urbaine et la fonction méditerranéenne d’Acre à l’époque des croisades,” in *Città portuali del Mediterraneo, storia e archeologia. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Genova, 1985*, ed. Ennio Poleggi (Genoa: Sagep Editrice, 1989) 97.

¹⁰⁰ Tafel and Thomas (eds.), *Urkunden*, II, 389–398.

¹⁰¹ Jacoby, “L’Expansion occidentale,” 229.

¹⁰² Jacoby, “L’Expansion occidentale,” 230; Jacoby, “Crusader Acre,” 36.

¹⁰³ Emmanuel Guillaume Rey, *Recherches géographiques et historiques sur la domination des Latins en Orient* (Paris: Typ. Lahure, 1877) 49.

with the contemporary situation in Muslim cities in the thirteenth century, where the Ayyūbid, then Mamlūk, government was mainly responsible for the construction and maintenance of the Venetian and other western *fondacos*.

Tyre and other cities

Venetian *fondacos* also flourished in Tyre by the later twelfth century. Although the *Pactum Warmundi* had granted Venetian merchants considerable privileges in this city, there was no specific mention of a *fondaco* in that city until 1175, when Doge Sebastiano Ziani appointed a new procurator over the Venetian quarter, with rights over *fonticis*, as well as baths, ovens, measures, and other assets.¹⁰⁴ By 1243, the Venetians continued to enjoy all of these amenities, including two *fondacos*, houses, baths, oven, gardens, and streets. As in Acre, these properties rendered considerable income to the Venetian community.¹⁰⁵ The first of the two *fondacos*, which contained the Venetian scales, was the place where goods were sold (“in quo venduntur mercimonia”) and it produced annual revenues of 1,900 bezants; the second *fondaco*, curiously noted as containing musical instruments, was worth only 500 bezants per year.¹⁰⁶ Other Italian communities, including Genoa and Pisa, also had colonies in Tyre. In 1187, Conrad of Montferrat confirmed Pisan rights to their own *fondacos* (together with houses, ovens, and baths) in Tyre and Jaffa, and three years later granted the Genoese rights to “buy and sell in their own *fondaco*” in Tyre.¹⁰⁷

The importance of particular cities, and the privileges that western merchants received in their markets, varied considerably over time with the fluctuations of politics, warfare, and the commercial ascendancy of different merchant groups. Nobles, as well as kings, sought to foster Italian and French commercial business in their cities, often as part of a broader strategy for power. In 1221, for example, John of Ibelin, lord of Beirut, granted extensive privileges to Venetian merchants in Beirut, and two years later he also gave merchants from Marseille access to a *fondaco* in the same city.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁴ Tafel and Thomas (eds.), *Urkunden*, I, 168.

¹⁰⁵ Tafel and Thomas (eds.), *Urkunden*, II, 351–389.

¹⁰⁶ “Cum tubis et zallamellis, vocinis et tanburis et alijs instrumentis ad ludendum”: Tafel and Thomas (eds.), *Urkunden*, II, 385.

¹⁰⁷ Pisa: Müller (ed.), *Documenti sulle relazioni toscane*, 26–29 (docs. 23, 24). Genoa: *Liber iurium Reipublicae Genuensis*, I (no. 374) cols. 357–359. However, by September 1195, a further document mentions Genoese buying and selling “in fundico et cathena” in Tyre, a phrase similar to the arrangements in Acre in 1192 (*Liber iurium Reipublicae Genuensis*, I [no. 410] cols. 411–412).

¹⁰⁸ Tafel and Thomas (eds.), *Urkunden*, II, 233; Mayer, *Marseilles Levantehandel*, 191–192.

The concessions to Venice were both a play for regional power on the part of Ibelins and an acknowledgment of Venetian strength in the eastern Mediterranean in the wake of the Fourth Crusade. John's grant included the right for Venetians to sell all types of merchandise (including sugar, wool, incense, pearls, soap, and other goods) free of taxation in their *fondaco*. Likewise, they were permitted to export goods from the *fondaco* without tariffs. This list of eastern and local commodities sold tax-free in the Venetian *fondaco* in Beirut contrasts with the more restrictive system imposed by the royal *fondes* in other crusader cities, and may represent a strategic bid for commercial advantage on the part of the lord of Beirut. It was worth the sacrifice of some tax revenue to lure Venetian traffic away from Acre and Tyre, since the increase in commercial activity through Beirut would fill Ibelin coffers. The political and economic ramifications of the Fourth Crusade affected Genoese fortunes more negatively. Although King Leo of Armenia had granted them churches, houses, and *fondacos* in several cities in 1201, he reduced these concessions, notably omitting *fondacos*, in 1215.¹⁰⁹

Despite this plentiful data showing *fondacos* held by the king or granted to western merchant groups, there is relatively little information on other types of *fondacos*. Some were evidently controlled by local lords, such as John of Ibelin or Philip of Montferrat. In 1269, for example, the latter made a grant of property in Tyre located between "ma fonde et la fonde de Pize."¹¹⁰ As in Castile and the realms of Aragón, other *fondacos* belonged to military orders or to the Church. Thus, a summary of tithes owed to a church in the Hospitaller fortress of Margat in 1193 included revenues from a local *funda*.¹¹¹ Nearly a century later, we find several facilities in episcopal hands. In 1263, for example, a letter of Pope Urban IV confirmed the exchange of property between two bishops, including a *fundico* and other real estate in Tyre.¹¹² Likewise, the bishop of Amalfi farmed out revenues from a *fondaco* owned by the metropolitan church in Tripoli in 1267.¹¹³ However, there is no evidence of *fondacos* controlled by ordinary citizens in crusader cities. This contrasts with the situation in Spain and Sicily, where charters, *repartimientos*, and contracts indicate quite a number of *fondacos* in private hands, apparently used for residence, manufacturing, and small-scale business.

¹⁰⁹ Imperiale di Sant' Angelo (ed.), *Codice diplomatico*, III, 190 (doc. 75); *Liber iurium Reipublicae Genuensis*, I (no. 514) cols. 574–576.

¹¹⁰ *Cartulaire général*, III, 202 (doc. 3346).

¹¹¹ *Cartulaire général*, I, 595–596 (doc. 941).

¹¹² (Urban IV), *Les Registres d'Urban IV (1261–1264)*, ed. Jean Guiraud (Paris: A Fontemoing, 1904) 22–23 (doc. 1019).

¹¹³ Charles Kohler, "Documents inédits concernant l'Orient Latin et les croisades (xii^e–xiv^e siècle)," *Revue d'Orient Latin* 7 (1900) 28–32.

Commercial *loggias* also appeared in crusader cities, where they seem to have existed simultaneously with *fondacos* during the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. A privilege from Baldwin IV, for example, granted revenues from both a *fonde* in Ascalon and a *loggia* in Acre, “where they sell bread,” in 1180.¹¹⁴ Although the *loggia* would gradually replace the *fondaco* in many other regions by the early fourteenth century, a definitive shift from *fondaco* to *loggia* would never occur in the Latin east, where the last outposts of Christian control were retaken by the Mamlūks in 1291.

Loggias and *fondacos* are not clearly differentiated in thirteenth-century sources. For example, there was a *logiam* listed as part of the Venetian *fondaco* in 1244, and a document drawn up “sub logia Venetorum” in Acre in 1277 may have meant only that the notary preferred to write in the shade.¹¹⁵ Nevertheless, a list of Venetian property and privileges in Tyre, also dating to 1277, specifically cited possession of a *loggia* (but no *fondaco*), together with a church and bell-tower, rights of free and secure trade, judicial freedom, and other concessions.¹¹⁶ In 1249, similarly, an inventory of Genoese real estate in Acre had listed houses, a bath, mill, oven, shops, storerooms, and gardens, as well as a “palatium logiae communis,” but no *fondaco*.¹¹⁷ In both cases, this association of the *loggia* with the commune itself suggests an official and representational capacity along the lines of the earlier *fondaco*. At the other end of the Mediterranean, also in 1249, the Genoese sought rights to a communal *alhóndiga*, houses, a church, and oven in Seville from Ferdinand III. By this date, therefore, the two terms appear to have been synonyms, though they would grow increasingly distinct over the next half century.

Mamlūk victories in the later thirteenth century against both the Mongols and the remaining Latin territories ushered in a new political and commercial regime in the Near East, as did the reassertion of Byzantine power in 1261. Trade routes changed in Egypt and Syria, along with government policies regulating facilities for merchants and other travelers. After the fall of Acre in 1291, *fondaco* buildings in the city probably continued to function, since there is archeological and textual evidence of

¹¹⁴ Röhricht, *Regesta*, II, 37 (no. 591). In 1149, the Order of the Hospitalers had exchanged rights to a bath-house in Acre for the rights to a *loggia* situated across from a church belonging to the Order. This seems to refer to a particular building rather than to a commercial exchange (D. Jacoby, “Les Communes italiennes et les ordres militaires à Acre: aspects juridiques, territoriaux et militaires [1104–1187, 1191–1291],” in *Etat et colonisation au moyen âge et à la Renaissance*, ed. Michel Balard [Lyon: La Manufacture, 1989] 200).

¹¹⁵ Tafel and Thomas (eds.), *Urkunden*, II, 392; Röhricht, *Regesta*, II, 97 (no. 1413c).

¹¹⁶ Röhricht, *Regesta*, I, 366–367 (no. 1413).

¹¹⁷ Röhricht, *Regesta*, I, 310 (no. 1182); Kool, “Genoese Quarter,” 199.

their evolution into Muslim *khāns*, but their western merchant inhabitants were long gone.¹¹⁸ Eventually, however, Italian merchants would return to establish new *fondacos*, now under the close supervision of Mamlūk administrators, not only in Beirut and other port cities, but also in Damascus and Aleppo.

The presence of Christian *fondacos* in the Crusader states, and elsewhere in the Near East in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, would leave its mark on Muslim commercial life in the later middle ages. As will be discussed in the next chapter, the roles of the *funduq*, *fondaco*, and *khān* shifted and solidified in the Mamlūk period in response to the changing economic and political climate in the Mediterranean world. Rulers and administrators, whether Christian or Muslim, were always quick to commandeered commercial space whenever it would profit their political agenda or economic ambitions. By 1300, with the changing balance of power in the Mediterranean, mercantile spheres also became more geographically distinct. While European merchants gained dominance in maritime traffic, Muslim rulers and traders controlled the overland routes linking ports in North Africa and the Near East with distant sources of luxury goods. In response, commercial facilities in these port cities, including *fondacos*, were increasingly regulated and became ever more important as the critical interface between the two religious, political, and economic spheres.

¹¹⁸ In Acre, the Mamlūk Khān al-Ifranj was located on the same spot as the earlier Venetian *fondaco*, and part of the building's structure dates to the crusader period. Its Arabic name (*ifranj*, meaning "Frankish") suggests a European heritage. The Pisan *fondaco* in Acre has been associated with the Khān al-Shūna, and the later Khān al-'Umdān is on the location of the Court of the Chain (Jacoby, "Crusader Acre," 32, 24; A. J. Boas, *Crusader Archaeology. The Material Culture of the Latin East* [London: Routledge, 1999] 36; P. Pierotti, *Pisa e Accon. L'Insediamento pisano nella città crociata. Il porto. Il fondaco* [Pisa: Pacini Editore, 1987]).

Changing patterns of Muslim commercial space in the later middle ages

Muslim commercial institutions that had taken shape in the early Islamic period continued to evolve and thrive in the later middle ages. The large volume of business coming through the *funduqs*, *fondacos*, and other facilities in Egypt, Syria, and the Maghrib is attested in a wide range of sources from the second half of the thirteenth century through the first decades of the sixteenth century. The Mamlūk historian al-Maqrīzī (1364–1442) described the Funduq Bilāl al-Mughīthī in Cairo where “merchants and businessmen store their goods . . . I entered one day and saw their crates, large and small, lined up against the wall, leaving only a narrow passage between them. These containers were filled with incalculable sums of silver and gold.”¹ Felix Fabri, a German pilgrim who came through Alexandria in the 1480s, was equally awed by the quantities of commodities packed into the Venetian *fondacos* in that city, one of which “was completely filled and overflowing with sacks and baskets of merchandise, so that there was hardly any space left to walk around, even though the courtyard was vast and there were numerous rooms.” The second Venetian *fondaco* was “even larger than the first, [and] there was a stupefying quantity of different kinds of merchandise, both those things which they wish to import from our regions and those which they wished to export from here.”²

Despite the bustling traffic that continued to come through *funduqs* and *fondacos* in the later middle ages, there were distinctive new developments in the use and terminology of commercial space in Muslim cities during the Mamlūk period (1250–1517). Most strikingly, for the purposes of this chapter, *funduqs* gradually became less prevalent in the Near East, and their range of function diminished. Although the word itself did not disappear during the Mamlūk period, many buildings that had once been *funduqs* fell into disuse, were demolished, or were converted into other types of commercial

¹ Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭāṭ*, II, 92.

² Fabri, *Evagatorium in terrae sanctae*, III, 163 [130b], *Voyage en Egypte*, II, 694–695.

facility – usually either *khāns* or *wakālas*. Data from chronicles, *waqf* endowments, and other materials all indicate the ascendancy of *khāns* and *wakālas* in Mamlūk lands, and the increasing preference for these facilities over other commercial spaces. When the new port region of Būlāq was developed in Cairo in the fifteenth century, merchants built dozens of *wakālas* as sites for their business and storage instead of the *funduqs* that had filled much the same functions in the earlier port of Fustāt.³ As a result of these shifts in usage in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the modern Arabic word *funduq* no longer carries the rich mixture of charitable, regulatory, and commercial significance that had once characterized this institution.

The *fondaco* did not share the fate of the *funduq*. Instead, it still flourished in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and continued to facilitate European traffic in Muslim cities into the Ottoman period. Although the two institutions continued to go by the same title (*funduq*) in Arabic, there was an increasing differentiation between the function and regulation of *fondacos* for western Christian traders and *funduqs* for merchants from within the *Dār al-Islām*. The entrenchment of western “national” *fondacos* as a points of mediation for cross-cultural trade, and their proliferation during the later middle ages, had a significant negative impact on the status and function of traditional *funduqs* in Mamlūk lands. The role of western *fondacos* in the late medieval Islamic world will be discussed in the next chapter.

The shifting terminology of trade and changing use of commercial space in Mamlūk cities resulted from a complex mixture of political and economic strategies on the part of sultans, alternating stability and disruption in their realms, contemporary linguistic and demographic changes, and the growing hegemony of western shipping in the Mediterranean. The advent of the Circassian line of Mamlūk sultans after 1382, beginning with Sultan Barqūq, and the ravages of Tīmūr in Syria in 1401, may have marked particular turning-points. This was also a time of profound change – even crisis – throughout the medieval Mediterranean world. A slowly cooling climate, together with recurring famine and plague in the fourteenth century and later, put an end to the demographic, agrarian, and commercial expansion that had been underway in the Mediterranean world since the early middle ages. Differential response to these challenges in Europe and the Near East, together with new developments in technology, markets, fiscal policies, and political vision, all influenced Mediterranean commerce and led to shifts in its commercial institutions. Meanwhile, there was also a widening gap

³ Nelly Hanna, *An Urban History of Būlāq in the Mamlūk and Ottoman Periods* (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1983) 89–101.

between the eastern and western Islamic worlds (Mashriq and Maghrib). This led not only to disparate trading relations with European states, but also to differences in the function and nomenclature of commercial buildings between the two ends of the Muslim Mediterranean. Thus, while the *funduq* became less common in Egypt and Syria in the later middle ages, it continued to flourish in the Maghrib through the Ottoman period.

In the eastern Islamic world, Mamlūk rulers were keen to regulate trade and to cull profits from the *funduq* and other commercial facilities. As a result, their period was characterized by protectionist economic strategies, by increased regulation of the western *fondacos*, and by the shifting focus of Muslim merchants towards overland and Red Sea-to-Indian Ocean traffic. In the hope of profiting from merchant business, Mamlūk rulers experimented with taxes, monopolies, *waqf* endowments, controls on trade, and other methods of asserting their presence within the economic sphere. Not all of these were new, since many built on economic policies developed in the Fāṭimid and Ayyūbid periods. For example, the idea of using the *wakāla* as an official facility for channeling traffic in certain products, and thereby accessing their profits, had roots in the twelfth century and possibly even earlier, but preference for the *wakāla* grew markedly under the later Mamlūks. Some Mamlūk innovations, particularly the rejuvenation of an official mail service (*barīd*), had a strongly positive effect on overland trade and communications, and enhanced the network of rural *khāns* in Syria and Egypt. But many Mamlūk fiscal tactics turned out to be short-sighted, being less concerned with the long-term economic health of their realm than with speedy gains for government coffers, or the immediate advancement of certain sultans, amirs, merchant groups, or sectors of trade. Al-Maqrīzī, who served as a market inspector (*muḥtasib*) in Cairo, making him intimately familiar with commercial facilities in that city, was particularly critical of the economic policies initiated after the dynastic shift in 1382.⁴

The advent of Mamlūk rule in Egypt and Syria in 1250 issued in a new system of political power based on clientage, talent, and professional advancement rather than on dynastic inheritance. This had a profound impact on practices of inheritance and endowment, and, by extension, the foundation of commercial buildings. All mamlūks were originally slaves of foreign non-Muslim origin, brought to Egypt as young boys, converted to Islam, and meticulously trained in the arts of war and politics. Each mamlūk served under an amir in a cohort with others of his own status, and those who were adept and successful could expect to rise in the ranks,

⁴ Adel Allouche, *Mamlūk Economics. A Study and Translation of al-Maqrīzī's Ighāthah* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1994) 2–4.

eventually becoming amirs themselves. Ultimately, a man with the right talents and connections would be chosen as sultan. This system was very different from previous Ayyūbid policies, where all rulers were drawn from the dynasty of Saladin. Early Mamlūk rulers were not usually related to each other by blood (although this became more common later).

These changes in dynastic understanding had implications for inheritance and for the transfer of wealth to heirs. Mamlūk sultans and amirs were discouraged from passing on power to their own line. Nor – in theory – could they bequeath real property, such as land and buildings, since these were distributed temporarily as perks of the job. Money and goods could, however, be amassed for personal use and passed on to family members. These rules put a premium on cash revenues derived from rents, taxes, fees, *waqf* income, and other sources.

The *funduq* was one among a number of urban facilities (the traditional constellation of baths, markets, ovens, *khāns*, *wakālas*, etc.) that could produce revenues through renting or farming the property, collecting taxes, and charging fees for storage and lodging. Many *funduqs*, particularly small-scale facilities, would have been privately owned or leased by ordinary citizens. Others were part of *waqf* endowments, or under the control of Mamlūk amirs and sultans. These beneficiaries derived income either from regular rental payments or as a percentage of the profits of the enterprise. These financial arrangements and the avid interest of Mamlūk officials in commercial buildings are attested in *waqf* deeds, contracts, chronicles, and urban surveys.⁵

Sources indicate a thriving commercial sector in the Mamlūk capital, and a broad array of mercantile facilities in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Many of these commercial buildings were now in the heart of Cairo proper (al-Qāhira), in the area north of the Citadel, or in the new port of Būlāq, rather than in Fuṣṭāṭ, the older southern area of the city.⁶

⁵ It has not been possible to consult the unpublished manuscripts of *waqfiyyāt* in Cairo for this project, nor to pursue this avenue fully in published sources. Among edited texts, see those in Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tathkerat al-nabih*, II, 427–448 (my thanks to Niall Christie for drawing my attention to this collection). Sultan Barsbay endowed a *funduq* in Cairo in 1442 and Qāyit Bay (1468–1496) constructed four *wakālas* and two *khāns* in the same city. Barsbay's *waqf* has been partially published in Aḥmad Darrāj, *L'Égypte sous le règne de Barsbay 825–841/1422–1438* (Damascus: Institut français de Damas, 1961), and also in Denoix et al., *Le Khan al-Khalili et ses environs*, II, appendix, 8–10. On the foundation of Qāyit Bay, see Behrens-Abouseif, "Qāyitbāy's Investments," 29. See also Randi Deguilhem, *Le Waqf dans l'espace islamique outil de pouvoir socio-politique* (Damascus: Institut français de Damas, 1995).

⁶ On changes in the city and its topography, see Casanova, *Reconstitution topographique*; Hanna, *An Urban History of Būlāq*; Laila Ibrahim, *Mamluk Monuments of Cairo* (Cairo: Quaderni dell'Istituto Italiano di Cultura, 1976); Garcin (ed.), *Grandes villes méditerranéennes*, 135–156, 177–203; S. Denoix, "Histoire et formes urbaines (éléments de méthode)," in *Itinéraires d'Égypte: mélanges offerts au Père Maurice Martin*, ed. Christian Découbert (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1992) 45–70.

Reports vary on the exact number of each type of facility, since some buildings changed their names over time, while others went by several names simultaneously. Terms could also be nested together, so that a *khān* might be part of a *qayṣāriyya*, or a *funduq* might be one element within a larger interconnected commercial complex such as the Khān al-Khalīlī.⁷ Sometimes chroniclers used several terms, even if they had slightly different meanings, simply for rhetorical effect and to vary their language. Thus, when al-Maqrīzī reported that the *khāns* of Cairo “were crammed with newly-arrived travelers and the *funduqs* were filled with residents,” it is hard to know if he was distinguishing between two distinct types of hostel, one for transient guests and the other for long-term lodgers, or merely making a nicely parallel statement.⁸

In most cases, however, al-Maqrīzī’s use of language was neither random nor merely rhetorical. He mentioned a number of buildings that shifted from one designation to another, indicating that the name of a commercial building could change without alterations to its physical structure. For example, two *funduqs* established in Cairo in the Ayyūbid period were collectively called the Khān al-Masrūr by the fourteenth century.⁹ The Wakāla Qawṣūn was also originally built as a *funduq*, probably in the 1330s, but had been converted into a *wakāla* by the end of the century (though al-Maqrīzī pointed out that it still had “the same purpose [*fi mānī*] as a *funduq* or *khān*”).¹⁰ The same pattern occurred with the Wakāla Bāb al-Jawwāniyya, a building constructed as “a *funduq* with living quarters on the upper floors” in 1391, which was almost immediately commandeered by Sultan Barqūq, who “ordered that it be made into a *wakāla* for the storage of merchandise arriving in Cairo by sea [i.e. along the river from Alexandria] from the province of Syria.”¹¹

⁷ André Raymond and Gaston Wiet discuss the issue of terminology in their introduction to al-Maqrīzī, *Les Marchés du Caire*, 1. Some buildings normally termed *wakālas* or *khāns* were only described in generic terms in epigraphy. The Khān al-Khalīlī was simply called *makān* or *hīsn* in three inscriptions dating from the time of its restoration by Sultan Ghūrī (1501–1516) (M. Van Berchem [ed.], *Matériaux pour un corpus inscriptionum Arabicarum*, xix: Egypte [Cairo: Institut français d’archéologie orientale, 1903] part 1, 595–596 (nos. 406–408). On Ghūrī’s foundations, see K. A. Alhamzeh, “Late Mamlūk Patronage: Qansuh Ghūrī’s *waqf* and his Foundations in Cairo,” Ph.D. dissertation (Columbus: Ohio State University, 1993).

⁸ Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭāṭ*, 1, 361.

⁹ Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭāṭ*, 11, 92. The slippage in terminology from *funduq* to *khān* was already occurring in the Ayyūbid period, but it became more pronounced after the thirteenth century.

¹⁰ Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭāṭ*, 11, 93. The date is suggested by a Cairene inscription, dated 1330, recording the foundation of a *khān* (either the same or a different building) built by the amir Qawṣūn (Combe et al. [eds.], *Répertoire*, xiv [no. 5580]).

¹¹ Maqrīzī, *Khiṭāṭ*, 11, 94. This may be the same facility as the *funduq al-wakāla* listed by Ibn Duqmāq, *Kitāb al-intiṣār*, iv, 40.

Al-Maqrīzī's use of particular words for urban facilities indicates that shifts in terminology were systematic, repeated, and unidirectional. He and other authors mentioned *funduqs* that became *khāns* or *wakālas*, but the transition never went in the other direction. Evidently, these terms were not identical or interchangeable (although they did overlap and it was common to find slippage from one to another in popular usage), and over time the *funduq* lost ground to rival institutions. In order to understand these changes, this chapter will turn to each term individually, examining its range of meaning and function, looking for chronological and geographical patterns in its use, and charting alterations over time. The chapter concludes by suggesting reasons for these shifts in the function and relative prominence of the *funduq*, *khān*, and *wakāla* during the Mamlūk period.

THE FUNDUQ

Functionally, there was little to set most *funduqs* in Mamlūk cities apart from their predecessors in the Ayyūbid period and earlier. What was different was that the *funduq* gradually became less common, and many of its functions were shared – and increasingly usurped – by other urban commercial facilities.¹² As in the past, terminology often overlapped. Al-Maqrīzī casually mentioned a *funduq* in Cairo that “was called the Khān al-Ḥajar” in 1329, and the double terminology was still in place a century later when this building was renovated and endowed as part of a *waqf* by Sultan Barsbay in 1442.¹³ By the eighteenth century, the facility was no longer either a *funduq* or a *khān*, but was known as the Wakāla al-Danūsharī.¹⁴

Increasingly, the designation “*funduq*” might refer only to certain parts of a building, not necessarily the entire complex. The 1442 *waqf* of Barsbay (above) described a *funduq* with storerooms, a central courtyard with a well, and upper chambers and apartments, while there were a number of other adjacent amenities – shops and a bread oven – nearby. Other endowments

¹² In Cairo, Maqrīzī mentioned several *funduqs* built in the second half of the thirteenth century (such as the Funduq al-Šāliḥ, founded by a son of the Sultan Qalāwūn in the early 1280s ([*Khiṭāṭ*, 11, 92–93]), and a number of others established in the fourteenth century. He listed no *funduqs* built under this name in the fifteenth century. The slightly earlier historian Ibn Duqmāq (d. 1407) named sixteen facilities in a section devoted to *funduqs* in Cairo in his *Kitāb al-intiṣār*, 1v, 40–41, but cited forty-one in the index. In general, Ibn Duqmāq said little about individual facilities. Also on citations to *funduqs*, *khāns*, and *wakālas* in the work of Ibn Duqmāq and al-Maqrīzī, see al-Maqrīzī, *Les Marchés du Caire*, 23–24 and Aḥmad ‘Abd al-Majīd Harīdī (ed.), *Index des Hiṭaṭ. Index analytique des ouvrages d’Ibn Duqmāq et de Maqrīzī sur le Caire* (Cairo: Institut français d’archéologie orientale, 1983).

¹³ Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-sulūk*, 1v, part 11, 853; Darrāj, *L’Égypte sous le règne de Barsbay*; Denoix et al., *Le Khan al-Khalili et ses environs*, 11, appendix, 8–10.

¹⁴ Denoix et al., *Le Khan al-Khalili et ses environs*, 11, 9.

show a similar conjunction of related urban facilities, not all of which were considered part of the *funduq* proper. This was not necessarily a new development, since deeds and contracts had traditionally spoken of *funduqs* and “their appurtenances.” However, the overlapping use of urban real estate became more necessary as the population and commercial activities of Cairo grew denser in the Mamlūk period.

One innovation was the development of the *raḅ*, apartment complexes built on the upper floors of commercial buildings (such as *funduqs* and *wakālas*) in Mamlūk Cairo. These close-packed dwellings for the urban poor were accessed by exterior stairways, not from the interior courtyard, thus preserving a separation between the spaces for business and for habitation within the same structure. In many cases, local merchants and traveling traders no longer lodged in the same buildings with their goods and business associates, as had been the standard pattern in earlier *funduqs*.¹⁵

Although the use of buildings might change, their basic form did not. *Waqf* texts and surviving buildings – such as the partial remains of a *funduq* constructed by Sultan Barsbay in Cairo in 1423 (and later called the *Wakāla al-Ashrafiyya*) – show the continuing generic form of a central courtyard with storage-rooms on the first floor and living-chambers above.¹⁶ As with many urban facilities, however, it was often necessary to adapt the shape of a building to make the most of limited space. Thus, the *funduq* noted above was roughly rectangular with three floors, and had been fitted into the corner of two streets behind their shop fronts. On the ground floor, the courtyard and storerooms around it were accessible through a single gate. Some of the chambers on the second and third floors overlooked the courtyard, while others looked into the side streets. A number of shops opening onto the street backed onto the courtyard (and had upper chambers of the *funduq* built above them), but did not connect to the courtyard. Although this complex of shops, warehouse space, and living-chambers appear to be all the same structure, possibly only the internal courtyard and areas accessible from this space were actually considered part of the *funduq*.¹⁷

¹⁵ Hazem Sayed, “The *Raḅ* in Cairo: A Window on Mamluk Architecture and Urbanism,” Ph.D. dissertation (Cambridge, MA: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1987) 95–98, 140–143; André Raymond, “The *Raḅ*: A Type of Collective Housing in Cairo during the Ottoman Period,” in *Proceedings of Seminar Four in the Series: Architectural Transformations in the Islamic World, held in Fez, Morocco, October 9–12, 1979* (Philadelphia: Aga Khan Award for Architecture, 1980) 56. See also Mirfat Maḥmūd ‘Isā, “*Dirāsa fī wathā’iq al-Sulṭān al-Malik al-Ashraf Shābān ibn Ḥusayn, al-Mu’arrikh al-Miṣrī* 21 (1999) 155–156.

¹⁶ S. Denoix, “Topographie de l’intervention du personnel politique à l’époque mamelouk,” in Denoix et al., *Le Khan al-Khalili et ses environs*, 1, 42. This structure was called a *funduq* in its endowment text, and Denoix noted it as the *Funduq* of Barsbay.

¹⁷ Denoix, “Topographie,” 44.

Endowment documents provide some idea of the physical elements within *funduqs*, and these show little change from earlier periods. They pay careful attention to the structure of buildings – stairs, corridors, roofs, doors, storerooms, chambers, benches, shops – and to provisions for light and air (windows, skylights), water (wells, cisterns), heating and cooking (ovens, chimneys), and sanitation (gutters, pipes, and latrines). In some cases, they mention decorative elements such as marble, tiles, and furnishings.¹⁸

Al-Maqrīzī's descriptions of contemporary *funduqs* add functional information to these spare outlines provided in *waqf* deeds. His descriptions of buildings built as *funduqs*, whether or not they still went by that name, emphasized their use for both lodging and commerce. For example, the Wakāla Bāb al-Jawwāniyya was originally intended as "a *funduq* with living quarters on the upper floors," but the rest of his information on this building related to commercial matters.¹⁹ Likewise, the Wakāla Qawṣūn, first built as a *funduq*, had provided space for housing as well as commerce, though the living-space fell from use. According to al-Maqrīzī, the upper floors of this building had 360 rooms, all of which had once been filled with tenants – up to four thousand men, women, and children at a time.²⁰ The mention of whole families inhabiting this space suggests that these were apartments for local people (*rab'*), not temporary rooms for traveling merchants.

Al-Maqrīzī's detailed survey of fourteenth-century Cairo indicates that a number of *funduqs* still served as facilities for trade and storage, though some earlier buildings had ceased operation by the time of his writing. As we have seen above, the Funduq Bilāl al-Mughhithī (founded in the late thirteenth century) was filled with the bales and boxes of the "merchants and businessmen, who continue to store their goods in this *funduq*."²¹ Another *funduq* in Cairo, the Funduq al-Ṭurunṭāyī, was the place where merchants bringing olive oil from Syria were accustomed to deposit their cargoes, until the building was destroyed by a massive fire (fueled by stocks of oil) in 1321.²² Later, the Funduq Dār al-Ṭuffāh, a facility in Fuṣṭāṭ incorporated into a

¹⁸ There are many such examples. See *waqf* texts published in Denoix's study *Le Khan al-Khalili et ses environs*, II, 41–44; appendix, 1–3, 8–10. Also Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tathkeerat al-nabih*, II, 427–448; Niall Christie is preparing a study and translation of this latter text.

¹⁹ Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭāṭ*, II, 94.

²⁰ Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭāṭ*, II, 93. Apparently only a few of these apartments were still inhabited at the time of al-Maqrīzī's account.

²¹ Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭāṭ*, II, 92.

²² Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭāṭ*, II, 94. Commercial buildings were often prone to fire, and the consequent economic losses sometimes merited mention in chronicles. Al-Nuwayrī's account of Peter of Cyprus's attack on Alexandria in 1365 reported that many buildings were burned by the Franks, including *funduqs*, markets, shops, *qaysāriyyas*, and a *wakāla* (al-Nuwayrī, *Kitāb al-ilmām*, ed. E. Combe and A. S. Atiya [Hyderabad: Osmania University, 1969] II, 166).

waqf in 1340, was devoted to the sale of “all different sorts of fruit grown in the gardens in the suburbs of Cairo,” in distinction to produce brought overland from Syria, which was sold through the *Wakāla Qawṣūn*. In the interior of the *funduq* there were “shops where the people sell fruit . . . and the area between the shops is covered with a roof in order to shade the fruit from the heat of the sun.” The aroma and beauty of the ripe fruit, al-Maqrīzī added, made the whole building seem like Paradise.²³ Other *funduqs* in the city were devoted to commerce in sugar, cotton, rice, and other goods, or catered to particular groups of merchants.²⁴

A number of *funduqs* fell on hard times in the early fifteenth century. In 1418, the sultan al-Muʿayyad tore down the *Funduq Dār al-Ṭuffāh*, on the grounds that it obscured the windows of a neighboring mosque, although he had to pay dearly for permission to annul its *waqf*.²⁵ Another facility, the *Funduq of Masrūr* (also called the *Khān al-Masrūr*), suffered a similar fate. During its heyday, in the Ayyūbid and early Mamlūk periods, this building had hosted merchants and merchandise from Syria, and it served as the market where young prospective mamlūks were sold after their arrival in Egypt.²⁶ However, its business declined “following the destructions which took place at the time of the invasion of Tīmūr, leading to the ruin of Egyptian [trade], the number of merchants declined . . . [and] the prestige of the *khān* quickly diminished and it was no longer maintained.” The structure was demolished in 1428.²⁷ Not all *funduqs* disappeared during the early fifteenth century, but their numbers certainly diminished in relation to other, more popular, commercial facilities.

Fifteenth-century accounts by European travelers described *funduqs* in Cairo, but they made clear that these facilities were generally used by Muslim merchants rather than foreign Christian traders.²⁸ These western

²³ Al-Maqrīzī, *Khīṭāṭ*, II, 93. The location of the *Funduq Dār al-Ṭuffāh* is shown by Casanova, *Reconstitution topographique*, 205, 213.

²⁴ Ira Lapidus mentioned a sugar factory converted into a *funduq* by a Karīmī merchant (who died in 1400–1401) (*Muslim Cities*, 212); A cotton *funduq* appears in a *waqf* endowment of Qāyit Bay (L. A. Mayer [ed.], *The Buildings of Qāyit Bay as Described in his Endowment Deed* ([London: Arthur Probsthain, 1938] 31–33); Subhi Labib cited a *funduq al-anbar* (either for amber or merely a warehouse) in Cairo (“Egyptian Commercial Policy,” 72). On Karīmī *funduqs* in Mamlūk Egypt, see Muhammad Ashqar, *Tujār al-tawwābil fi Miṣr fi al-ʿAṣr al-Mamlūkī* (Cairo: al-Hayʾah al-Miṣriyyah al-ʿAmmāh lil-Kutub, 1999) 206–211.

²⁵ Al-Maqrīzī, *Khīṭāṭ*, II, 93. Al-Maqrīzī estimated the cost of demolition at 30,000 *muʿayyidī* dirhams (previously, the *funduq* had yielded 1,000 dirhams monthly to its *waqf*).

²⁶ Doris Behrens-Abouseif et al., “Le Caïre,” in Garcin (ed.), *Grandes villes méditerranéennes*, 192.

²⁷ Al-Maqrīzī, *Les Marchés du Caïre*, 135.

²⁸ The use of the word by visitors from Europe (in contrast to a Maghribi writer such as Ibn Baṭṭūṭa or Leo Africanus) makes it probable that they were also called *funduqs* in local Arabic. Pero Tafur, a Spanish traveler, remarked on “una alhóndiga donde se allegan los xpianos” in Cairo in 1435–1439 (Pero Tafur, *Andanças é viajes de Pero Tafur por diversas partes del mundo avidos [1435–1439]* [Madrid: Imprenta de Miguel Ginesta, 1874] 77).

accounts provide useful eyewitness information on the physical and fiscal function of commercial spaces in the Mamlūk capital. Anselm Adorno, who came through Cairo in 1470–1471, remarked that the merchants and businessmen (“mercatores et negotiatores”) in the city were “so rich that they almost functioned as a royal treasury and made loans to the sultan. There are an almost infinite number of *fundici* for the pagans, but none for Christian Franks because they never or very rarely come” to Cairo.²⁹ A decade later, in 1481, the Jewish traveler Meshullam ben Menahem of Volterra also described *funduqs* in Cairo, where

there are all kinds of goods, and the merchants and craftsmen sit near their shops, which are very small, and show samples of their goods; and if you wish to buy from them . . . they bring you into their warehouse, and there you can see the wonderful goods they have, for you could hardly believe that there are one thousand and more warehouses in each *funduq*; and there is nothing in the world that you do not find in the *funduqs* in Miṣr, even the smallest thing.³⁰

Funduqs also continued to do business in Alexandria, Damascus, Aleppo, and other regional markets, although there are less data on these cities than for the Mamlūk capital. *Waqf* materials from Alexandria cite the presence of *funduqs* in the city, including one from 1326 that not only described a *funduq* as part of the endowment, but also mentioned two others (one a *funduq* for silk) as neighboring properties.³¹ Al-Nuwayrī also listed several *funduqs* in Alexandria in 1365, specifically tagging some as belonging to Muslims and others as Christian.³² Christian sources abundantly document the existence of *fondacos* for western merchants and travelers in Alexandria, since this city was the main terminus for European commercial business in Egypt, and occasionally also mention facilities of the same name for non-western traders, usually described as Turks, Saracens, or Tatars. References to *funduqs* are less common in Syrian cities, especially after the thirteenth century, by which point the *khān* had gained virtual hegemony among commercial facilities in this region. Thus, when the famous lexicographer Ibn Manẓūr (d.1311–1312) reported that the word *funduq* originated among

²⁹ Anselm Adorno, *Itinéraire d'Anselme Adorno en Terre Sainte (1470–71)*, ed. and trans. J. Heers and G. de Groer (Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1978) 188–189. It seems likely that Adorno intended to imply a connection between rich merchants, *funduqs*, and the wealth of the sultan, since *funduq* revenues did indeed yield rich returns to Mamlūk state coffers. He may, however, have also been drawing on the contemporary model of Italian banking houses in describing these transactions as loans.

³⁰ E. N. Adles (ed. and trans.), *Jewish Travellers* (London: Routledge, 1930) Hebrew 56, English 169–170.

³¹ Ibn Habib, *Tathkerat al-nabih*, II, 428–433; Niall Christie, “Reconstructing Life in Medieval Alexandria from an 8th/14th century *waqf* Document” (unpublished article).

³² Al-Nuwayrī, *Kitāb al-ilmām*, II, 166. Also on *funduqs* in Alexandria, see Martina Müller-Wiener, *Eine Stadtgeschichte Alexandrias von 564/1169 bis in die Mitte 9.15. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: Klaus Schwartz Verlag, 1992) esp. 250–252.

the *ahl al-Shām*, he was quoting earlier dictionaries rather than marking contemporary usage.³³ A few *funduqs* appear in Syrian *waqf* endowments and chronicles, indicating a continued presence, and some of these facilities apparently flourished. The Funduq ‘Ā’isha in Aleppo, for example, was filled with storerooms and shops in the fifteenth century.³⁴

As in earlier periods, Mamlūk *funduqs* could produce considerable revenue. According to al-Maqrīzī, the *funduq* known as the Khān al-Ḥajar provided an income of 3,000 dirhams a month from its shops and upper rooms in 1326, while the Funduq Dār al-Ṭuffāḥ took in 1,000 dirhams a month in the early fifteenth century.³⁵ This latter income went to support a *waqf* for the founder’s *khanqāh* in Qarafa. Merchants arriving in the Funduq al-Ṭuruntāyī paid tariffs on the olive oil they sold or stored within its walls, with one trader owing 20,000 silver dirhams in tax (*maks*) on a large cargo brought from Syria.³⁶

These taxes were collected by the manager of the establishment (*ṣāhib al-funduq*), who lived off a percentage of this income (often 5 percent or a bit more), combined with revenues from sales in the *funduq*, storage fees, and rents from sub-leasing shops, rooms, and stables. The manager was responsible for maintenance of the building, and paid an annual rent. The balance of *funduq* revenues (along with the rent) would have been forwarded to a private owner, *waqf* estate, or other beneficiary.³⁷ In 1303, a *funduq* in Cairo was raided during the night, and the manager, who was present in the building, was forced to open the storerooms. All of its cash revenues, in gold, silver, and copper coins, were lost. Much of this money had been earmarked for pious endowments.³⁸

³³ Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-‘Arab*, x, 313. Ibn Manẓūr probably based his information on earlier dictionaries such as those by al-Azharī, *Tahdhīb al-lughah*, ix, 412; and al-Yāqūt, *Mu’jam al-buldān*, iv, 277.

³⁴ Sibṭ Ibn al-‘Ajāmī, “*Les Trésors d’or*” d’Ibn Sibṭ al-‘Ajāmī, trans. J. Sauvaget (Beirut: Institut français de Damas, 1950) 138 [text 88b]. Earlier, a Venetian commercial manual written in Acre in the 1260s had referred to the “*fontego* of the Sultan” in Aleppo, where cotton was stored and handled in return for various fees, but this may have been a western usage (Jacoby, “A Venetian Manual,” 425; my thanks to David Jacoby for his advice on this matter). For references to *funduqs* in Mamlūk Damascus, see Ibn al-Shiḥnah, “*Les Perles choisies*” d’Ibn ach-Chihna, trans. J. Sauvaget (Beirut: Institut français de Damas, 1938) 187 (French), 242 (Arabic); H. Sauvaire, “Description de Damas,” 7 (1896) 396, 398–399. Combe et al. (eds.), *Répertoire*, xi (1941) (no. 4332) records a 1251 *waqf* including a *funduq* in Damascus.

³⁵ Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-sulūk*, iv, part 2, 853; al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭāṭ*, ii, 93.

³⁶ Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭāṭ*, ii, 94.

³⁷ Apparently typical arrangements are detailed in a rental contract for a *funduq* in Fustāṭ in 1311. See Amin, *Fihrist wathā’iq al-Qābirah*, 77; Niall Christie, “A Rental Document from 8th/14th Century Egypt” (unpublished article). Also Maya Shatzmiller, “*Waqf Khayrī* in Fourteenth-century Fez: Legal, Social, and Economic Aspects,” *Anaquel de Estudios Arabes* (Madrid) 2 (1991) 207.

³⁸ Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-sulūk*, iii, part 3, 1053.

Patterns of commercial space were strikingly different in the Islamic west during this period, since *funduqs* in Maghribi cities were never displaced by the *khān* or the *wakāla*. Instead, evidence from Tunis, Fez, Granada, and other western cities indicates that *funduqs* remained the dominant commercial institution in the Maghrib throughout the later middle ages. *Funduqs* in the Islamic west served a broad spectrum of functions, with some devoted to storage and sales, some specializing in lodging, while other became sites for manufacturing, weaving, and craft production.³⁹

As in earlier periods, there were considerable numbers of *funduqs* in every major town in the Maghrib.⁴⁰ During the Marīnid period (1217–1465), their capital city of Fez was an important mercantile and cultural center, with flourishing commercial institutions, religious schools, and other facilities. In many cases, new Marīnid *madrasas* were directly funded by revenues from the local *funduqs*. Scholars, students, and merchants – both Muslims and European Christians – came to the city to learn and trade, and they all needed places to work and stay. Muslim and Jewish refugees from Spain may also have sought temporary lodging in *funduqs* in Marīnid cities.⁴¹ In the fourteenth century, the chroniclers Ibn Abī Zaʿ and al-Jaznāʿī tallied 467 *funduqs* in Fez, while al-Anṣārī counted 360 *funduqs* in Ceuta in 1422.⁴² In the early sixteenth century, Leo Africanus counted 200 hostels in Fez, and remarked that their concessionaires (consuls or *amīns*) each paid a regular fee to the owners of the buildings or to the governor of the city in return for their use.⁴³

³⁹ This is often evident from *waqf* data, such as an endowment with revenues coming from a textile atelier on the ground floor of a *funduq* in Tlemcen in 1568–1569 (Charles Brosselard, “Les Inscriptions arabes de Tlemcen,” *Revue Africaine* 22 [1860] 241–243).

⁴⁰ Minor towns, in contrast, had few such facilities. In the early fifteenth century, al-Anṣārī described the village of Binyūnis as having “no *fanādiq*, except for one single *funduq*, located on the shore, outside of the walls” (“Une Description de Ceuta musulmane au xve siècle. *L’Iḥṣān al-ahbār* de Muḥammad al-Kāsim ibn ‘Abd al-Malik al-Anṣārī,” ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hespéris* 22 [1935] 171; French trans. “La Physionomie monumentale de Ceuta: un hommage nostalgique à la ville par un de ses fils, Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim al-Anṣārī,” trans. A. M. Turki, *Hespéris-Tamuda* 20–21 [1982–1983] 156).

⁴¹ In Fez, the district known as *Funduq al-Yahūd* may have grown up around a *funduq* for Jewish merchants, or possibly refugees from Spain, although Jews probably no longer lived in this neighborhood by the later middle ages. See David Corcos, “Les Juifs du Maroc et leurs mellahs,” in *Studies of the History of the Jews of Morocco* (Jerusalem: Rubin Mass, 1976) 71; also Mercedes García-Arenal, “Jewish Converts to Islam in the Muslim West,” in *Dhimmi and Others: Jews and Christians and the World of Classical Islam*, ed. U. Rubin and D. Wasserstein (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1997) 242.

⁴² Ibn Abī Zaʿ, *Kitāb al-anīs al-muṭrib*, 26; al-Jaznāʿī, *Kitāb zahrat al-ās* 33 (Arabic), 81 (French) (a more recent edition [Rabat: *al-Matbaʿa al-malakiyya*, 1967, p. 44] gives the number as 469); al-Anṣārī, “Description de Ceuta,” 160 (Arabic), 139 (French).

⁴³ Leo Africanus, *Description de l’Afrique*, trans. A. Epaulard (Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, Paris, 1956) 190–191.

Funduqs in Maghribi cities provided substantial revenues to the government, to private owners, and to pious foundations (often termed *ḥabūs* rather than *waqf* in the Islamic west). Although the Mamlūk historian al-ʿUmarī (d. 1349) claimed that the Marīnids were less avid in the foundation of *waqfs* than their Almoravid and Almohad predecessors, this was probably not actually the case. Marīnid sultans not only created many new endowments, especially during the reigns of three consecutive rulers in the period 1310–1359, but they also renovated and re-endowed earlier foundations.⁴⁴ Although it could be difficult, it was possible to change the provisions of a *waqf*, especially if an endowed property were declared derelict. Thus, a query put to Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAbdūsī (d. 1446), a *qādī* in Fez, asked whether it was permissible to turn a long-abandoned *ḥabūs* property into a *funduq* to supply revenues for the Friday Mosque. The answer was positive; conversion to a *funduq* was admissible provided that the building in question was in such a state of disrepair that it could not be used for its original purpose.⁴⁵ More commonly, new endowments were created out of privately held real estate – as in Tlemcen, where a *ḥabūs* foundation made in 1364 included land and buildings – a *funduq*, baths, ovens, mills, and shops – that had been the personal property (*mulk*) of a Zayyānid amir.⁴⁶

Sometimes only part of a *funduq* was cited in a pious endowment, indicating that its easily divisible cash revenues were its most important aspect. Thus, in 1325, the Madrasa al-ʿAtṭārīn in Fez was funded by seven-eighths of the income from one *funduq* and half of the proceeds from another, together with income from various shops and houses. Likewise, a bequest for the Madrasa Miṣbāḥiyya noted income from five-eighths of a local *funduq* in 1346. The Madrasa al-Ṣiḥrīj in Fez, however, derived income from “the entire building of the Funduq Ibn Khunūsa” (along with numerous other properties) in 1323, while the Madrasa of Abū al-Ḥasan in Salé claimed the profits from three whole *funduqs* plus a quarter of a fourth.⁴⁷

Many *funduqs* in the Maghrib specialized in particular commodities, and their profits derived from the storage, sale, and taxation of these items. It appears that they preserved this function to a greater degree than their counterparts in Mamlūk lands, in large part because *funduqs* in western

⁴⁴ Shatzmiller, “Waqf Khayrī,” 195–199.

⁴⁵ Al-Wansharīsī, *Mi yār*, vii, 57.

⁴⁶ Shatzmiller, “Waqf Khayrī,” 202–205.

⁴⁷ Madrasa al-ʿAtṭārīn: Combe et al. (eds.), *Répertoire*, xiv (1954) 204–206 (no. 5500); Madrasa Miṣbāḥiyya: *ibid.*, xvi (1964) 15–18 (no. 6020) (the latter text was also edited by Alfred Bel, in his “Inscriptions arabes de Fès,” *Journal Asiatique* 12 [1918] 256–262); Madrasa of al-Ṣiḥrīj: Combe et al. (eds.), *Répertoire*, xiv (1954) 186–189 (no. 5480) (also in Bel, “Inscriptions arabes de Fès” 10 [1917] 222–231); Madrasa of Abū al-Ḥasan: Combe et al. (eds.), *Répertoire*, xv (1956) 211–213 (no. 5941).

cities were never rivaled by the *khān* or *wakāla*. Tax revenues devoted to *waqfs* during the reign of the Ḥafṣid sultan Abū Fāris (1394–1434) included 3,000 dinars annually from the vegetable *funduq* in Tunis, 1,500 dinars from the salt *funduq*, and 1,000 dinars from the *funduq* for eggs.⁴⁸ Whether or not these figures reflect actual cash sums, it is clear that these facilities channeled traffic in certain products and collected considerable amounts of money. Other data also link *funduqs* with specific commercial items in Marīnid cities. One of the *funduqs* supporting the *ḥabūs* for the Madrasa of Abū al-Ḥasan in Salé, noted above, was connected with a warehouse for salt, and revenue from salt pans also funded the endowment.⁴⁹ Likewise, a *ḥabūs* for the Madrasa Dār al-Makhzan in Fez, dated 1321, included seven-eighths of the income from a *funduq* for the storage and sale of wheat.⁵⁰ A century later, writing in 1422, al-Anṣārī also described the Funduq al-Kabīr in Ceuta as a depot for the storage of grain (“l-ikhtizān al-zar’”), with

fifty-two storage chambers, including granaries and rooms (*hurī wa buyūt*). Nine of these storage rooms can hold up to one thousand *qafiz* of grain, and the capacity of the whole [*funduq*] is inestimable. The *funduq* is so large that it has two gates, one opening into the courtyard and the other giving access to the second floor . . . camels bearing their loads enter these two high and wide gates.⁵¹

These references to *funduqs* for grain and salt are reminiscent of similar facilities not far away, in southern Castile, south Italy, and Sicily, where the Alhóndiga del Pan in Seville and the royal warehouses (*fondacos*) controlled traffic in wheat and salt, and channeled revenues from this trade to royal treasuries.

Unlike their counterparts in southern Europe, Maghribi *funduqs* never came to concentrate exclusively on goods, and they always continued to house merchants, travelers, and artisans. Al-Anṣārī reported that “the largest of the *funduqs* [in Ceuta] serving as residences for merchants and others is the *funduq* known as the Funduq Ghānim. It has three floors, with eighty

⁴⁸ Zarkashī, *Tārīkh al-dawlatayn*, 102; French trans. *Chronique des Almohades et des Hafṣides, attribuée à Zerkechi, traduction française d’après l’édition de Tunis et trois manuscrits*, trans. E. Fagnon (Constantine: A. Braham, 1895) 188–189.

⁴⁹ Combe et al. (eds.), *Répertoire*, xv (1956) 211–213 (no. 5941).

⁵⁰ “Funduq darb al-ghurabā’ al-kā’in bi-jurnah”: Combe et al. (eds.), *Répertoire*, xiv (1954) 157–161 (no. 5441); also Bel, “Inscriptions arabes de Fès” 10 (1917) 159, 163. Bel translated *jurnah* as *abattoir* (though with a note indicating some doubt), but the word is much more likely to pertain to grain. R. Dozy (*Supplément aux Dictionnaires arabes* [Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1881] 1, 189) lists *juraynah* and *jarwān* as places where wheat was stored and sold, and *jurn* as a place for drying grain.

⁵¹ Al-Anṣārī, “Description de Ceuta,” 160 (Arabic), 139 (French). This building was built in the thirteenth century under the administration of Abū al-Qāsim al-Azafi (1249–1279). See also Christophe Picard, *La Mer et les musulmans d’occident au moyen âge, xiiie–xiiiie siècle*, (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1997) 144.

rooms and nine upper apartments. It is an old building, dating to the Almoravid period.”⁵² The description of this *funduq* is very similar to that of *funduqs* in Fez, such as the large three-storied Funduq al-Tiṭwānīyīn, built in the fourteenth century as a hostelry and commercial depot for merchants from Tetuan.⁵³ Leo Africanus later described hostels in early sixteenth-century Fez (his adopted home town) as large and well built, with three stories and up to 120 rooms, providing shelter both for foreign travelers and other people without home or family (perhaps including refugees from Spain, like his own family). Lodgers in these *funduqs* were responsible for supplying their own food, beds, and bedding.⁵⁴ Despite Leo’s remark that *funduqs* provided accommodation for the homeless of Fez, there is no indication whether indigent residents paid any fee for lodging, nor any suggestion in western *ḥabūs* materials that hostelries could themselves be the object of pious endowments (as had been the case in Ayyūbid Egypt).

Across the Straits of Gibraltar, *funduqs* also continued to flourish in Naṣrid Granada, supported by commercial traffic to and from this small and beleaguered Muslim state. Both Christian and Muslim merchants trafficked with Naṣrid ports, mainly Málaga and Almería, bringing necessary foodstuffs, particularly wheat, and exporting silk and dried fruits. Málaga was also an important stopping-point for ships outbound from the Mediterranean, where they could put in and wait for a favorable wind before heading for Seville or northern Europe. Sailors and merchants from these ships surely took advantage of the *funduqs* in Málaga for lodging and leisure during this period of inactivity. Data on Naṣrid *funduqs* is scarce, in keeping with the general paucity of late medieval Arabic material from the Peninsula. We know almost nothing of Naṣrid *waqf* endowments, although there is some information on hostelries in chronicles and legal sources. Ibn al-Khaṭīb (d. 1374) spoke favorably of the “many *funduqs* and mosques” in Málaga, and a fifteenth-century poem mentioned travelers lodging in a *funduq* in that city, and enjoying the regional wine.⁵⁵ Merchants from Genoa and

⁵² “Li-suknā al-nās min al-tujjār wa ghayrihim”: al-Anṣārī, “Description de Ceuta,” 160–161 (Arabic), 140 (French).

⁵³ For an architectural description of this *funduq* and other commercial buildings in Maghribi cities, mainly from later periods, see Scharabi, *Der Bazar*, 182–185, 198, 203–204, passim.

⁵⁴ Leo Africanus, *Description de l’Afrique*, 190. Leo also observed that a number of hostelries in Fez were brothels, employing both female and male prostitutes (191).

⁵⁵ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, “El *Parangón entre Málaga y Salé* de Ibn al-Jaṭīb,” trans. Emilio García Gómez, *al-Andalus* 2 (1934) 191; ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Qaysī, *Dīwān* (Tunis and Carthage: Bayt al-Hikmah, 1988) 253–254 (the word here is spelt *fundūq*). This poem is translated by María Isabel Calero Secall and Virgilio Martínez Enamorado in *Málaga, ciudad de al-Andalus* (Málaga: Universidad de Málaga, 1995) 262–263. The authors also identify several other *funduqs* in late medieval Málaga, locating them on a map of the city (125, 255–256). See also F. Guillen Robles, *Málaga musulmana* (Málaga:

the realms of Aragón were also reported to eat, live, and do business in the Christian *fondacos* in Málaga and Almería during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

There were also *funduqs* inland in the city of Granada itself, and in smaller towns.⁵⁶ The fourteenth-century Funduq al-Jadid in Granada, now called the Corral del Carbón, is one of the very few medieval *funduqs* still standing and easily accessible today. Its architecture conforms, in terms of size and design, with late medieval reports of *funduqs* elsewhere in the Islamic world. This large building (measuring 28 × 30 meters) has a monumental gateway opening onto a central courtyard surrounded by three stories. Each floor has small independent rooms (twenty-one on the ground level, twenty-two on each of the upper floors) opening on the courtyard or onto narrow balconies overlooking this central space. The low supports for these galleries are of stone, with upper stories made of wood. Originally, the building had no openings or exterior windows except for the one gate.⁵⁷ Though now the most famous, the Corral del Carbón was not the only *funduq* in Naṣrid Granada. Several others are known to have existed, including one *fondaco* (the *funduq al-jinuyyīn*) for Genoese merchants doing business in the city. Most *funduqs* in Granada, as elsewhere, were clustered in the center of the city, near the main mosque and market.⁵⁸

THE KHĀN

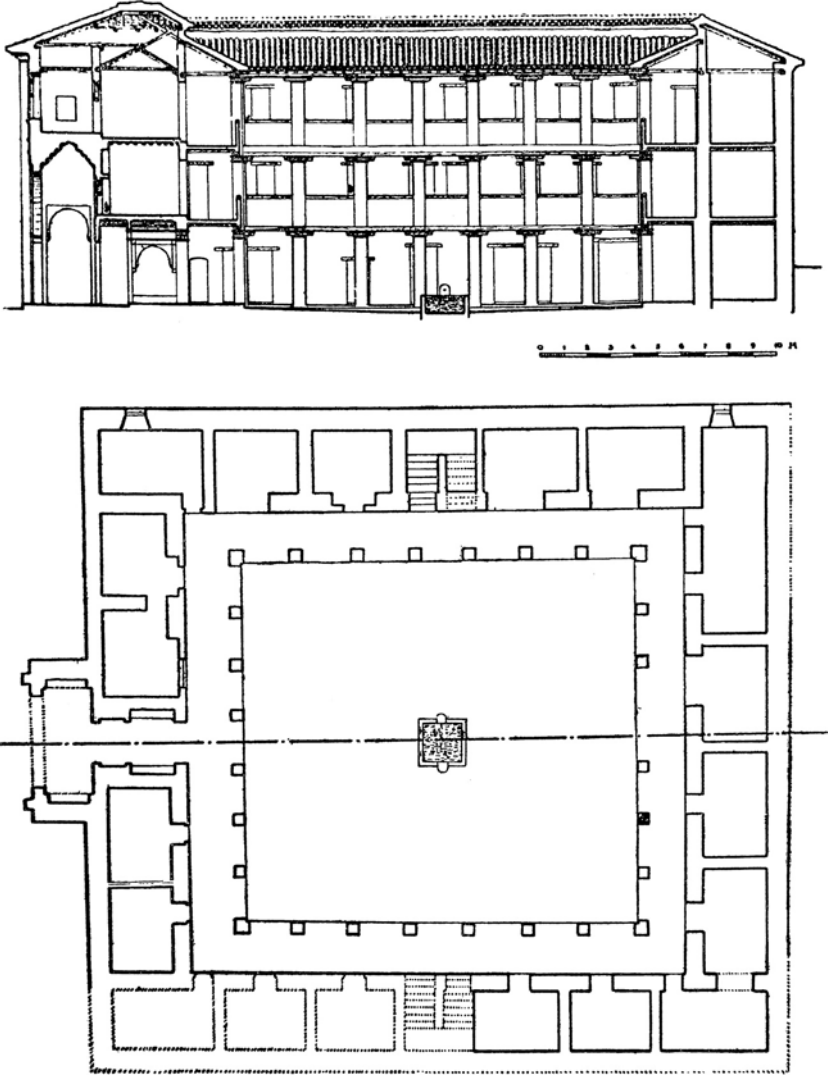
Although *khāns* had existed in Muslim lands from the earliest Islamic period, the term became increasingly common in Ayyūbid and Mamlūk cities until these facilities emerged as the dominant form of commercial and lodging-space in the eastern Mediterranean by the thirteenth century. One cause for this shift was new patterns of overland trade, creating closer contacts between Mamlūk lands (Egypt and Syria), Anatolia, Iraq, and other eastern markets where the *khān* had always been more prevalent. Political and demographic factors also led to changes in ethnicity, language, and

Imp. De M. Oliver Navarro, 1880; repr. Málaga: Editorial Arguval, 1994) II, 491, 494. Starting in the 1330s, Málaga appears to have overtaken Almería as the most important Naṣrid port. See Blanca Garí, "Why Almería? An Islamic Port in the Compass of Genoa," *Journal of Medieval History* 18 (1992) 228.

⁵⁶ A *fatwa* from the Granadan jurist Abū Saʿīd b. Lubb (d. 1381) concerned a *funduq* in a small town shared between two owners (al-Wansharīsi, *Mi'yār*, VIII, 134).

⁵⁷ The best description of this building is in Leopoldo Torres Balbás, "Las alhóndigas hispanomusulmanas," 459–64.

⁵⁸ Luis Seco de Lucena, *Plano de Granada árabe* (Granada: Imprenta de el Defensor de Granada, 1910) 52 and map.



9 Plan and elevation of the Corral del Carbón (*funduq al-jadīd*) in Granada, fourteenth century (from Torres Balbás, "Las alhóndigas hispanomusulmanas," facing p. 464).

culture. The growing prevalence of the *khān* was already underway by the 1180s, when a *funduq* established in Syria by Saladin was almost immediately known as the Khān al-Sulṭān in local parlance.

While the term *khān* gained ground in the eastern Mediterranean, *funduqs* remained much more common in the Islamic west. This distinction in regional usage is evident in the observations of Maghribi travelers writing about their experiences in Egypt and Syria. Their descriptions often use the word *funduq* for buildings called *khān* by natives of Mamlūk realms. In the first half of the fourteenth century, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa remarked that at each of the way-stations (*manāzil*) between Egypt and Syria, there was a *funduq* “which they call a *khān*, where travelers alight with their beasts, and outside each *khān* is a public watering place and a shop at which the traveler may buy what he requires for himself and his beast.”⁵⁹ More than a century later, in 1481, the Jewish traveler Meshullam ben Menahem of Volterra also reported that in Gaza he “saw the *funduq* called Al-Khān, and this is the place where the troops or caravans stop.”⁶⁰ In a more urban context, the early sixteenth-century traveler Leo Africanus described the markets of Cairo and the

funduq called the Khān al-Khalīlī, where the Persian merchants stay. This *funduq* looks like a great lord’s palace; it is very high, very solid, and has three floors. On the ground floor are the rooms where the merchants receive their customers and sell merchandise of great value. Only merchants who are very wealthy have a counter in this *funduq*. Their merchandise consists of spices, precious stones, and cloth from India, such as crepe.⁶¹

The Khān al-Khalīlī was well known in the late Mamlūk period, and it had been lavishly rebuilt by Sultan Ghūrī (1501–1516) shortly before Leo Africanus’ arrival in Cairo.⁶² In Leo’s eyes, it was probably very similar both functionally and architecturally to the contemporary Funduq al-Jadīd in his native Granada or the Funduq al-Ṭiṭwānīyīn in Fez, where Leo’s family had taken up residence after fleeing Spain in the years following 1492.

⁵⁹ Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Voyages d’Ibn Battuta*, 1, 112, *The Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*, 71–72.

⁶⁰ Meshullam ben Menahem, *Masa’ Meshullam mi-Volterra be-erez yisrael bi-shnat 1481*, ed. Abraham Yaari (Jerusalem: Mosad Bialik, 1948), 180.

⁶¹ Leo Africanus, *Description de l’Afrique*, 504–505; There is a translation of this passage in G. Wiet, *Cairo, City of Art and Commerce* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964) 104–105. Leo Africanus also provides a detailed description of other facilities which he calls “*funduqs*” in Cairo, particularly those selling luxury textiles imported from Syria, Italy, the Crown of Aragón, and elsewhere in Europe (*Description de l’Afrique*, 504–505; Wiet, *Cairo*, 104–105). Leo’s account was originally written in Andalusi Arabic, but the text only survives in a contemporary Italian translation.

⁶² Ibn Taghribirdī, *History of Egypt 1382–1469 AD*, trans. W. Popper (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1954–1960) 1, 106. References to the Khān al-Khalīlī may pertain either to a specific building or to the larger complex of commercial buildings of which this *khān/funduq* was one element.

The ubiquitous term *khān* was even applied to the western *fondacos* in Alexandria and elsewhere by the fourteenth century. The Venetian and Genoese enclaves in Acre were converted into *khāns* after the demise of Christian control in that city in 1291, and the same terminological trend was true of buildings still functioning as *fondacos* (in the sense of regulated western commercial and residential facilities in Mamlūk cities). In 1368, instructions from the king of Cyprus to envoys from Genoa and Pisa allowed them to enter into negotiations with the Mamlūk sultan regarding a communal facility in Alexandria for merchants from Cyprus, a building “commonly called the Khān al-Mūsā” (“vulgariter nuncupatam Han de la Moze”).⁶³ More amusingly, a couple of decades later in 1384, the pilgrim Frescobaldi resorted to spurious etymology in his report that during the time of Muslim prayers, “all the Christian Franks are locked in a building called a *cane* [obviously *khān*] and the keeper of the *cane* locks them in, and this name comes from [the fact] that we are *cani* [i.e. dogs]” in their eyes.⁶⁴ Local Christians, as Frescobaldi went on to note, were not locked up but merely remained in their homes during prayer periods.

Non-urban khāns in Syria and Egypt

Whereas *funduqs* were found only in Mamlūk cities, *khāns* flourished both in urban centers and along caravan routes linking Egypt, Syria, and the Hijāz. Wherever there were travelers, trade, and pilgrimage traffic, there were likely to have been *khāns* or similar facilities, whether on the outskirts of a village or along any well-traveled road. Many new *khāns* were constructed along rural routes in the Mamlūk period, especially in the period 1300–1340. These projects were mainly funded by local governors and amirs, and occasionally by the sultan. The new network of roadside *khāns* took advantage of earlier hostels established under the Ayyūbids, but while these thirteenth-century structures were often of modest size and construction, the new *khāns* constructed in the fourteenth century tended to be much larger and more strongly built.⁶⁵

⁶³ Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l'île de Chypre*, II, 306.

⁶⁴ Frescobaldi et al., *Visit to the Holy Places*, 42. As will be evident in the next chapter, this report of a curfew makes clear that the building in question was a western *fondaco*.

⁶⁵ Among the many studies of Mamlūk *khāns*, see Sauvaget “Caravansérails syriens”; René Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale* (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1927); K. A. C. Creswell, “Two Khāns at Khān Tūmān,” *Syria* 4 (1923) 133–139; Elisséeff, “Khān”; Etienne Combe, “Inscription arabe d'un khan ottoman à Rosette,” *Bulletin de la Société Royale d'Archéologie d'Alexandrie* 35 (1943) 114–123; Sims, “Markets and Caravanserais” 97–111; Petersen, “Syrian and Iraqi Hajj Routes,” 51–52. See also foundation inscriptions edited in Combe et al. (eds.), *Répertoire*, XIV (1954) (nos. 5235, 5368, 5418) and XVII (1982) (no. 778 010); also L. A. Mayer, “Satara epigraphica,” *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine* (Jerusalem) I (1931) 42–43.

One important catalyst for the development of an enhanced network of *khāns* was the growth of centralized power in Egypt under Mamlūk rule, together with the newly peaceful state of roads linking Syria and Egypt in the wake of Mamlūk victories over the Mongols in 1260 and the demise of the last of the Crusader states in 1291. Greater security increased overland travel, whether for commerce, pilgrimage, or government business. At the same time, the improvement of the official system for communications, the *barīd* or mail service, both fostered and benefited from these *khāns*, which were built at regular intervals of about 20 to 30 kilometers, along all the routes between major cities. Sultan Baybars (1260–1277) was credited with reviving and reorganizing the *barīd* system, and further building in the early fourteenth century increased the speed of the service. Greater numbers of *khāns* – and shorter distances between them – allowed a relay of post-riders to convey royal messages more quickly from place to place. Along the road from Damascus to Homs (about 180 kilometers), the number of *khāns* grew from five in the reign of Baybars, to six in about 1300, then seven in about 1340.⁶⁶ At least one of the original five, the Qara Khān, must have been directly commissioned by Baybars himself, since it bears his emblem of a running panther carved above the door.⁶⁷

Sultans, as well as post-riders and ordinary people, might stay in *khāns* when they traveled, a circumstance that often led to renovations and further endowments. Baybars established a *khān* outside Jerusalem when he visited that city in 1263, making it part of a *waqf* to provide bread, sandals, and money to pilgrims coming to the holy city.⁶⁸ When Barqūq arrived in Damascus in 1394, the whole city was filled with his Egyptian retinue, which spread through the city, occupying houses, stables, and *khāns* both inside and outside the walls.⁶⁹ A century later, Qāyit Bay progressed through Syria in 1477, stopping at *khāns* near Tripoli, Aleppo, Damascus, and Gaza. South of Damascus, he founded a new *khān*, and near Aleppo, he ordered repairs to commercial facilities originally constructed by al-Malik al-Ashraf a century before.⁷⁰

As well as serving the needs of the Mamlūk administration, *khāns* provided lodging to merchants, pilgrims, and other wayfarers. Traders and

⁶⁶ Sauvaget, *La Poste*, 12–13, 31–33, 69–76, 80–82. Sauvaget also included maps showing the location of Mamlūk *khāns* and distances between them. Chroniclers often mentioned *khāns* in passing. See, for example, Ibn Ṣaṣrā's description of rebels camping at Khān Lājīn in 1389 (*Chronicle of Damascus*, 1, 19); or Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyā's note that travelers to Beirut stopped at Khān al-Ḥuṣayn in the 1360s (*Kitāb ta'riḥ Bayrūt* [Beirut: al-Maṭbā'ah al-Kāthūlikiyya, 1927] 168–169).

⁶⁷ Sims, "Markets and Caravanserais," 103.

⁶⁸ Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-sulūk*, part 2, 491, 521.

⁶⁹ Ibn Ṣaṣrā, *Chronicle of Damascus*, 1, 96b.

⁷⁰ H. Devonshire, "Relation d'un voyage du Sultan Qāitbāy en Palestine et en Syrie," *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* (Cairo) 20 (1922) 9, 14, 20–21, 28, 31.

their caravans made use of the network of state-administered *khāns* at least until the middle of the fourteenth century, when rising costs prompted the government to limit commercial access to these facilities. After 1340, Muslim merchants had to apply for special permission to take advantage of the shelter and supplies offered in state-run *khāns*.⁷¹ To avoid such restrictions, merchants often established hostels for themselves and others. One wealthy merchant from Damascus died in 1445 after spending “more than one hundred thousand dinars” on the construction of several large *khāns* along the route between Syria and Egypt, as well as building facilities for pilgrims on the route to the Hijāz.⁷²

A number of *khāns* were established as *waqfs*, and – like the facility founded by Baybars near Jerusalem – they provided charitable lodging, handouts, and other services to pilgrims and poor travelers. The Khān al-Aiyash, built by the governor of Damascus on the outskirts of the city in 1291, was endowed with a *waqf* (supported by revenues from another *khān*, shops, and an abattoir)

for its maintenance and repair, as well as for the repair of the mosque and well within it . . . and [to pay for] whatever is needed, such as oil, mats, lamps, ropes, and buckets for the well, for an *imam* who will receive forty dirhams per month, a *muezzin* at thirty dirhams, and a porter at thirty dirhams. Money is [also] to be given to the poor who come, and to wayfarers in need.⁷³

Another hostel, the Khān al-Sabīl, was founded in Syria by al-Malik al-Ashraf in 1371 with a similar endowment to maintain the building and provide mats and other amenities for its guests.⁷⁴ Other facilities simply welcomed passing travelers, including one *khān* constructed in 1259 to accommodate “all who arrive, who change their place, flee, stay, or depart.”⁷⁵ Likewise, the Khān al-Aḥmar was built in Beisan in 1308 “for the use of all passers-by, whoever they be.”⁷⁶ The Khān al-Khattāb, which was founded near Damascus by a rich amir in 1325, was said to be a great comfort to travelers, and another small *khān* built in 1396 was dedicated to lodging “sons of the road” (“ibnā’ al-sabīl”).⁷⁷

⁷¹ Lapidus, *Muslim Cities*, 124.

⁷² Sauvaire, “Description de Damas,” (1895) 261–262.

⁷³ Combe et al. (eds.), *Répertoire*, XIII (1944) (no. 4946). Also Sauvaget, “Caravansérails syriens,” (1940) 1–3.

⁷⁴ Combe et al. (eds.), *Répertoire*, XVII (1982) (no. 773 005); Also Sauvaget, “Caravansérails syriens,” (1940) 10–12.

⁷⁵ Combe et al. (eds.), *Répertoire*, XII (1943) (no. 4446).

⁷⁶ Combe et al. (eds.), *Répertoire*, XIV (1954) (no. 5235); Sauvaget, “Caravansérails syriens,” (1940) 3–4.

⁷⁷ Sauvaire, “Description de Damas,” (1895) 236 and 283; Sauvaget, “Caravansérails syriens,” (1940) 13–14.

The accounts of western Christian pilgrims show that these travelers were also welcome to stay in state-run *khāns* in Syria and Egypt. Simon Semeonis passed through Gaza in 1323 and described a walled enclosure (that he called a *fundus*) “in which all travelers may rest in safety and find water for their animals without paying any fee. The sultan has provided this for the safety and protection of travelers.”⁷⁸ In 1395, along similar lines, Ogier d’Anglure reported that he and his companions “put up at an inn, about two leagues from Jerusalem, which the sultan had completely rebuilt to accommodate pilgrims and other foreigners. The lodging is near . . . a castle that was called the Red Tower.”⁷⁹ A century later, Felix Fabri arrived at what seems to have been the same building, though now much dilapidated, “whereof the four walls alone remain standing, which once was a caravanserai or inn (*diversorium erat sive hospitium*), and is called the Red House . . . We entered into this house, lighted candles, and made the place fit for us by clearing away the ordure of man and beast, whereof it was full, and putting stones to sit on and sleep on.”⁸⁰

Felix Fabri’s comments, and similar remarks by other travelers, point to a significant decline in the quality of accommodation in rural *khāns* in the later Mamlūk period. Although these structures continued to provide shelter and access to water, by the later fifteenth century some facilities had little or no staff, nor did they necessarily offer furnishings or other amenities to travelers. During the early 1430s, Bertrandon de la Broquière had been inclined to praise his lodgings, describing a *khān* (“une maison qu’ilz appellent Kan”) in Hebron as “a shelter built by charity to lodge passers-by in the shade in these regions,” and another near Damascus as “the finest *khān* I have ever seen.”⁸¹ By the end of the century, however, Felix Fabri and others had little good to say about the frightful *khāns* along their route. In 1495, an Italian Jewish traveler complained that there were no proper inns along the routes in Syria, at least not like those of Italy in which one could expect rooms with beds and tables. Instead, at the end of the day they would arrive at a dilapidated building called “*al-han*,”

⁷⁸ Semeonis, *Itinerarium*, 105. Although Simon used the latinized term *fundus*, Arabic sources make clear that this hostel was a *khān*.

⁷⁹ Ogier d’Anglure, *The Holy Jerusalem Voyage of Ogier VIII, Seigneur d’Anglure*, trans. Roland A. Brown (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1975) 38. Despite its name, this was not the same as the Khān al-Aḥmar noted above, but another well-known *khān* on the road between Jerusalem and Jericho, often associated – in the minds of Christian pilgrims – with the *pandocheion* visited by the Good Samaritan (L. A. Mayer, “The Name of Khān el Aḥmar, Beisān,” *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine* [Jerusalem] 1 [1932] 95).

⁸⁰ Fabri, *Evagatorium in terrae sanctae*, II, 80 [211b].

⁸¹ Bertrandon de la Broquière, *Le Voyage d’outremer*, ed. Charles Scheffer (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1842) 19, 54; trans. Galen R. Kline (New York: Peter Lang, 1988) 12, 31.

where they could buy food, but had to sleep in the courtyard with their animals.⁸² Muslim sources also indicate that the network of Mamlūk *khāns* was in disarray by the later fifteenth century. This decline was probably a result of plague and subsequent demographic decline, weakening of the centralized Mamlūk state and the political shift to Circassian rulership, bedouin incursions, and the depredations of Tīmūr in Syria in 1401.

Beyond Mamlūk borders, there were also *khāns* in Seljuq Anatolia and in the eastern Islamic world during the thirteenth century. Many were located on routes bringing traffic to and from Mamlūk markets. Merchants traveling from Damascus to Baghdad and beyond, or slave traders bringing their cargoes of future mamlūks from the Black Sea region across Anatolia to the Mediterranean (and eventually to Egypt), needed hostels along the way. These structures were invariably called *khān* or *caravanserai*, and there is no trace of the *funduq* or *fondaco* in Seljuq lands except in texts written by European authors.⁸³

There was a sudden proliferation of Seljuq *khāns* in Anatolia in the thirteenth century, especially in the years before 1250. Many of their foundation inscriptions survive, and these record that at least nine *khāns* were founded by Seljuq sultans, seven by sultanas, six by amirs, four by viziers, and three by private individuals.⁸⁴ These *khāns* were run for profit, though often to benefit a *waqf*. It seems likely that this surge in building activity was the result of a concerted effort to accommodate and take advantage of the growing slave traffic coming through Seljuq lands in the late Ayyūbid and Mamlūk periods. These massive square stone *khāns* were remarkably homogeneous in form, and many were located along the main routes running from Black Sea ports, particularly Samsun, to the Mediterranean cities of Alanya or Antalya, via Sivas, Kayseri, and Konya.⁸⁵ Seljuq trade routes tended to follow earlier patterns, often tracing those once used by Roman

⁸² These observations, made by a pupil of Obadiah da Bertinoro, are cited in Hirschberg, *History of the Jews in North Africa*, 474–475. The text is edited by A. Neubauer, in *Jahrbuch für die Geschichte der Juden und des Judentums* 3 (1863) 276.

⁸³ *Khāns* were certainly present in Iraq under Mongol rule, the best known being the Khān Mirjān in Baghdad (sometimes known also as *tīm*). Inscriptions recording *waqf* for the Madrasa Mirjāniyya, made in 1357 and 1359 during the Jalāyrid period, record a number of different *khāns* providing revenue to this endowment (Combe et al. [eds.], *Répertoire*, xvi [1964] [nos. 6283, 6329]). See also Hillenbrand, *Islamic Architecture*, 360–361, 370–371; Scharabi, *Der Bazar*, 173; Guthrie, *Arab Social Life*, 98. Caravanserais were common further east, but this word rarely appears in a Mediterranean context except in the writings of Persian travelers. See Kiāni and Kleiss, *Kārvānsarāhā-ye Irān*.

⁸⁴ Erdmann and Erdmann, *Das anatolische Karavansaray*, 204–205. On these foundations, see also Rogers, “*Waqf* and Patronage,” 74–75. Most of these inscriptions can be found in Combe et al. (eds.), *Répertoire*, x (1939) (no. 3838), xi (1941) (nos. 4007, 4021, 4127, 4156, 4162, 4190, 4263, 4311, 4313); there are also fourteenth-century endowments: xiv (1954) (nos. 5277, 5590).

⁸⁵ Hillenbrand, *Islamic Architecture*, 349.

and Byzantine merchants, and some Seljuq *khāns* may even have reused stones from earlier hostleries.⁸⁶ *Khān* construction continued in Anatolia in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, under the early Ottomans, though forms and functions were more varied than the thirteenth-century Seljuq structures, and unlike their Seljuq counterparts, many of these later buildings were in urban locations.⁸⁷

Urban khāns in Mamlūk cities

Although the network of non-urban *khāns* serving the Mamlūk *barīd* was one of the most striking innovations in long-distance travel during the later thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, many of the most important Mamlūk *khāns* were located in Cairo, Alexandria, Damascus, Aleppo, and other cities.⁸⁸ In an urban context, *khāns* functioned in very similar ways to *funduqs* and *wakālas*. All three could be the property of private individuals, of the state, or tied up in *waqf* endowments. *Khāns* catered to urban commercial needs, serving as depots, markets, and warehouses, while also providing lodging for merchants, pilgrims, scholars, and other travelers. The Sufi scholar al-Zawāwī, arriving from Bougie in 1451, stayed in a *khān* on Rawḍa Island during most of his time in Cairo. This hostel was known as the Khān Dāūd al-Maghribī, and may have specialized in housing guests from the Islamic west.⁸⁹ Like contemporary *funduqs*, urban *khāns* also preserved unsavory associations with prostitution and drinking in the Mamlūk period. Al-Zawāwī's dream-diary told of encountering a prostitute outside another *khān* in Cairo – a common occurrence in reality as well as in dreams.⁹⁰ In contrast to the standardized square design of rural *khāns*, urban *khāns* came in many shapes and sizes. Though most preserved the basic traditional form of a central courtyard with warehouse space and shops, and rooms above, their architecture was often dictated by surrounding buildings or by the wealth of the founder.

From the thirteenth through the early sixteenth centuries, Mamlūk rulers – including Baybars, Barsbay, Qāyit Bay, and Ghūrī – were patrons

⁸⁶ Sims, "Markets and Caravanserais," 102.

⁸⁷ Elisséeff, "Khān," 1013; Sims, "Markets and Caravanserais," 102–103. Also Gabriel Mandel, *I caravanserragli Turchi* (Bergamo: Lucchetti, 1988).

⁸⁸ Many of these facilities have been described and mapped in works devoted to the history and architecture of these cities. See Hanna, *An Urban History of Būlāq*; Dorothee Sack, *Damaskus: Entwicklung und Struktur einer orientalisches-islamischen Stadt* (Mainz am Rhein: P. von Zabern, 1989) 59–60; Eddé, *Principauté ayyoubide d'Alep*, 511–529.

⁸⁹ Katz, *Dreams, Sufism, and Sainthood*, 106. Other Sufi travelers, including Ibn Batūṭṭa, often chose to lodge in *ribāṭs* or *zāwiyas* rather than *khāns*.

⁹⁰ Katz, *Dreams, Sufism, and Sainthood*, 120.

of extensive architectural projects that included *khāns* and other commercial buildings in their capital city. Sultans often purchased properties in the center of Cairo in order to endow new *waqfs*, sometimes breaking up older endowments in the process. As suitable urban properties became ever more scarce, would-be benefactors had to resort to a variety of investment strategies in order to acquire real estate. Between 1451 and 1456, for example, Sultan Qāyit Bay bought up a large number of urban and rural properties to convert into *waqfs*, dipping into both personal resources and the public *bayt māl* to fund his purchases.⁹¹ Mamlūk amirs and lesser officials also sponsored *khāns* and other commercial spaces in Cairo, but these were generally less ambitious.

The situation was somewhat different outside Egypt, where sultans apparently preferred to found roadside *khāns* associated with the *barīd* rather than commercial *khāns* in cities. In Syria, urban *khāns* and other commercial facilities were more likely to be founded by locally based amirs and merchants. According to Ira Lapidus, three out of five *khāns* with known founders in Mamlūk Damascus were built by amirs, and two by merchants; in Aleppo, nine *khāns* were funded by amirs.⁹² Another *khān* in Aleppo was constructed by a rich Mamlūk merchant (who died in 1490) with the proceeds of a large sum of gold that he had received as a commercial deposit.⁹³

As in earlier periods, the evidence is categorical that *khāns* – like *funduqs* – could produce substantial revenues. One wealthy governor of Damascus, in the early fourteenth century, was reputed to own *khāns* and other real estate worth over 2.5 million dirhams.⁹⁴ Revenue was produced through rents, fees for lodging and storage, and taxes on commercial transactions. Though ubiquitous, these levies sometimes gave rise to complaint. When Baybars attempted to reimpose taxes (including a charge of 2 dinars per *khān*) in Damascus after a long period without such exactions, his requests were apparently met with resistance.⁹⁵ A century later, in 1389, the house of an amir in Damascus was looted by an angry crowd of people, who complained that he had reinstated taxes and demanded unwarranted rents on “*khāns*, orchards, and estates” for his personal profit.⁹⁶

⁹¹ Behrens-Abouseif, “Qāyitbay’s Investments,” 29–34; Carl Petry, *Protectors or Pretorians? The Last Mamlūk Sultans and Egypt’s Waning as a Great Power* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994) 198–202; Leonor Fernandes, “Mamlūk Architecture and the Question of Patronage,” *Mamlūk Studies Review* 1 (1997) 117–118.

⁹² Lapidus, *Muslim Cities*, 59–60.

⁹³ Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAjāmī, “Trésors d’or,” 157 [102a].

⁹⁴ Lapidus, *Muslim Cities*, 50.

⁹⁵ Malcolm Lyons, *The Arabian Epic: Heroic and Oral Story-telling* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995) 1, 33.

⁹⁶ Ibn Ṣaṣrā, *Chronicle of Damascus*, 1, 13 (25a).

Like *funduqs*, but unlike rural *khāns*, the names of urban *khāns* frequently linked them to economic and artisanal activities. The pattern appears especially true in Syria, where chroniclers mention a number of commercial *khāns* in Damascus, including one for eggs (*bayḍ*) and another for silk (*ḥarīr*), and many others named after their patrons or the *waqf* with which they were associated.⁹⁷ The commerce of Aleppo particularly flourished in the first half of the fifteenth century, perhaps in response to growing Ottoman traffic to the north, and numerous new *khāns* and other commercial buildings were built in the city to accommodate the needs of trade and traders. By this point there were *khāns* for fish (*samak*), henna (*ḥinna*), milk (*labn*), soap (*ṣābūn*), honey (*ʿasal*), oil (*zayt*), two for charcoal (*faḥm*), and for merchants selling fat (*al-dahhāhīn*), bow-makers (*qawwāsīn*), potters (*fākhūra*), workers in gold thread (*qaṣṣābiyyah*), wood-turners (*kharrātīn*), and flour-merchants (*daqqāqīn*) – as well as many other *khāns* with less indicative names.⁹⁸ This pattern appears to have persevered into the Ottoman period, when a tally of revenues from Aleppo in 1583 listed income from some of the same *khāns* that had been noted in Mamlūk sources.⁹⁹ Nevertheless, Ottoman economic policies tended to be less monopolistic than Mamlūk ones, and many of the *khāns* that had controlled traffic in certain goods lost their hold on these trades by the middle of the sixteenth century.¹⁰⁰ This loss may have also been due to the growing prevalence of the *wakāla* in late Mamluk and early Ottoman cities, and the increasing preference of merchants and rulers for this latter institution.

THE WAKĀLA

Wakālas had been common in Egypt since the Fāṭimid period, but they became the dominant type of commercial space in late Mamlūk and Ottoman cities (especially in Egypt, but also in Syria and North Africa) by the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Al-Maqrīzī and Ibn Duqmāq cited only a handful of *wakālas* in the Mamlūk capital in the late fourteenth and early

⁹⁷ Eggs: Ibn Ṣaṣrā, *Chronicle of Damascus*, 1, 41 (11b); silk: Ibn Ṭūlūn, “Ḥārāt Dimashq al-qadīma,” ed. H. Zayāt, *al-Mashriq* 35 (1937) 33–35. Other Damascene *khāns* appear in al-Jazarī, *Chronique*, 9 (no. 46); Mayer (ed.), *The Buildings of Qāyṭbāy*, 51; Combe et al. (eds.), *Répertoire*, XIII (1944) (no. 5034); Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Les Gouverneurs de Damas*, 168, (Arabic) 90 (French).

⁹⁸ Ibn al-Shīḥnāh, “Les Perles choisies,” 193–195 [248–250]; Sibṭ al-ʿAjāmī, “Trésors d’or,” 53 [39a], 137–138 [88b]; Combe et al. (eds.), *Répertoire*, xvii (1982) (no. 774 010), xv (1956) (no. 5951); Scharabi, *Der Bazar*, 169; Sauvaget, *Alep*, 172–173. There was also a *khān* for eggs in Aleppo in the middle of the fifteenth century (Lapidus, *Muslim Cities*, 100). Other *khāns* in Aleppo appear in epigraphy: see Combe et al. (eds.), *Répertoire*, xv (1956) (no. 5971); Ernst Herzfeld (ed.), *Matériaux pour un Corpus inscriptionum Arabicarum*, Syrie du Nord, Inscriptions et monuments d’Alep 76 (Cairo: Institut français d’archéologie orientale, 1955) (nos. 194, 271, 275).

⁹⁹ Sauvaget, *Alep*, 254–256.

¹⁰⁰ Lapidus, *Muslim Cities*, 100.

fifteenth centuries, with most of these buildings located in the commercial heart of Cairo north of the Citadel. Several, including the Wakāla Qawṣūn and the Wakāla Bāb al-Jawāniyya, had been originally built as *funduqs*, but were later converted into *wakālas*. The development of the new port region of Būlāq in the fifteenth century promoted the construction of new *wakālas*, and these were always the primary commercial facility in this area of the city. By the late Ottoman period, *wakālas* had achieved hegemony in Cairo, so that early modern European visitors in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries commented on the numerous *okels* (also *hokels* or *oquelles*) of the city.¹⁰¹ The *Description de l'Égypte*, a survey commissioned by Napoleon in 1798, counted 206 *wakālas* in the city, but only 13 *khāns* and not a single *funduq*.¹⁰²

Architecturally and financially, there was often little to distinguish between these three types of commercial facility, at least on the ground floor. Like *funduqs* and urban *khāns*, *wakālas* were buildings with limited access, in the interests of security, with gatekeepers to guard the single gateway and lock the doors at night. The ground floor had individual storerooms that could be locked, and which were rented by merchants. The Wakāla Qawṣūn (originally a *funduq*) had “numerous warehouses (*makhāzin*) around [the courtyard], and [the founder] had stipulated that nobody who rented any of these warehouses would pay more than five dirhams, and no tenant would be expelled. Now [the tenancy on] these warehouses is passed down to heirs because of the modest rent and other advantages.”¹⁰³ The courtyard was used for business transactions and the exchange of goods, usually at wholesale rather than retail.

Although *wakālas* displayed similar commercial functions to *funduqs* and *khāns*, they were not particularly associated with lodging or hospitality. Thus, the upper floors were often not connected to the commercial part of the building. In most cases, the apartments (*rab'*) on the upper stories of a *wakāla* were separate from the ground floor, and were reached by a flight of stairs on the outside of the building. *Wakālas* frequently provided cash revenues to a *waqf*, but unlike *funduqs* and *khāns*, they did not also offer free lodging to poor travelers or needy pilgrims.

¹⁰¹ Al-Maqrīzī, *Les Marchés du Caire*, 17. On Ottoman *wakālas* in Egypt and Syria, see also Scharabi, *Der Bazar*, 192–196; André Raymond, *The Great Arab Cities in the 16th–18th centuries. An Introduction* (New York: New York University Press, 1984) 44; B. S. Hakim, *Arabic-Islamic Cities. Building and Planning Principles* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1986) 82.

¹⁰² *Description de l'Égypte* (Paris: Imprimerie Imperiale, 1809–1828); tally cited by André Raymond, *Artisans et commerçants au Caire au xviii^e siècle* (Damascus: Institut français de Damas, 1973) 254. Elsewhere, Raymond cited 360 *wakālas* in early modern Cairo (*Great Arab Cities*, 46).

¹⁰³ Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭāf*, II, 93–94.

This distinction between business and hospitality can be traced back to the origin of the *funduq*, *khān*, and *wakāla*. Whereas the first two had served as hostelries from their earliest existence, providing both lodging and commercial space, the *wakāla* had evolved from purely mercantile origins. As has been discussed in earlier chapters, the customs house (*dār al-wakāla*) and the office of its merchant representative (*wakīl al-tujjār*) were already well established in the Fāṭimid period to serve the needs of trade and traders in Egypt.

The *wakāla* had long been associated not only with commerce, but also with the official regulation and control of commercial activity in Egypt and other regions. This regulatory function is also seen in the *khān* and *funduq*, but is most striking for the *wakāla*, especially in terms of the oversight of imported commodities. This had been true at least since the twelfth century. In 1123, a Fāṭimid vizier ordered the erection of a *dār al-wakāla* in Cairo for merchants arriving from Syria and Iraq.¹⁰⁴ The official and legal nature of these buildings is also suggested in a Geniza document from 1141, noting that partnerships were only valid if they had been contracted in a *dār al-wakāla*.¹⁰⁵ Later, a vizier to the sultan al-Malik al-Kāmil (1218–1238) demonstrated the utility of these facilities in serving royal fiscal ends when he ordered the closure of all *funduqs* and *wakālas* “in which were sold linens and other goods,” in order to redirect their sales to the “*dār al-wakāla* of the sultān.”¹⁰⁶

Mamlūk rulers, more than their predecessors – and also more than their contemporaries in the Islamic west – experimented with the imposition of government monopolies on certain types of commercial goods, and they worked to direct trade along certain routes and to particular markets. The *wakāla* presented the ideal instrument to facilitate these fiscal and regulatory ambitions, and these facilities became the preferred instruments for channeling commercial revenues to individual rulers, to their *waqf* endowments, or to the state treasury.¹⁰⁷ This trend was particularly characteristic of the later Mamlūk era, as when Sultan Barsbay imposed a state monopoly on the pepper trade in 1429, channeling profits to his own purse.¹⁰⁸ Such

¹⁰⁴ Ibn Muyassar, *Annales d’Egypte*, 62; Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, 1, 188.

¹⁰⁵ ENA 4020, f. 2; Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, 1, 188.

¹⁰⁶ Sāwirus ibn al-Muqaffā, *Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church*, IV.1, (1974), 32–33 (Arabic), 68 (English).

¹⁰⁷ The *funduq* could also have filled this role, and did in fact promote rather similar ends in earlier centuries, but by the Mamlūk period too many *funduqs* were serving other purposes, or were already tied up in *waqf* property. In the contemporary Maghrib, it appears that *funduqs* continued to serve a regulatory function through the fifteenth century, especially controlling commercial traffic in wheat and salt, and *wakālas* only gained ground in the Islamic west in a later period.

¹⁰⁸ Labib, “Egyptian Commercial Policy,” 77.

strategies were generally reactive rather than proactive moves, designed to garner immediate revenue in times of need rather than to promote long-term economic benefits.

The *wakāla* increasingly served as the primary facility through which rulers sought to control trade in particular goods, such as fruit, pepper, sugar, silk, linen, cotton, soap, and wheat. Al-Maqrīzī distinguished between the Funduq Dār al-Ṭuffāḥ in Fustāṭ, where local fruit was brought for sale, and the Wakāla Qawṣūn in Cairo, which had essentially “the same purpose as a *funduq* or *khān*,” but which handled imported “merchandise from Syria such as olive oil, sesame oil, soap, syrups, pistachios, walnuts, almonds, carob beans, fruit juice, and such like.”¹⁰⁹ These items were either marketed wholesale in this facility or disseminated for resale to markets elsewhere in Egypt (possibly including the Funduq Dār al-Ṭuffāḥ).¹¹⁰ By the early fifteenth century, both of these facilities had fallen on hard times, hit by changes in political and economic circumstances. Their demise may have enhanced the revenues of another *wakāla*, the Wakāla Bāb al-Jawwāniyya, which had been established in the early 1390s by Sultan Barqūq as a depot for Syrian goods arriving in the capital by boat.¹¹¹

It is striking that while early facilities were often named after amirs and officials (Masrūr, Qawṣūn, Ṭurunṭāyī, etc.), many of the great commercial complexes established in the late Mamlūk period bore the names of sultans (for example the Wakāla of Qāyit Bay, built in 1480, and the Wakāla of Ghūrī, built in 1504–1505). But this is not to imply that all eastern *wakālas* were owned by the sultan – far from it. The utility and flexibility of the *wakāla* as a lucrative commercial facility promoted its development not only as a state-run facility but also as a privately owned commercial space. Many *wakālas* were founded and owned by individual merchants, and used not only for sales, but also for warehousing and manufacturing space. Many, also, were incorporated into private *waqf* endowments. The development of the port of Būlāq provided a particularly fruitful opportunity for these new foundations, and many merchants established their own commercial offices and *wakālas* in this region of the city. A Karīmī merchant, Nūr al-Dīn al-Ṭanbadī (d. 1432) chose this area as the site of his new *wakāla* in the early fifteenth century, shortly before Sultan Barsbay clamped down on Karīmī activities.¹¹² *Wakālas* would continue to serve as sites for private

¹⁰⁹ Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭāṭ*, II, 93.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.* Also, al-Maqrīzī, *Les Marchés du Caire*, 141–142. See comment in Labib, “Egyptian Commercial Policy,” 72.

¹¹¹ Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭāṭ*, II, 93–94. Revenues from the Wakāla Bāb al-Jawwāniyya went to a *waqf* established by the sultan.

¹¹² Hanna, *An Urban History of Būlāq*, 22–23.

commercial activity, especially under Ottoman administration, not only in Egypt but also in Syria and the Maghrib.¹¹³

In many ways, the use of commercial space in the late medieval Muslim Mediterranean world reflected patterns established in earlier centuries. The basic facilities for commerce and lodging – the *funduq*, *khān*, and *wakāla* – continued to exist, but their relative prevalence, range of function, and relationship to each other changed significantly by the fifteenth century. In the Mamlūk realms of the Islamic east, *funduqs* became less common. Many of these buildings shifted their designation to *khān* or *wakāla* as these two institutions became the dominant facilities for lodging, storage, and business in Egyptian and Syrian cities. In the Maghrib, however, *funduqs* continued to flourish, although they took on a more residential and artisanal role than had been characteristic in earlier times. *Khāns* were always rare in the Muslim west, and although *wakālas* would be successfully introduced to Maghribi cities, they were never so common here as in Egypt.

No single factor triggered the decline of the *funduq* in Mamlūk lands and the simultaneous rise of the *khān* and the *wakāla*. Instead, a number of different causes, both natural and intentional, worked together to bring about this gradual change. The shifting prevalence of commercial terminology may be partially explained by simple changes in language. As one term became more common, another declined, even though both might refer to the same building with roughly similar functions. But it seems that the situation was more complex than simple linguistic preference. When al-Maqrīzī noted that a building constructed as a *funduq* had been converted into a *wakāla* shortly thereafter, by order of the sultan, it is evident that more was at stake than mere nomenclature. Some functions of the facility must have altered along with the name.

On a political level, the change in regime in 1250 was undoubtedly significant, since Mamlūk rulers instituted new regulations and undertook closer oversight of merchants and commercial space. These methods of control were built on earlier patterns, particularly those developed by Ayyūbid administrators, but the Mamlūk government augmented and extended their supervision of trade and traders. During the first century of Mamlūk rule, the state inaugurated a more coherent and integrated network of roads, hostels, overland trade, and communications, thereby creating new and

¹¹³ Nelly Hanna, *Making Big Money in 1600: The Life and Times of Ismā'il Abū Taqīyya* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1998) 127–133; Hanna, *An Urban History of Būlāq*, 17; M. Callens, "L'Hébergement à Tunis: fondouks et oukalas," *Institut des Belles Lettres Arabes* (Tunis) 70 (1955) 257–271.

more secure links between the political hub, in Cairo, and provincial cities in Syria. In part, these developments were made possible by the defeat of the Mongols at 'Ayn Jālūt in 1260, and the fall of the last crusader outpost at Acre in 1291, events that gave early Mamlūk rulers control of the entire Syrian region, including the critical markets in Aleppo and Damascus. The reestablishment of the *barīd* helped to consolidate Mamlūk power in Syria, and led to the foundation of a network of roadside *khāns*. The increased security of roads connecting Egypt and Syria, with links to markets in Anatolia, Iraq, and further east, lent a new vitality to the overland caravan trade by the later thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

Meanwhile, linguistic and demographic changes also played a role in shifting the terminology of trade and architecture. The advent of the Mamlūk administration increased the use of Turkish in Syria and Egypt among the administrative elite, many of whom commissioned architectural projects such as *khāns*. The increasing popularity of the *khān* was also promoted by commercial contacts with adjacent regions under the rule of the Seljuqs and other Turkic dynasties in Anatolia and Iraq. The demographic crises brought about by famine and plague in the fourteenth century likewise played a role in fostering subsequent changes in the use of commercial space. Hostelries and markets were badly affected in 1348, when any place of communal activity could become a hothouse for disease. In Billbays, al-Maqrīzī reported that “the mosques, *funduqs*, and shops were filled with the dead, and nobody could be found to bury them,” while in Alexandria, “the *dār al-wakāla* and the market had to be closed, because there was nobody to come to them” and the *funduqs* were likewise shut, “since there was nobody to keep guard over them.”¹¹⁴ These facilities reopened as the crisis passed, but as elsewhere, plague paved the way for change. The need for stricter oversight and controls in time of emergency may have led to general acceptance of more stringent government regulations and control of commercial facilities. It is also likely that only the more successful commercial facilities, or those with official sponsorship, managed to reopen their doors in the aftermath of plague closures.

A new political regime and speculative economic practices in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries further augmented the process of institutional change in Egypt and Syria. Al-Maqrīzī was clearly of the opinion that new monetary and fiscal policies instituted after the shift to Circassian rulership in 1382 had a devastating affect on the Egyptian economy. Certainly, the actions of Sultans Barqūq, Mu'ayyad, Barsbay, and other rulers in

¹¹⁴ Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk*, II, part 3, 777–779.

the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries had an impact on trade and commercial facilities. This is evident in the imposition of monopolies, the suppression of the Karīmī merchants, the demolition of some commercial buildings (often *funduqs*), and the construction of others (usually *wakālas*).

In many cases, these royal maneuvers were probably a reaction to broader economic realities in Mamlūk realms, not merely the imposition of sultanic whim and the desire for personal wealth. There were far-reaching changes in progress starting in the later fourteenth century, including the destructive campaigns of Tīmūr in Syria, the decline of the *pax mongolica* across Asia, ongoing outbreaks of plague, the rise of Ottoman states and trade in Anatolia, the virtual hegemony held by western European ships over Mediterranean sea routes, and the consequent shift of Muslim commercial attention to overland traffic and shipping in the Red Sea and Indian Ocean. All of these factors contributed to the realignment of commercial facilities in Mamlūk cities.

Finally, one of the most important reasons for the decline of the *funduq* was the increasing importance of western *fondacos* and merchants. The proliferation of European *fondacos* was fueled by the fact that both local Muslim governments and foreign Christian traders profited from these institutions. The German pilgrim Felix Fabri was not the only observer to be awed by the profusion of goods and people trafficking through the *fondacos* in Alexandria during the late fifteenth century. As western *fondacos* became entrenched in Islamic port cities, and indispensable to the process of cross-cultural commerce, their success began to erode the traditional identity of the Muslim *funduq*. The expansion of late medieval *fondacos* in Mamlūk realms and in the Maghrib, and their impact on the late medieval *funduq*, will be examined in the next chapter.

*Christian commerce and the solidification
of the fondaco system*

Throughout the later middle ages, *fondacos* for European merchants prospered in Muslim port cities alongside a variety of commercial facilities for local traders. *Fondacos* continued to be a critical factor in negotiating relations between European and Muslim traders, and both Islamic and Christian sources attest to the presence of these western facilities. The progress of cross-Mediterranean trade in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries cannot be charted as a simple rising curve, however. Intermittent war, piracy, religious censure of interaction, and diplomatic breakdowns, together with other international and local events, produced a more jagged profile. The numbers of western merchants doing business in Muslim ports could vary significantly from year to year, as could the volume of their trade. Yet despite fluctuations in business traffic through individual facilities or in particular regions, the *fondaco* system survived and flourished into the sixteenth century. At the same time, the older form of the *funduq* was becoming less common, especially in Mamlūk cities. Indeed, the solidification of the *fondaco* system for mediating Christian–Muslim commercial affairs in the Maghrib, Egypt, and Syria may have contributed to the decline of its parent institution. This chapter will examine the reasons for the continuing success of the *fondaco* in the late middle ages, and consider its role as a facilitator of cross-cultural trade in the Mediterranean until the early Ottoman period.

In many ways, late medieval *fondacos* were very similar in form and function to their earlier counterparts in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.¹ Their political and economic context, however, was often quite different. For example, many of the factors that contributed to the decline of the *funduq* in the late Mamlūk period – imposition of government controls over trade, shifting patterns of trade routes in Egypt and Syria – supported

¹ For this reason, many basic aspects of the *fondaco* that were discussed in chapter 4 will not be covered in this chapter. The focus here, instead, will be on new developments in the function and administration of *fondacos* in Muslim ports in the later medieval period.

the growing importance of the *fondaco*, as did the increase in European commerce and maritime hegemony in the Mediterranean. There were also differences in the administration of *fondacos* in the eastern and western Mediterranean, created by the distinct political and diplomatic climates in lands under Mamlūk administration and in regions under Ḥafṣid, Marīnid, and Naṣrid rule.

In the later medieval period, *fondacos* remained highly desirable and profitable to both governments and their merchants, whether Muslim or Christian. Western traders needed access to the markets of the Islamic world, where they could buy luxury items imported from India and the Far East, as well as local products (cotton, flax, sugar, etc.). They exchanged these for European goods, cash, arms, and slaves brought from the region north of the Black Sea. Western governments promoted this traffic, despite the occasional hiatus in response to papal sanctions, since they profited from trade and tariffs, as well as benefiting from the *fondacos* themselves. The annual sums accruing to the Genoese from their *fondaco* in Alexandria were equal to something more than half the income from Pera, their own colony on the Black Sea, and worth more than a quarter of tax revenues from the port of Genoa itself.² The Mamlūk government also profited from the foreign *fondacos*, both from the taxes levied on international trade and from the fact that the *fondaco* system limited western merchant access to markets in the interior and protected Muslim merchants from competition in their Red Sea and Indian Ocean traffic.

Alexandria, and to some extent Tunis and Damascus also, were end-points for the European commercial diaspora. Western merchants traded to and from these markets, but rarely proceeded further into Muslim lands, and the *fondaco* system was a crucial factor in the maintenance of this pattern. Alexandria was the most important commercial destination for European merchants trading in the eastern Muslim world, in large part because the Mamlūk government worked to channel Christian mercantile activity through the city and its *fondacos*. European merchants in Egypt were discouraged from traveling to Cairo, and there were no western *fondacos* in the Mamlūk capital. The Flemish pilgrim Joos van Ghistele, who came through Alexandria in the early 1480s, emphasized the mediating commercial role of the city, which was both a focal point and a terminus for cross-cultural trade. It was “a merchant city, situated on the coast. It forms a frontier, and it teems with wealthy merchants coming from all

² R. S. Lopez, *Commercial Revolution of the Middle Ages, 950–1350* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976) 100.

nations, including Turks, Moors, Spaniards, Genoese, Venetians, Italians, Catalans, Abyssinians, Tatars, Persians, idolaters, Arabs, and every other nation imaginable.”³

The western *fondaco* buildings in Alexandria were owned and administered by the Mamlūk government, and there is much clearer evidence of official influence and oversight in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries than in earlier periods. European merchants were supposed to stay in the *fondacos*, as were western pilgrims, and they ought not to venture beyond their walls without the presence of an approved guide or interpreter (*turjumān* or dragoman). The oversight of a dragoman restrained Europeans from wandering freely through the city, perhaps seeing areas which might be off-limits for religious or military reasons (some western pilgrims and merchants served as spies). A dragoman was also responsible for ensuring the safety of the foreigners in his charge. On occasion, unescorted Christian travelers were stoned, robbed, or harassed by local people, or they might become lost in the maze of unfamiliar streets, as when Felix Fabri had to appeal for help in finding his *fondaco*.⁴ In 1323, the Irish pilgrim Simon Semeonis described the process whereby he “obtained the mediation of the sultan’s dragomen or interpreters, who procured from him a permit authorizing me . . . to travel freely and safely throughout all the Holy Land and Egypt. In testimony of this the sultan handed us a passport adorned with the sultan’s special sign, which was about an arm’s length and a half long.”⁵

Diplomatic treaties and the records of exchanges between western consuls and Mamlūk sultans all stress these strictly regulated parameters of European activity in Alexandria, Damietta, and other cities where there were *fondacos*. This prescriptive information is what might be expected from official documents. However, there are indications that some Europeans were more integrated into Egyptian life, and lived and worked outside the confines of the *fondaco* enclaves. In 1285, for instance, the Pisan Sigerio Malpilio apparently occupied his own house in Damietta.⁶ A few Genoese are also known to have been employed at the Mamlūk court in the early

³ Joos van Ghistele, *Le Voyage en Egypte de Joos van Ghistele, 1482–1483*, trans. Renée Bauwens-Préaux (Cairo: Institut français d’archéologie orientale, 1976) 113 [176–177].

⁴ Fabri, *Evagatorium in terrae sanctae*, III, 174 [134b], *Voyage en Egypte*, II, 715.

⁵ Semeonis, *Itinerarium*, 97. Later, in 1384, Giorgio Gucci similarly noted that the Mamlūk authorities required pilgrims to travel with dragomen “for the security of Christians and pilgrims that they may not be killed on the way or robbed” (Frescobaldi et al., *Visit to the Holy Places*, 95).

⁶ Otten-Froux, “Les Pisans en Egypte et à Acre,” 189 (doc. 15). This house was located near another *funduq*, called the *funduchum Bederi* (*ibid.*, 188–189 [docs. 14, 15]). It is not clear from its name whether this latter establishment belonged to a Christian or a Muslim.

fourteenth century, and a century later, Emmanuel Piloti's knowledge of colloquial Arabic and Egyptian daily life, and his wide travels and holding of property in Egypt, prove that his experiences were not confined to life within a *fondaco*.⁷ The fact that the Mamlūk historian al-Maqrīzī mentioned a special facility (either a jail or a barracks) in Cairo for housing Frankish soldiers is also indicative of a western presence in Egypt.⁸ These Europeans may have been the exception to the rule, but they are an important signal that *fondaco* walls were permeable and gates were not always locked. Our understanding of what appears to have been a highly regulated *fondaco* system must always be tempered with a recognition of the pragmatism of commerce and human nature.

A LITTLE PIECE OF EUROPE? DESCRIPTIONS OF BUILDINGS,
PRIVILEGES, RESTRICTIONS, AND PROCESS

The narratives of western pilgrims provide vivid eyewitness descriptions of the *fondacos* in Alexandria in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and the unanimity of much of their information supports its veracity. Their reports marvel at the *fondacos*' size and number, but they often closely echo the observations of earlier travelers, suggesting that despite shifts in politics and the overall growth of European trade, the basic features of the Egyptian *fondaco* system persisted over time. Visitors to Alexandria noted not only *fondacos* for western merchants, but also ones for Muslim, Jewish, and pagan merchants trafficking in the city. Possibly, their use of the term *fondaco* reflected the fact that the Arabic *funduq* could apply to facilities for both local and foreign traders.⁹ More likely, however, is that by the later middle ages the word *fondaco* had become the standard term in European usage for all facilities for overseas lodging and commerce. In 1481, the western Jewish traveler Meshullam ben Menahem of Volterra noted "four large *fondacos* of the Franks: one for Catalan merchants, another for the Genoese and their consul, and two for the Venetians and their consul, and they are all on the

⁷ M. T. Mansouri, "Les Communautés marchandes occidentales dans l'espace mamlouk (xiii^e-xv^e siècle)," in *Coloniser au moyen âge*, ed. Michel Balard and Alain Ducellier (Paris: Armand Colin, 1995) 99; Piloti, *Traité*, xx, xxiii-xxvi, 181 (50v). Piloti's book, which contains a wealth of information on Egyptian trade, was addressed to Pope Eugene IV, and written to urge the pope to launch a new crusade. The work was completed in 1438.

⁸ Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭāṭ*, II, 188. My thanks to Carl Petry for this citation.

⁹ Bilingual treaties indicate that *funduq* and *fondaco* were understood as direct translations. See, for example, the 1429 treaty between Sultan Barsbay and Alfonso V of Aragón (R. Ruiz Orsatti, "Tratado de paz entre Alfonso V de Aragón y el sultán de Egipto, al-Malik al-Ashraf Barsbāy," *al-Andalus* 4 [1936] 343, 363) and the 1489 treaty between Florence and the sultan Qāyit Bay (Amari [ed.], *Diplomi arabi*, 208-209).

right hand of one street as your approach Alexandria, and opposite them in the middle is the great *fondaco* of the Ishmaelites.”¹⁰ The contemporary German visitor Felix Fabri also mentioned four main western *fondacos* – one each for Catalans and Genoese and two for the Venetians – as well as ones for Turks, Moors, and Tatars, in 1483. Other accounts mention many more European *fondacos*, citing facilities for merchants from Pisa, Cyprus, Palermo, Ancona, Naples, Marseille, Gaeta, Montpellier, Candia, Narbonne, Avignon, Castile, Florence, and elsewhere.¹¹

Some of these nationalities had a more fleeting presence than others. While certain merchant groups (notably the Genoese and Venetians) maintained a relatively steady community in Alexandria over several centuries, traders of other nationalities came and went according to the varying winds of diplomacy, politics, warfare, and commercial success. The shift from Ayyūbid to Mamlūk rule in 1250 left many European states – including Genoa and Venice – scrambling to establish commercial relations with the new Egyptian government, despite the fact that this was a stressful time of military losses as the remaining crusader states fell to Mamlūk armies. In 1254, as soon as initial turmoil following the establishment of Mamlūk rule had settled, Venice entered into negotiation with Sultan Aybak, arranging for exclusive access to two *fondacos* in Alexandria, to be run by a consul and *fundicarius*, all according to the established “use and custom” under Ayyūbid rule.¹² Other merchant powers were somewhat slower off the bench. James I of Aragón waited until 1262 to dispatch a merchant from Montpellier to negotiate (successfully) for the first Aragonese *fondaco* in Alexandria – though a dozen years later, in 1274, he temporarily stopped traffic with Egypt in acquiescence to papal prohibitions.¹³ The ongoing nature of commercial relations between the Arago-Catalan realms and Mamlūk Egypt are documented by a series of fourteenth-century Arabic letters preserved in the Aragonese archives.¹⁴ No Genoese–Mamlūk treaty survives from before

¹⁰ Meshullam ben Menachem, *Masaʿ*, 49; trans. in Adler (ed.), *Jewish Travellers*, 162. Meshullam referred to the *fondacos* as *fōnikī*, presumably adapting the Italian version *fonnechi* into Hebrew. Elsewhere he also used *funduqi*.

¹¹ Fabri, *Evagatorium in terrae sanctae*, III, 149–150 [126b], 163–164 [130b–131a], *Voyage en Egypte*, II, 668, 694–697. The French diplomat and traveler Ghillebert de Lannoy, who visited Alexandria in 1422, distinguished between larger facilities, which he called *fondachi*, belonging to the Venetians, Genoese, and Catalans, and smaller *conchiers* for merchants from Marseille, Naples, Ancona, Palermo, and Constantinople (this last one currently unoccupied) (*Oeuvres de Ghillebert de Lannoy*, ed. Charles Potvin [Louvain: Imprimerie de P. et J. Lefever, 1878] 109–110).

¹² Tafel and Thomas (eds.), *Urkunden*, II, 483–489.

¹³ Eliyahu Ashtor, *Levant Trade in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983) 12.

¹⁴ A. S. Atiya, *Egypt and Aragon: Embassies and Diplomatic Correspondence between 1300 and 1330 AD* (Leipzig: F. A. Brockhans, 1938). The kings of Aragón, like their contemporaries in southern Europe, pursued commercial ties with regions all over the Mediterranean, not merely in Egypt (although

1290, when Genoa dispatched an ambassador to Sultan Qalāwūn, explicitly seeking reinstatement of earlier privileges.¹⁵ Most other cities waited even longer to establish commercial relations with the Mamlūks, and their *fondacos* only appeared in the fourteenth century or later. Florence was a particularly late entry into the game, and may not have had a *fondaco* in Alexandria until 1422.¹⁶

Not only events in the Islamic world, but also political changes in Europe and papal dictates could affect trade. In 1267, for example, ten years after Marseille came under Angevin rule, Charles of Anjou reaffirmed the city's franchises *in partibus transmarinis*, including both Acre and Alexandria.¹⁷ Military activities also influenced commerce, one of the most notable examples being the crusade (really little more than a "hit and run" incident, in the words of Jonathan Riley-Smith) launched by Peter I of Cyprus against Alexandria in 1365.¹⁸ The contemporary Muslim chronicler al-Nuwayrī (d. 1372) described Peter's attack on the city, noting that the "cursed Franj" burned not only Muslim facilities but also the *funduqs* of the Catalans (*Kaytalāniyyīn*), Genoese (*Januwīyyīn*) and Marseille merchants (*Marsīliyyīn*). They also started a fire in the Venetian *funduq* and looted goods from these buildings.¹⁹ Peter's incursions resulted in immediate reprisals against European traders in Egypt, despite the fact that they had themselves suffered from the attack. Within a few years, however, most nations had reestablished their trade with Mamlūk realms.²⁰

It is difficult to estimate actual numbers of merchants active in the *fondacos* of Alexandria, although Eliyahu Ashtor has attempted to

Alexandria was a preeminent destination). Charles Dufourcq has cataloged acts of the Aragonese chancellery from the period 1360–1386, mentioning Aragonese consuls in many different foreign cities ("Catalogue chronologique et analytique du registre 1389 de la chancellerie de la Couronne d'Aragon, intitulé 'Guerre Sarracenorum 1367–1386' [1360–1386]," *Miscelánea de Textos Medievales* 2 [1974] 65–166). See also López de Meneses, "Los Consulados catalanes." Although an Aragonese consulate appears in Alexandria under James I, the first reference to a separate Catalan facility (or the same facility under a new name) does not occur until 1347 (López de Meneses, "Los Consulados catalanes," 93).

¹⁵ Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant*, 1, 416–417; Jacoby, "Les Italiens en Egypte," 86.

¹⁶ Amari (ed.), *Diplomi arabi*, 333. Florence did not have *fondacos* in Egypt under the Ayyūbids. A number of Florentine–Mamlūk treaties have been published by Amari (*ibid.*), and by John Wansbrough (for example, J. Wansbrough, "A Mamlūk Commercial Treaty Concluded with the Republic of Florence 894/1489," in Stern [ed.], *Documents from Islamic Chanceries*, 39–79).

¹⁷ Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant*, 1, 329. Marseille had *fondacos* in Alexandria in the thirteenth century, and retained these in the next century (Lesage, *Marseille angevine*, 152).

¹⁸ Jonathan Riley-Smith, *Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997) 272.

¹⁹ Al-Nuwayrī, *Kitāb al-ilmām*, II, 171. Another building, the Funduq al-Mūzah, was also looted, despite the fact that this *fondaco* has sometimes been identified as the Cypriot hostelry (see Combe, "Inscription arabe," 115).

²⁰ Lapidus, *Muslim Cities*, 24; López de Meneses, "Los Consulados catalanes," 99–100.

reconstruct population figures based on notarial materials. He calculated that there may have been twenty-five to thirty-five Venetian merchants working in the city in the 1450s, and nine or ten Genoese. Two decades later, in the 1470s, there were perhaps thirty-five to fifty Venetians and ten to fifteen Genoese.²¹ These numbers seem somewhat low, especially when compared with pilgrim reports of burgeoning traffic, but there is very little information to go on. Merchant numbers would obviously have fluctuated, depending on the time of year and the arrival and departure of ships, as well as the vicissitudes of economic shifts, diplomacy, and war. Ashtor's figures may not account for longer-term residents, such as the consul and various support staff (bakers, notaries, priests, etc.), or transient European pilgrims.

Although merchants usually stayed in particular *fondacos* based on their national community, there was considerable interaction and exchange between the different facilities. If a particular merchant were unaffiliated with an existing *fondaco*, then he might arrange lodging with a friendly power, as when traders from Florence and San Gimignano claimed to be Pisans, in around 1270, in order to have access to the Pisan *fondaco* and take advantage of Pisa's preferred trading status in Egypt.²² Later another Florentine merchant, staying in the Pisan *fondaco* in Alexandria in 1336, used this as a delivery address for a shipment of wine and cheeses sent by a Pisan partner based in Candia.²³ Although the merchants in Alexandria (as elsewhere) were a fairly litigious lot, accounts of hostility and aggressive behavior within the foreign Christian community are rare. This is in contrast to outbreaks of rioting and looting between competing merchant groups in Christian cities such as Messina and Acre. It is reasonable to assume that the ever-present fact of minority status, and possible threat from the local Muslim majority, built solidarity among the western *fondaco* communities.

Felix Fabri's description of the *fondacos* in late fifteenth-century Alexandria is exceptionally detailed, and justifiably famous.²⁴ During his sojourn in the city, Felix and his companions stayed in the Catalan *fondaco*, "in which the Catalan merchants have their merchandise and lodgings. In effect, this is the *fondaco* (*fonticus*) of the Catalans and the hospice of all Christian

²¹ Ashtor, *Levant Trade*, 483–484.

²² Ashtor, *Levant Trade*, 14–15.

²³ R. Morozzo della Rocca (ed.), *Lettere di mercanti a Pignol Zucchetto (1336–1350)* (Venice: Comitato per la Pubblicazione delle Fonti Relative alla Storia di Venezia, 1957) 9.

²⁴ Several other pilgrim accounts from this period (particularly those of Breydenbach and Arnold von Harff) may have drawn on Felix's information: Bernard de Breydenbach, *Les Saintes pègrinations de Bernard de Breydenbach (1483)*, ed. F. Larrivaz (Cairo: Imprimerie nationale, 1904) 31 (Latin), 67–68 (French); Arnold von Harff, *The Pilgrimage of Arnold von Harff*, trans. M. Letts, Hakluyt Society, second series, 94 ([1946]; repr. Millwood, NJ: Kraus, 1990), 93.

pilgrims, unless by a particular favor of the Venetians or Genoese they are granted the hospitality of the latter's *fondacos*."²⁵ He went on to say that the building "was spacious, with many rooms [and it] had a large courtyard, with numerous chambers all around like a monastery." After the consul showed them their chambers, which were evidently on an upper floor, "we descended to the courtyard and carried our baggage to our rooms."²⁶

Once they were settled, Felix and his fellow pilgrims set forth to tour the other European *fondacos* in the company of their dragoman.

After leaving the *fondaco* of the Catalans, we went to the *fondaco* of the Genoese. This is a large and beautiful house with a sizeable courtyard, next to which there is a garden planted with many rare plants. Within the *fondaco* we saw many merchants, an enormous heap of merchandise, and a number of animals running about which we were not familiar with.²⁷

Felix's wonderment increased when he came next to the two Venetian *fondacos*, first the smaller then the larger, and found them likewise stuffed with goods, merchants and – as in the Genoese trading house – with exotic animals. After seeing the second Venetian *fondaco*, they "left to go see the *fondaco* of the Turks from Constantinople ['fonticum Constantinopolitanum Turcorum' – the former Byzantine capital had been in Ottoman hands for thirty years by this time]. Here we saw many different types of merchandise, and the Turks themselves, who were tall, with a serious and venerable expression. Next we went to the *fondaco* of the Tartars (*fonticum Tartarorum*), where we entered and saw, in truth, the most precious merchandise." This last establishment, as he went on to relate, was basically a slave-market.²⁸

This Tatar *fondaco* for slaves also caught the attention of Arnold von Harff, who supposedly traveled through Alexandria in the 1490s, and later wrote with indignation verging on prurience that "there are also sold daily Christian men and women, boys and young girls, who have been captured

²⁵ Fabri, *Evagatorium in terrae sanctae*, III, 149 [126a], *Voyage en Egypte*, II, 666–667. It seems to have been common for one or more of the *fondacos* in Alexandria to lodge pilgrims. A century before Felix's travels, ordinances made in Barcelona in 1381 had established that although non-Catalan merchants could not take advantage of the Catalan *fondaco* in Alexandria, the facility was always open to pilgrims and other travelers (Capmany, *Memorias*, II, 321). Other reports indicate that the *fondacos* of Marseille and Narbonne housed pilgrims, perhaps because pilgrim ships frequently set sail for Egypt from southern France. See Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l'Île de Chypre*, II, 294 (n. 1); Bernard Doumerc, "Les Marchands du Midi à Alexandrie au xve siècle," *Annales du Midi* 97 (1985) 271.

²⁶ Fabri, *Evagatorium in terrae sanctae*, III, 149–150 [126b], 163 [130b], *Voyage en Egypte*, II, 668, 694.

²⁷ Fabri, *Evagatorium in terrae sanctae*, III, 163 [130b], *Voyage en Egypte*, II, 694. This is a rare confirmation of the standard diplomatic grant of a garden along with *fondacos* and other facilities.

²⁸ Fabri, *Evagatorium in terrae sanctae*, III, 164 [131a], *Voyage en Egypte*, II, 697. Lapidus confirms that the Ottomans maintained a *funduq* in Alexandria in this period (*Muslim Cities*, 42).

in Christian lands, for very little money, fifteen, twenty, or thirty ducats, according as they are rated. First all their limbs are inspected, whether they are healthy, strong, sick, lame, or weak, and so they buy them.”²⁹

Slaves, especially young boys, were critical to the Mamlūk social, economic, and political system, and many did indeed come from Tatar lands in Russia, Circassia, and the Caucasus. Many were pagan, but some were orthodox Christians. Genoese merchants came to be heavily involved in slave traffic, much of which went via the Genoese colony in Caffa, then across the Black Sea, through Anatolia, and finally by sea to Egypt. According to Piloti, the Genoese in Caffa inquired into the religion of these slaves, sorting out any whom they recognized as Christian, before releasing the rest to Mamlūk agents (some of whom were also Genoese) for transport.³⁰ This traffic was facilitated by the existing network of Seljuq and early Ottoman *khāns* in Anatolia, and also by *fondacos*. A Genoese notary working in Sivas, an inland city on the route southward from Trebizond, wrote two contracts in a “*fondico*” belonging to a Muslim (*sarrazeni*) merchant in 1274, and another contract from Sivas, dated 1280, was drawn up “in fondico Camaladini [Kamal al-Dīn] quo habitant Januenses.”³¹

Returning to Felix’s tour, his comments on the Venetian *fondaco* and the animals that it contained are worth further consideration. His observations are not unprecedented, since other travelers also noted the presence of exotic animals in *fondacos*. A decade earlier, for instance, Anselm Adorno had marveled at a gazelle and an ostrich in the Genoese *fondaco* in Sūs.³² Some of these ostriches, leopards, and parrots may have been destined for European menageries, while other types of animals could have provided food for *fondaco* residents. In Felix’s account, at least one animal seems to have been as much intended to annoy the local populace as to feed the Venetian inhabitants.

According to Felix, in the larger Venetian *fondaco* they encountered

²⁹ Arnold von Harff, *Pilgrimage*, 95. Von Harff’s travels may be largely fictitious. See C. F. Beckingham, “The *Rihla*: Fact or Fiction?” in *Golden Roads: Migration, Pilgrimage, and Travel in Medieval and Modern Islam*, ed. Ian R. Netton (Richmond: Curzon Press, 1993) 92–93.

³⁰ Piloti, *Traité*, 143 (391–v).

³¹ George I. Bratianu, *Recherches sur le commerce génois dans la Mer Noire au XIII^e siècle* (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1929) 166, 168; also 301–302 (docs. 1, 2); 314–315 (docs. 12, 13). Other contracts mention Genoese merchants inhabiting ordinary houses (*domus*), so apparently they were not required to lodge in these *fondacos*. However, when Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited the Seljuq city of Antalya (on the Mediterranean coast at the end of the overland route from the Black Sea) in the early 1330s, he noted that Christian merchants had their own residential area near the port, surrounded by a wall, with gates that were locked at night and during Friday prayer services – restrictions reminiscent of the *fondaco* system elsewhere (*The Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*, 418).

³² Adorno, *Itinéraire*, 142–145.

a beast which for us is a domestic animal, but which is a horror to the Saracens. A huge pig (*porcus grossus*) was promenading the courtyard – which astonished us greatly, since the Saracens have a mortal hatred of pigs and hold them an abomination, as do the Jews. They cannot bear to have a pig among them, which is why we had not seen one on our entire journey until this one here. It was explained to us that the Venetians had paid a large sum to the sultan for a safe-conduct for this pig, otherwise the Saracens would not have allowed it to live and even worse, would have destroyed the house on account of the pig.

He went on to say that this animal was very fierce and aggressive towards Muslims, but invariably gentle with Christians, even if they were strangers.³³

The presence of this beast, together with the reiteration of laws against keeping pigs in western *fondacos*, opens the possibility that this was an ongoing issue.³⁴ Like the restrictions on the importation and drinking of wine, it hints at the pragmatism and economic interests inherent in the Muslim–Christian relationship. From the earliest period, one of the functions of the *fondaco* system was to ensure that foreign visitors (particularly European Christians) would have access to their own law, religion, and food-ways while in a Muslim city. The latter concern was generally expressed in terms of permission to drink and sell wine within the *fondaco*. This was discussed in chapter 4, and we will return to it again below. The ubiquitous mention of ovens for baking bread was also related. Although there was nothing objectionable about Christians and Muslims sharing an oven if it were used exclusively for bread, some Muslim jurists were concerned about the possibility that Christians might contaminate ovens by cooking pork in them, or by introducing dishes containing pork fat. Despite the risk of fire, it was safer, overall, to locate Christian ovens within the *fondacos*, and also more convenient for the inhabitants when the buildings were locked at night. Over and above convenience and segregation, all of these privileges had economic ramifications. Swine, wine, and ovens could be taxed, or licensed, thus rendering considerable revenues to the local Muslim government.³⁵

The Venetian pig also had potent symbolic value. Its presence evoked the power and immunity of Venice within the walls of the *fondaco*, while

³³ Fabri, *Evagatorium in terrae sanctae*, III, 163–164 [130b–131a], *Voyage en Egypte*, II, 695.

³⁴ It is possible that the Venetian pig was a product of Fabri's imagination. Although his pilgrimage account is generally considered truthful, he was not above a certain amount of exaggeration to make a point. However, restrictions on pigs in *fondacos* were repeatedly cited in diplomatic materials, and this reiteration may have been in response to an actual and ongoing problem. In Hafsid Tunisia, pigs were strictly prohibited in Christian *fondacos* (Brunschvig, *La Berbérie orientale*, II, 225). In the thirteenth century, the administrators of the *fondacos* for merchants from Marseille had also been banned from keeping pigs (“nec possint ibi tenere fundegarii porcos”) (Méry and Guindon [eds.], *Histoire de Marseille*, I, 352).

³⁵ Labib, “Egyptian Commercial Policy,” 74.

the fact that the animal was tolerated only by a grant of safe-conduct from the sultan emphasized that the Venetian *fondaco* existed at his pleasure. The building itself belonged to the Mamlūk government, which maintained its fabric and provided some of its staff. Outside its walls was a potentially dangerous local population, capable of destroying the *fondaco* were it not for its royal protection. For Felix, the aggressiveness of the pig itself mirrored the ever-present latent hostility between Christians and Muslims. Yet this hostility had been overcome in the cause of commerce, and the economic interests of both the Venetian and Mamlūk governments had long worked to ensure that the *fondaco* system survived and flourished. The Venetians, after all, had the resources to shell out *multis pecuniis* to buy a safe-conduct, or license, for their pig – and to pay for many other things also.

The story of the Venetian pig exemplifies the complex network of privileges and restrictions which characterized the daily life of the European *fondacos* in Alexandria. Inhabitants were permitted to import a variety of items to make their lives comfortable and familiar, and personal belongings (as opposed to commodities) were specifically exempted from tax. Consuls and merchants could bring clothes, bedding, boxes, and small gifts in and out of the *fondaco* without any restrictions.³⁶ They could also bring considerable quantities of duty-free wine into the *fondaco* – ostensibly for personal consumption.

The evidence for wine is much better attested, over a much longer period, than evidence for the Venetian pig. Access to wine for sacramental purposes had always been permitted in the Christian *dhimmī* communities, and this allowed an easy loophole for its import to the *fondacos*. In the late thirteenth century, as we have seen in chapter 4, the sale of wine already represented a recognized commercial concession in the European *fondacos* of Ḥafṣid Tunis, although its consumption and sale were much more closely regulated in Egypt. Nonetheless, at least some wine was imported into the western *fondacos* of Alexandria during the Ayyūbid period, and this practice continued under Mamlūk rule. In 1254, for example, a Venetian treaty with the newly established government of Sultan ‘Izz al-Dīn Aybak granted the Italians permission to “import wine to their two *fondacos*, according to prior usage and custom,” and to sell it in these establishments.³⁷

By the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Egyptian restrictions appear to have eased, at least in practice, so that while alcohol was still officially prohibited, it was in fact widely available both inside and outside the *fondacos*

³⁶ John Wansbrough, “A Mamlūk Ambassador to Venice in 913/1507,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 26 (1963) 529.

³⁷ Tafel and Thomas (eds.), *Urkunden*, II, 483–489.

in Alexandria. As with the pig, European merchants could obtain permission to have wine in their *fondacos* in return for payment of duties (or perhaps more accurately, a bribe) to Mamlūk officials.³⁸ Thus, when Sultan al-Malik al-Ṣālīḥ reiterated traditional prohibitions against Christians selling wine in 1354, it is likely that he was reacting to a common practice.³⁹ The same was probably true in 1381 and 1386, when Aragonese consuls appointed to the *fondaco* in Alexandria had to swear not to import or sell wine on the premises (nor allow women or boys of dubious reputation to live in the building).⁴⁰ A notarial act from 1362 mentions a tavern in the Marseille *fondaco*, and in 1384 the pilgrim Frescobaldi bought wine in the Venetian *fondaco* in Alexandria.⁴¹ In Cairo, his Muslim interpreter often “came to drink” in the house where Frescobaldi lodged, and even – the pilgrim author added indignantly – “sent our barrel of malmsey to his own house, leaving us only two small barrels.”⁴²

Malmsey (or *malvasie*) from Crete was the wine of choice in Egypt. In 1420, Emmanuel Piloti claimed that great quantities were imported to Alexandria, where people “drank it in secret,” despite the fact that “their law prohibits drinking.”⁴³ Piloti had been born on Crete, in about 1371, and spent his career as a merchant in Egypt in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. His writing indicates that he must have known colloquial Arabic, and he was apparently in favor with Sultan Faraj ibn Barqūq and his successor, Sultan al-Mu’ayyad. The latter granted him the personal right to import “five butts (*bottes*) of malmsey into Alexandria each month without paying any duties” on the wine.⁴⁴ Others sometimes enjoyed similar privileges, as when Sultan Barsbay allowed Florentine merchants and their consul to bring in wine, grain, and cheese for their own use, without paying any fee, in 1422.⁴⁵

³⁸ Jacoby, “Les Italiens en Egypte,” 83; Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant*, II, 434.

³⁹ Mentioned by Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-a’shā*, XIII, 378–379.

⁴⁰ Capmany, *Memorias*, II, 321 (Nov. 19, 1381), II, 337–338 (Jan. 9, 1386). López de Meneses, “Los Consulados catalanes,” 103–104, 131.

⁴¹ Ashtor, *Levant Trade*, 85; Frescobaldi et al., *Visit to the Holy Places*, 42.

⁴² Frescobaldi et al., *Visit to the Holy Places*, 52. Many pilgrims carried wine, for personal consumption or sacramental use, and their stocks were often either confiscated or taxed by Muslim officials. Thomas Byrgg mentioned a charge of 35 ducats on two bottles of wine from Candia that they brought to Cairo in 1392 (“Itinerarium ad Sanctam Sepulcram,” ed. P. Riant, *Les Archives de l’Orient Latin* 2 [1882] 387) and Felix Fabri, a century later, described how, after disembarking in Jaffa, “we took two small jars of wine, which we hid in sacks lest the Saracens should see them, for they do not suffer wine to be openly carried about, but if they see it they break the jars, if they are able” (*Evagatorium in terrae sanctae*, I, 193–194 [74b]).

⁴³ “Nonobstant que leur lois commande qu’i n’en boivent . . . mais en boivent secrètement”: Piloti, *Traité*, 158–9 (42r).

⁴⁴ Piloti, *Traité*, 209 (60v).

⁴⁵ Amari (ed.), *Diplomi arabi*, 339.

At times, even retail sales of wine appear to have been condoned. In the same year (1422), a contract drawn up in the larger of the Venetian *fondacos* mentioned a Jewish merchant shipping sixty butts of Cretan wine to three Christian merchants (one from Naples, two from Ancona) who were retailers in Alexandria. The seller promised to keep this cargo on shipboard were he to arrive during the month of Ramadan. This last provision indicates that such sales were still very sensitive, as does the fact that in 1429 another Jewish merchant was forced to return to Crete with his cargo of wine because the sultan had banned its import.⁴⁶ Nevertheless, association with wine was not necessarily a bar to success, and perhaps the reverse. A man appointed as consul for Neapolitan merchants in Alexandria from 1427 to 1434 was earlier recorded as running a tavern in that city in the early 1420s.⁴⁷

Early in the next century, in 1512, Venetian merchants paid different tariffs on wine imported to Alexandria, where it might legitimately have been intended for the *fondacos*, and on wine sent to Cairo, where it more likely went to Muslim consumers.⁴⁸ Muslims may also have come to the *fondacos* of Alexandria to indulge their fondness for malmsey, since as Breydenbach reported, “Muslims and Christians ate and drank together [in the *fondacos*] without any difference between them.”⁴⁹ Certainly, the *fondacos* were open for cross-cultural business activities during the day, and it is conceivable that these transactions were sealed over a congenial glass of malmsey, but their doors were locked at night – effectively separating Muslim and Christian communities – when drinking was more likely to have occurred. Thus Piloti’s report of “secret” Muslim drinking (in other words within their own homes), or Frescobaldi’s earlier account of his dragoman taking home a barrel of wine, seem more likely than open consumption in the *fondacos* during daylight hours.

While it would be misleading to make too much of the privileges granted to the western *fondacos*, it is clear that the bilateral negotiating power of Christian governments and the Mamlūk state allowed the evolution of a uniquely privileged yet restricted institution, very unlike its more laissez-faire cousin the *funduq*. The special concessions enjoyed by *fondacos* went hand in hand with targeted restrictions, and together these two forces

⁴⁶ Eliyahu Ashtor, “New Data for the History of Levantine Jewries in the Fifteenth Century,” *Bulletin of the Institute of Jewish Studies* 3 (1975) 77–79, 94–97.

⁴⁷ Ashtor, *Levant Trade*, 354.

⁴⁸ M. Reinard, “Traité de commerce entre la République de Venise et les derniers sultans mameloucs d’Égypte,” *Journal Asiatique* series 1, 4 (1829) 44.

⁴⁹ Breydenbach, *Saintes pérégrinations*, 35–36 (Latin), 74–75 (French). Breydenbach does not specifically note that Muslims drank wine.

created an invisible retaining wall around the premises. This conceptual barrier was reflected in the very tangible reality of the building's walls and its gate, which was securely locked at night and during Friday prayers. As has been noted before, locked gates were nothing unusual in a medieval city, and security was always important in both *funduqs* and *fondacos* (not to mention other facilities for storing valuable commodities). Nevertheless, there is good evidence that the practices of the Ayyūbid period became more rigid under Mamlūk rule, and *fondaco* gates that had been secured from the inside in the twelfth century were routinely locked from the outside by the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Already in the late thirteenth century, the Sultan Qalāwūn (1280–1290) wrote to the governor (*wālī*) of Alexandria, that “as regards the guarding of the *funduqs* of the Franks, take charge of their keys at night and during the time of Friday prayer.”⁵⁰

Repeated reports by Europeans in Egypt show that Qalāwūn's instructions were not unique. In 1323, Simon Semeonis reported that the “Saracens” in Alexandria protected their city “with the utmost care, especially on Fridays, when during prayer-time Christians of all classes are absolutely forbidden to come forth from their houses, which the Saracens close and bolt from without.”⁵¹ Simon presumably witnessed a version of this himself, from within the walls of the Marseille *fondaco* in which he stayed, though his knowledge of the indigenous Christian community's treatment may be less reliable. A century-and-a-half-later, Felix Fabri provided a similar picture, describing how he went downstairs early one morning to say his prayers, and found that

the door of the house [*domus*, i.e. the Catalan *fondaco*] was still closed. It is the Saracens who open and close it, from the outside, at their will, just as elsewhere with all of the other Christian houses [presumably here he also intends *fondacos*] of which they hold the keys rather than the Christian inhabitants. The same thing happens wherever there are Venetian merchants. They close all houses in which there are Christians during the night hours so that nobody is able to enter or exit in order to protect against nocturnal harms (*nocturni insultus*). As I was sitting there, the Saracen doorkeeper arrived who opened the bolt and the bars on the two hinged doors.⁵²

Felix's contemporary, the Flemish pilgrim Joos van Ghistele, similarly reported that “each evening at dusk servants of the amir and governor of the

⁵⁰ Bodleian, MS Marsh 424, 86r–v. The text has been attributed to Shāfi' ibn Alī; it is titled “Digna Gloria Virtus (anonymous author)” in the 1787 Bodleian catalogue. My thanks to Colin Wakefield of the Bodleian Library for his help with this manuscript.

⁵¹ Semeonis, *Itinerarium*, 51.

⁵² Fabri, *Evagatorium in terrae sanctae*, III, 154 [128a], *Voyage en Egypte*, II, 677.

city come to close up the *fondacos*,” and this information was repeated in many other European accounts.⁵³ The security of the *fondacos* even led to their doubling as jails (as had long been the case with ordinary *funduqs*), and a lengthy Arabic treaty between Alfonso V of Aragón and Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf Barsbay, in 1430, included the provision that Aragonese merchants should not be confined in Muslim prisons, but instead would be imprisoned in the *funduq*, or somewhere else habitable. They were to be well treated, and not chained or handcuffed.⁵⁴

Christian sources frequently mention local people engaged in the day-to-day operations of the *fondaco* buildings, from the local governor down to the doorkeepers and interpreters. Building and repair costs were shouldered by the Mamlūk government, although foreign Christians could often supervise placement and construction to suit their needs. Although this arrangement may have been common in earlier centuries, it is most clearly attested during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The same Aragonese–Mamlūk treaty noted above, for example, included a clause to the effect that “our lord, the sultan, has conceded the right to the Catalan merchants to found and erect a *funduq*, [but] there will be no expenses to either the consul or to the merchants resulting from this.”⁵⁵

Some Europeans apparently operated concessions outside the *fondaco* premises, although it is not clear what happened to these during periods of curfew. Piloti, who presents himself as a special case, had his own warehouse (*magazin*) next to the official customs house (*douane*) in 1420.⁵⁶ A few years earlier, a notarial contract from 1416 mentioned the payment of 600 florins, from the Venetian consul to a local official, to cover annual rent of a large shop located near the entrance of the Venetian *fondaco*.⁵⁷ It is also possible that other references to shops, houses, warehouses, and *botigas* may sometimes apply to facilities rented from the Mamlūk government, but located beyond the *fondaco* walls.

Foreign Christians in Alexandria thus enjoyed considerable liberties and latitude, yet they were ultimately under the oversight of the Mamlūk

⁵³ Joos van Ghistele, *Voyage en Egypte*, 113–114 [177]. Descriptions of the nocturnal curfew are common, especially in the fifteenth century. In the 1480s, the Jewish traveler Obadiah da Bertinoro gave similar information on the confinement of Christians during the night and on Fridays (see Adler [ed.], *Jewish Travellers*, 223). Half a century earlier, the diplomat Ghillebert de Lannoy also noted the confinement of Christians in *fondacos* at night and during Friday prayers (*Oeuvres*, 109–110).

⁵⁴ Alarcón (ed.), *Documentos árabes diplomáticos* 372–390 (doc. 153, art. 13). Also noted by Ruiz Orsatti, “Tratado de paz,” 345, 362. These clauses are similar to information on using the *funduq* as a place of confinement in thirteenth-century Seville; see Ibn ‘Abdūn, *Risāla*, 18.

⁵⁵ “Min ghair an yukallafū al-tujjār wa lā al-qanṣūl min dhalika”: Alarcón (ed.), *Documentos árabes diplomáticos*, 372–390 (doc. 153, article 24). Also noted by Ruiz Orsatti, “Tratado de paz,” 349, 366.

⁵⁶ Piloti, *Traité*, 181 (50v).

⁵⁷ Labib, “Egyptian Commercial Policy,” 71.

administration. Unlike a modern consulate or embassy, there was no conception of diplomatic immunity in the *fondaco* system, though there were diplomatic privileges. The *fondaco* buildings were never considered to be “foreign soil,” and thus a prisoner held in a *fondaco* might be grateful for the more comfortable location of his confinement, but he was no less a prisoner of the state, and ultimately subject – depending on the offense – to Mamlūk justice.

CONSULS AND SULTANS: THE SPHERES OF FOREIGN
AND LOCAL POWER

As well as negotiating for *fondacos*, treaties between Christian states and the Mamlūk government were concerned to define the parameters of economic process and legal power on either side. The outlines of these privileges show remarkable stability over time. This shows more than the inertia of diplomatic protocol, and it suggests that both parties were satisfied with the general model. There were, nonetheless, some new developments evident by the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Each foreign Christian community and *fondaco* was overseen by a consul, as had been the case since the first appearance of the *fondaco* system in Muslim ports. Some of these men were appointed and sent out by their home city, but increasingly many were locally appointed by the merchant communities abroad, or even by Muslim administrations. Local endorsement could be critical; one candidate for the post of French consul in Alexandria triumphed over a rival candidate in 1352 by producing Arabic letters of support (*cartas moriscas*).⁵⁸ Two years earlier, in 1350, a merchant claiming to be the newly appointed consul for the realms of Aragón in Tunis was rejected by local Muslim authorities, on the grounds that his letter of appointment from the royal chancery was fraudulent since it lacked an official seal. In consequence, Catalan merchants in the city chose their own candidate for the position.⁵⁹

It is probable that the office of consul was often farmed, although there is little hard evidence of this except in the case of James I, who tried – without great success – to administer the Catalan *fondaco* in Alexandria along the same lines as the *fondaci nostri* in Tunis and Valencia.⁶⁰ Later Catalan consuls, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, received a salary

⁵⁸ Doumerc, “Marchands du Midi,” 272.

⁵⁹ Robert Brunschvig, “Documents inédits sur les relations entre la Couronne d’Aragon et la Berbérie orientale au xiv^e siècle,” *Annales de l’Institut d’Etudes Orientales* (Paris) 2 (1936) 244.

⁶⁰ Capmany, *Memorias*, II, 37; López de Meneses, “Los Consulados catalanes,” 85.

based on the quantity of goods coming through their *fondaco*, levying a certain percentage per hundredweight.⁶¹ Consuls in this period were also regularly paid a stipend (either called *gemechia* in Italian or *ma'lūm* in Arabic) from the Mamlūk government – a noteworthy change from earlier policies to be discussed further below.

A consul's term of office usually lasted no more than two or three years, at least according to the statutes of the European cities that they represented. This relatively brief tenure was perhaps an attempt to prevent a consul from becoming too familiar with the local scene or too integrated within its business affairs.⁶² Most, however, already had long experience trading in the eastern Mediterranean, and some, like Emmanuel Piloti (who at one point served briefly as Venetian consul), knew Arabic. Frescobaldi mentioned that one consul whom he encountered in Alexandria in 1384 was French, but had an eastern Christian wife, “and between them they [had] less than one ounce of faith.”⁶³ In the 1480s, the Catalan consul in Alexandria had a Greek Christian wife (this time a woman noted for her pious generosity).⁶⁴ Both marriages indicate that it was not unknown for “European” consuls to establish long-term roots in the Near East.

The consul was responsible for organizing the business activities, lodging, and storage within the *fondaco*, and for overseeing its community. When Simon Semeonis arrived in Alexandria in the early fourteenth century, he reported that each *fondaco* was in the charge of a consul, and “without his presence and permission no merchant of the state which he represents is admitted into the city along with his wares. He sits before [the city gate, together with Muslim administrators] . . . and receives only those merchants of the state he represents, and their goods. Of these, he requisitions a certain fixed quantity on their arrival, and on their departure must render an account of this.”⁶⁵ In the next century, a Mamlūk–Florentine treaty of 1430 stated that the consul was “in charge of the *funduq* and its business, and he discharges this freely without interference from anybody for any reason.”⁶⁶ Fifty years later, Felix Fabri further explained that “the consuls of the *fondacos* are powerful men. It is up to each of them to return advice, to reduce taxes on merchandise, to provide for their *fondacos*, to keep the peace, and together with the other consuls, to promote by their councils the

⁶¹ López de Meneses, “Los Consulados catalanes,” 115, 121.

⁶² Capmany, *Memorias*, II, 320; Jacoby, “Les Italiens en Egypte,” 83. See also López de Meneses, “Los Consulados catalanes.” A limited term also allowed for the frequent resale or reallocation of the office.

⁶³ Frescobaldi et al., *Visit to the Holy Places*, 38.

⁶⁴ Fabri, *Evagatorium in terrae sanctae*, III, 203 [144a], *Voyage en Egypte*, II, 771–772.

⁶⁵ Semeonis, *Itinerarium*, 49–51.

⁶⁶ Ruiz Orsatti, “Tratado de paz,” 351, 367 (clause 30).

commerce of the state.”⁶⁷ Sometimes, the consul was aided by a *fundicarius*, who took charge of some of the more day-to-day concerns of the *fondaco*, and especially the collection of fees and taxes.⁶⁸

Communal justice was another aspects of the consul’s domain, and merchants insisted on their right to bring their cases before him. When, for example, “there is within the Florentine nation a dispute or quarrel, or one of them has a claim against another of his nation, no one of the viceroys or magistrates [i.e. Muslim officers] or merchants shall adjudicate between them except the consul of their nation according to their custom.”⁶⁹ Petty legal disputes between two Italians, or between Europeans of different nationalities, would also come before one of the consuls, unless for some reason a western merchant preferred to take his case to a Muslim court. The latter option appears in several treaties, dating from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries, suggesting that western merchants did at times prefer this course of action.⁷⁰ In contrast, most disputes between Muslims and Christians, and all cases in which foreign Christians were accused of serious crimes, were brought before a Muslim judge.⁷¹ In some cases, if merchants were not satisfied with the outcome of this decision, the case could be appealed to the sultan.⁷²

Merchants sometimes had grievances against the *fondaco* system, and by extension against the consul, usually concerning charges levied on commercial goods stored or sold in the *fondacos*. One case brought by two merchants from Languedoc in 1399 was argued before the Genoese consul, but conducted in the Marseille *fondaco* with the French consul also in attendance. A Genoese ship-owner had refused to hand over the merchants’ cargo, on the grounds that they had not paid taxes due to the *fondaco* from non-Genoese traders. The traders, in turn, argued that they should be exempt from tax since two of their fellow merchants, although also from Montpellier, had escaped payment through claiming Genoese citizenship. In the end, they were granted a similar exemption.⁷³ Another complaint by merchants from

⁶⁷ Fabri, *Evagatorium in terrae sanctae*, III, 162 [130b], *Voyage en Egypte*, II, 693–694.

⁶⁸ Jacoby, “Les Italiens en Egypte,” 83.

⁶⁹ From a Florentine–Mamlūk treaty of 1430 (Wansbrough, “A Mamlūk Commercial Treaty,” 66 [art. 14]).

⁷⁰ L. T. Belgrano, “Trattato del sultano d’Egitto col Commune di Genova nel MCLXXX,” *Atti de la Società Ligure di Storia Patria* (Genoa) 19 (1887) 168; Wansbrough, “A Mamlūk Commercial Treaty,” 68 (art. 26).

⁷¹ Belgrano, “Trattato,” 168. Another example of this common clause appears in a treaty of 1430 between the king of Aragón and the Mamlūk sultan (Alarcón [ed.], *Documentos árabes diplomáticos*, 383 [doc. 153]).

⁷² Wansbrough, “A Mamlūk Commercial Treaty,” 67 (art. 20).

⁷³ Doumerc, “Marchands du Midi,” 276.

Marseille against the Genoese consul was lodged in 1406, and drawn up by a Venetian notary in the presence of merchants from Florence, Mallorca, and Valencia. The French traders claimed that the Genoese consul had abused his power by demanding duties (*drets*) from them in the Genoese *fondaco*, although the items in question were not Genoese goods, and thus owed tax only to the French consul in their own *fondaco*.⁷⁴ These cases show the consul not only in the role of adjudicator but also as defendant, and indicate that consuls were not above suspicion of using their office for their own profit.

Consuls also represented their community before the Mamlūk government. Treaties included clauses giving consuls the right to journey to Cairo at regular intervals (usually about once a month) to present grievances or requests to the sultan, who would personally consider each case. Alternately, a consul might be peremptorily summoned to the capital, to answer charges of piracy or other actions by his people, and he might suffer retribution personally. Data from the first decades of the fifteenth century illustrate the fragility of the position of the consul as an intermediary in diplomatic relations. A letter from the doge of Venice to the Mamlūk sultan, sent to Egypt in 1411, complained that the Venetian consul and several merchants had been arrested and brought to Cairo in irons the previous year, an event that the doge interpreted as an insult to Venice. His letter reminded the sultan of promises to honor and protect the consul and other Venetian subjects in his realm.⁷⁵ In 1420, Piloti reported that the Venetian consul was repeatedly summoned to Cairo on charges of Venetian corsair activity and the selling of Muslim slaves to the duke of Naxos. Piloti was sent to negotiate, and managed to liberate both the consul and the captured Muslims. Both sides appear to have been pleased by this outcome, since it was on this occasion that al-Mu'ayyad allowed him to import the butts of malmsey without charge.⁷⁶ Other contretemps ended less happily. Piloti reported the flogging and expulsion of another consul, who was also stripped of his goods and possessions, in reprisal for acts of piracy by Venetian ships and for his secret attempts to warn Venetian merchants that their goods might be seized. Venetian traffic with Mamlūk ports was interrupted for several years following this incident.⁷⁷ Official ire sometimes extended beyond the person of the consul, as when Bertrandon de la Broquière saw a messenger

⁷⁴ Bernard Doumerc, "Documents commerciaux en langue d'oc enregistrés à Alexandrie par les notaires vénitiens (fin xive—début xve siècle)," *Annales du Midi* 99 (1987) 240.

⁷⁵ Henri Lammens, "Correspondances diplomatiques entre les sultans mamlouks d'Égypte et les puissances chrétiennes," *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* 9 (1904) 363–365.

⁷⁶ Piloti, *Traité* 201–207 (57v–60r).

⁷⁷ Piloti, *Traité* 230–233 (67r–68r).

on a racing camel approaching Damascus in the early 1430s, and his interpreter told him that this man “was coming with a command of the sultan to arrest all Catalans and Genoese who were in Damascus and everywhere else in Syria because a galley and two smaller boats of the prince of Taranto had captured a ship full of Moors near Tripoli in Syria.”⁷⁸ It is striking that despite these hostilities and reprisals on both sides, the *fondaco* system continued to function and consuls were willing to serve. Evidently, the economic incentives and other benefits of the system sufficiently outweighed its risks.

Although the basic scenario of *fondacos* and their administration seems familiar from earlier times, there was at least one striking change in the financial remuneration for consuls. By the fifteenth century, consuls regularly received a stipend from the Mamlūk sultan, apparently in addition to money that they made from running the concessions within the *fondaco* and to the fees they collected on lodging and trade. Florentine and Aragonese treaties in the fifteenth century, for example, included clauses ensuring that their consuls would be paid the same salary “at the expense of the noble *diwān*” that was customarily paid to the Venetian and other consuls in Alexandria.⁷⁹ It is unclear exactly when this stipend came into being. It may have been one of a number of attempts in the early Burjī period (after 1382) to manipulate and control the Egyptian economy.

The fact that consuls received state stipends added to the fragility of their status and relations with the sultan.⁸⁰ The delicacy of the relationship is hinted at by Piloti, in his account of the consul brought before Sultan al-Mu’ayyad to answer charges of Venetian piracy and secret correspondence. When the consul was brought before him, al-Mu’ayyad asked him, “For what reason do you have my protection and remain in my country?” And the consul replied, “My Lord, in order to sustain and comfort the merchants of my nation, and also the opportunity to bring things here to benefit your country.” The sultan then produced an intercepted letter written by the consul to Venetians in Damascus, warning them to flee the country with their goods in order to escape confiscation and other reprisals.

⁷⁸ La Broquière, *Voyage d’Outremer*, 55 (trans. 31–32). Perhaps because of the tenuous nature of their position, consuls often worked to appease local rulers. In 1498, the foreign consuls in Damascus took an active part in festivities to honor Sultan Ghūrī when he visited the city, meeting him at the gate and presenting him with gifts (Mansouri, “Les Communautés marchandes occidentales,” 91).

⁷⁹ Amari (ed.), *Diplomi arabi*, 339, 343; John Wansbrough, “Venice and Florence in the Mamlūk Commercial Privileges,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 28 (1965) 514; Wansbrough, “A Mamlūk Commercial Treaty,” 65; López de Meneses, “Los Consulados catalanes,” 116–117 (art. 28).

⁸⁰ Mansouri, “Les Communautés marchandes occidentales,” 101.

The consul was subsequently beaten and expelled from Egypt.⁸¹ The sultan's angry reaction is readily understandable in light of the fact that the consul was, to some degree, an employee of his own administration. Consuls found themselves in the difficult position of working for two masters, their own home governments and the Mamlūk state, and both entities expected fiscal returns and other commercial benefits from *fondacos*.

Fondacos provided a commercial setting in which Christian, Muslim, and Jewish merchants could meet and trade, though usually only Christians were allowed to sleep within their walls.⁸² Local Muslim traders came to the western *fondacos* to do business. Felix Fabri remarked that in one of the Venetian buildings "Venetian notables were seated . . . in the company of powerful Saracens, discussing commercial matters." Later he witnessed a dispute between a Venetian merchant and a Muslim, in which the Christian hit the Muslim repeatedly and drove him from the *fondaco*. This incident was followed by no reprisals, an indication – at least according to Felix – of the unprecedented power of the Venetians.⁸³ European Jews also traded in the *fondacos*, as shown in a 1422 contract recording the sale of wine by a Jewish merchant in one of the Venetian *fondacos* in Alexandria, and another contract dated three years later, made between Venetian merchants and a Jewish trader from Apulia drawn up in the "fontico Anconitanorum."⁸⁴

Although Jews with Venetian citizenship may have been able to stay in the Venetian *fondaco*, not all western *fondacos* extended this privilege to their non-Christian citizens. Some European Jews apparently took up residence in Alexandria.⁸⁵ In 1380, Peter IV of Aragón wrote to the Catalan consul asking him to locate a certain Jew, Astruch Saladi from Castellón de Ampurias, who had abandoned his wife in Spain and was thought to be in Egypt. The implication here is that this man was likely to be in contact with

⁸¹ Piloti, *Traité*, 231–232 (67r–v).

⁸² Ordinances of Barcelona, drawn up in 1381, prohibited the consuls in Alexandria from renting a bedchamber, house, or shop to "any Moor or Jew under any circumstances" (Capmany, *Memorias*, II, 321). Whether this ordinance was reactive or prescriptive is an open question.

⁸³ Fabri, *Evagatorium in terrae sanctae*, III, 163–165 [130b–131a], *Voyage en Egypte*, II, 694–697.

⁸⁴ Ashtor, "New Data," 77–79, 94–99; D. Jacoby, "Venice and Venetian Jews in the Eastern Mediterranean," in *Gli ebrei e Venezia (secoli XIV–VXIII) a cura di G. Cozzi* (Milan: Edizione di Comunità, 1987) 36. A 1360 treaty between the Hāfṣid sultan and Peter IV of Aragón pertained to both Christian and Jewish citizens of the realms of Aragón doing business in Tunis under the jurisdiction of the Aragonese consul (Alarcón [ed.], *Documentos árabes de diplomáticos*, 313 (doc. 140).

⁸⁵ The evidence for a separate Jewish *fondaco* is not very strong, though it is not impossible in view of earlier data on Jewish *funduqs* in Egypt. Western travelers sometimes noted *fondacos* for Jews. These were probably for traders from within the *Dār al-Islām*, but may also have housed European Jews. Ashtor noted that a Venetian notary drew up a contract in the "fontico Judeorum" in Alexandria in 1405 ("New Data," 81; Jacoby likewise noted a Jewish *fondaco* in "Venice and the Venetian Jews," 49).

the Catalan community in Alexandria, though not staying in the *fondaco*.⁸⁶ There is little evidence that local Egyptian Jews participated in the business life of the western *fondacos*.⁸⁷

As well as Muslim merchants, there would have been a variety of other local people present in the customs houses and *fondacos* to facilitate the commercial process when European ships were loaded and unloaded. Among these were officers to weigh, measure, and assess goods. Commodities needed to be weighed, often repeatedly, to make sure that they had paid the correct duties and that nothing had been added or removed from the bales, boxes, or sacks. When Felix Fabri visited the quays of Alexandria, they “were covered with bales, all of which had been filled with merchandise at the *fondaco*, where they had been weighed in the presence of Muslim authorities, then weighed again and inspected just before they were loaded on board ship in order to verify that the contents had not been tampered with.”⁸⁸ Goods were also carefully weighed at the time of purchase, before they could be carried to either a *fondaco* for storage or onto a ship for export.⁸⁹ Because the process of weighing and re-weighing was usually handled by local people, suspicious European merchants were always on the lookout for shady tricks. A Venetian–Mamlūk treaty of 1507 explicitly addressed the issue, requiring

that the spices which our merchants buy must necessarily be well sifted as well as weighed with honest scales, our merchants being at liberty to select any Muslim weigher they please; and (further) that our merchants keep the scales in the *funduq* (*fontego*) in order to re-weigh goods and spices to see that they have not been cheated by the weighers, nor may such re-weighing be forbidden them by anyone. Similarly, that Muslim merchants may not keep the sieves in their *funduqs*, but these shall be held by the appointed *machademi* (*muqaddam* [*al-khaṣṣi*]), and sighted and sealed by our consul. And that the spices are to be sifted in open *funduqs* [i.e. in the courtyard] and not in covered magazines, so that the rights of all are to be observed.⁹⁰

Not all goods would have been stored in the European *fondacos*, perhaps because of the sheer quantity of merchandise coming through Alexandria. Some items went instead to warehouses or customs houses (*dīwān* or *duana* – a word that could apply both to a place in which goods were stored

⁸⁶ López de Meneses, “Los Consulados catalanes,” 102, 151.

⁸⁷ A Jewish interpreter in Alexandria in 1470 (see below, n. 99) may have been Egyptian, but is more likely to have had roots in Europe.

⁸⁸ Fabri, *Evagatorium in terrae sanctae*, III, 170–171 [133a], *Voyage en Egypte*, II, 708.

⁸⁹ Tafel and Thomas (eds.), *Urkunden*, II, 485–486.

⁹⁰ Wansbrough, “A Mamlūk Ambassador,” 528–529.

before duties were paid, and to the office of tax-collection), where they were stored under lock and key. A Genoese–Mamlūk treaty of 1290 specifically treats this situation, noting that the Genoese were to have a scribe in the *dīwān* in order to handle their business and to ensure that all Genoese goods were accurately recorded. Merchants were to have as many storerooms as needed in this building, and they could hold the keys to these.⁹¹

Mamlūk administrators kept careful track of all goods, and when items arrived at the *fondacos* or warehouses there were officials “present to count and to weigh so that the tax office (*dīwān*) suffer no loss.”⁹² Disappearances were always possible, despite the fact that the building itself was locked by Muslim officials. In the early fifteenth century, Piloti boasted of how he had once tunneled into the storerooms of the *dīwān* from an adjacent building that had once been the Genoese *fondaco*, “and removed a great deal of merchandise belonging to myself and others without paying any duties.” Over and above duties paid on goods, there was often a storage fee simply for the use of the space in a *fondaco* or warehouse – another charge which Piloti eluded by his theft.⁹³

Merchants paid duties to the *dīwān*, as well as other fees to various officials, middlemen, and translators. In 1489, Florentine merchants who arrived in Alexandria and other Mamlūk ports were to bring “their goods to their *funduqs* or their warehouses, [where] they may sell their goods by barter or for cash to whom they choose, after which the aforesaid [Florentines] will pay to the noble *dīwān* fourteen dinars per hundred [received for the sale], and they pay in kind to that amount or in cash excluding brokerage and interpreters’ [fees].” If the officers responsible for assessing the goods and collecting the appropriate tax were more than three days late in coming to do this job (a delay which might hinder trade), then the Florentines had the right to complain to urban officials.⁹⁴ The administrators of the *dīwāns* in Alexandria and other cities, in their turn, were expected to render an accounting of tax revenues to the *dīwān* of the sultan in Cairo.

Muslim and Christian governments both benefited from the revenues of *fondacos*, as did their consuls, their staff, and the merchants who trafficked

⁹¹ “Magasen in dugana bonos et sufficientes, et claves eorum”: Belgrano, “Trattato,” 169, 171. In the late twelfth century, the father of the mathematician Leonardo Fibonacci served as a scribe in the Pisan *duana* in Bougie (Fibonacci, *Scritti*, 1).

⁹² Wansbrough, “A Mamlūk Commercial Treaty,” 63. This treaty dates to 1489.

⁹³ Piloti, *Traité*, 180–181 (50v); Gual Camarena (ed.), *El primer manual (siglo XIV)*, 132. The fee here is called *fondeguate*. Francesco Balducci Pegolotti mentioned similar storage fees (*fondacaggio*) in both European and Muslim ports in the fourteenth century (*La Pratica della mercatura*, 162, 183 ff., 210 ff.).

⁹⁴ Wansbrough, “A Mamlūk Commercial Treaty,” 63–64.

through these facilities. The only group that lost out financially – and thus the most vocal in their complaints – were the pilgrims who lodged in the *fondacos*. Their reports frequently complain of high prices and demands for bribes and fees encountered at every turn, and they illuminate the various small but profitable ways in which the European consuls could augment their income. One Florentine pilgrim, Giorgio Gucci, kept a meticulous list of his expenses, noting that pilgrims paid a ducat each to the consul for lodging, plus extra “for wine and biscuits supplied by him during our stay.”⁹⁵ When Felix Fabri’s party made ready to depart from the Catalan *fondaco*, the consul demanded 6 ducats from each of the pilgrims, a sum that Felix was unable to supply. After a secret appeal to the consul’s Greek Christian wife, she interceded on his behalf and her husband grudgingly excused the fee.⁹⁶ Such charges on pilgrims were not universal, however, for when Felix’s contemporary Joos van Ghistele lodged in one of the Venetian *fondacos*, he reported that the consul “treated us so well that we had nothing to pay for the whole time that we stayed there.”⁹⁷

Virtually all of the business conducted between European and Mamlūk traders must have been conducted with the aid of interpreters, and even westerners who knew some Arabic (or Egyptians who spoke a western language) were probably under pressure to engage the services of middlemen and brokers. The interpreter, or dragoman (*turjumān*), is thus a commonly mentioned figure, and it appears that the men who served in this position came from various walks of life. Some were local people, while others were of European origin.

By treaty, consuls could pick official interpreters for their *fondacos*, to assist with the purchase and sale of goods both inside and outside the buildings, but these men must be chosen from a list pre-approved by the *dīwān*.⁹⁸ Christians, Muslims, and Jews all served as interpreters in the *fondacos*, though possibly not on equal footing. In 1470, a Jew called Moses worked as a dragoman in the Genoese *fondaco* in Alexandria, taking 3 ducats a month for his services, while his superior, a Christian named Lodisius (perhaps more experienced at the job), was paid a monthly wage of 4 ducats.⁹⁹ Whereas interpreters such as Moses and Lodisius received a fixed salary, those who guided visiting pilgrims were paid on a per-person basis. When

⁹⁵ Frescobaldi et al., *Visit to the Holy Places*, 150, 153.

⁹⁶ Fabri, *Evagatorium in terrae sanctae*, III, 203 [144a], *Voyage en Egypte*, II, 771–772.

⁹⁷ Joos van Ghistele, *Voyage en Egypte*, 113 [177].

⁹⁸ This from a 1430 treaty between the king of Aragón and Sultan Barsbay (Alarcón [ed.], *Documentos árabes diplomáticos* [doc. 153, art. 29], 376 [Arabic], 387–378 [Spanish]).

⁹⁹ Ashtor, “New Data,” 89.

Felix Fabri arrived in the city, his party was taken in hand by a Muslim interpreter called Schambek (in Felix's transliteration), who spoke fluent Italian and guided them through the intricacies of immigration. Later, the group was irritated by the fact that Schambek demanded 13 ducats from each pilgrim (more than double the usual rate of 6) for their safe-conduct, yet they grudgingly handed over this sum since he had generally proved himself honest and faithful.¹⁰⁰ One of a dragoman's tasks was to ensure that foreign Christian pilgrims did not wander unattended through the city, especially not in sensitive areas, although Felix apparently eluded his keepers on the day that he lost his way and needed guidance back to the *fondaco*.

Travelers frequently noted that the dragomen whom they encountered in Cairo were of European origin, and usually converts to Islam. In 1323, Simon Semeonis reported that his chief interpreters in the city were a Roman ex-friar and an ex-Templar who had married. Both were "outwardly renegades," though he claimed that they remained secretly Christian. Their two junior colleagues were Italians, both of them Jacobites.¹⁰¹ Other travelers provided similar information. In 1384, for instance, Giorgio Gucci and Lionardo Frescobaldi hired an interpreter who "was a renegade Venetian, whose wife was the daughter of one of our Florentines, [also] a renegade"; a century later, Felix Fabri was guided by a Sicilian rabbi, who had converted first to Christianity, then to Islam; and Felix's contemporary Joos van Ghistele recorded that the main interpreter for the sultan was a Christian from Valencia who had become a Muslim.¹⁰² In 1501, a Spanish ambassador sent to Egypt by Ferdinand and Isabella lodged in Cairo with a dragoman named Luis de Prat de Montblanch, a Catalan who had converted to Islam.¹⁰³ These reports add complexity to the picture of cross-cultural relations in the Mamlūk period, confirming that a number of Europeans did live and work in Egypt, and that conversion was the passport to their success.

BEYOND ALEXANDRIA: CHRISTIAN MERCHANT LODGING IN OTHER MUSLIM CITIES

Thus far, the discussion has concentrated on *fondacos* in Mamlūk Alexandria, but Christian merchants also visited in Damascus, Tunis, Málaga, and

¹⁰⁰ Fabri, *Evagatorium in terrae sanctae*, III, 147–148 [125b], 152–153 [127b], *Voyage en Egypte*, II, 663, 673–674.

¹⁰¹ Semeonis, *Itinerarium*, 97–99.

¹⁰² Frescobaldi et al., *Visit to the Holy Places*, 44–45, 106; Fabri, *Evagatorium in terrae sanctae*, III, 20 [80b–81a], *Voyage en Egypte*, II, 401–403; Joos van Ghistele, *Voyage en Egypte*, 16–17.

¹⁰³ López de Meneses, "Los Consulados catalanes," 122–123.

other important Muslim markets in the later middle ages. Consideration of the *fondacos* for Christian merchants in these cities illuminates the degree to which the development of commercial spaces in different regions was influenced by the needs and constraints of local politics, specific commercial routes, and particular merchant groups. Overall, the *fondaco* system remained remarkably uniform throughout the Mediterranean, presumably because facilities from Almería to Damascus were patronized by merchants from the same fairly limited number of European Christian states. On the other hand, diplomatic and military relations varied between different powers over time, leading to regional variations in the *fondaco* network.

Syria

The patterns of western merchant activity in Syria were rather different than those in Egypt, although the two regions were closely linked both politically and economically. Differences in geography and communications help to explain the development of trade patterns. Both Egypt and Syria had well-established inland markets by the Mamlūk period, but only Egypt had a direct and unavoidable trade route, along the Nile, linking its main port, Alexandria, with its capital, Cairo (though this city was also served by a limited number of overland routes to other destinations). This circumstance allowed considerable control over traffic through Cairo as well as through Alexandria. The dearth of excellent ports along the Syrian coast, especially after the demise of crusader Acre, and the lack of riverine transport, created a very different situation in Syria. Both Aleppo and Damascus were important markets, on long-established overland routes, and their commercial draw outweighed that of any regional port city during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Nevertheless, merchants could choose to pass them by if their economic climate seemed unfavorable. Unlike a port city, through which the flow of traffic can be strictly controlled, inland markets are more likely to be intermediate points of trade, and to build their success not only on location but also on economic factors and incentives. Overly strict regulation of such markets opens the possibility that merchants will take their business elsewhere.

As we have seen, western consuls in Alexandria were in close communication with their merchant compatriots in Damascus. Although there were usually "sub-consuls" appointed to handle local Syrian business, consuls in Egypt were answerable for the actions of all their nationals throughout Mamlūk lands. Nevertheless, the *fondacos* in Damascus, Aleppo, Tripoli, and Beirut were not so closely regulated as those in Alexandria, nor were

western merchants in Syria subject to the rigid restrictions on trade and movement that prevailed in Egypt.¹⁰⁴ This tendency toward less formal definition and administration may have resulted from the fact that Syrian *fondacos* were further from Cairo, and thus harder to oversee, and from the inland location of Aleppo and Damascus, which made it more difficult to enforce their role as terminal emporia.

In Syria, the term *khān* had become much more common than either *fundūq* or *fondaco* by the fourteenth century, and thus Syrian Arabic references to facilities serving western merchants frequently use this word. When Ibn al-Shiḥnah listed twenty-six *khāns* in Aleppo, in the middle of the fourteenth century, he identified one, the Khān al-Shaybānī, as being the “*khān* of the Franks.”¹⁰⁵ It may have been this same *khān*, which Ibn al-Ḥanbalī (d. 1564) later described as given “to the Franks and their consul” in Aleppo, in which the residents were accused of draping textiles adorned with crosses on the outer walls of the building, thereby causing a scandalized uproar in the neighborhood.¹⁰⁶ In Damascus, Ibn Ṣaṣrā mentioned *khāns* inhabited by Frankish merchants, and described a fire, “the like of which no one had ever seen,” that broke out in the city in 1396, and reached “the *khāns* of the linen merchants and the rope makers . . . the people lost a great deal in it, which no one could compute, and a considerable amount belonging to the people was looted. Many of the possessions of the Franks [*Ifranj*] were burned in it, because they lived [*sākinīn*] in these *khāns*.”¹⁰⁷ In the 1430s, Bertrandon de la Broquière remarked that western merchants in Damascus put their goods in the Khān Barqūq (*Kan Berkoc*) for safe-keeping, adding that this particular building had been spared the ravages of Tīmūr out of respect for its founder, the Sultan Barqūq.¹⁰⁸

It is striking that by the later fifteenth century, references to *fondacos* in Syria and regions further east only occur in European writings, not in Arabic sources. This suggests that the term was increasingly an imported western usage, as the Venetian ambassador Giosafat Barbaro recognized when he described “un caversera, cioè secondo noi fontego” in Tabriz in

¹⁰⁴ Almost all of our information concerns Aleppo and Damascus; there are few references to *fondacos* in Syrian port cities. On the informality of the Syrian trading network in the fifteenth century, see E. Congdon, “Venetian Merchant Activity within Mamlūk Syria (886–893/1481–1487),” *al-Masāq: Studia Arabo-Islamica Mediterranea* 7 (1994) 1–33.

¹⁰⁵ Ibn al-Shiḥnah, “*Les Perles choisies*”, 193–194 [248–249]. This is probably the “Can Sibani” that appears in early modern Venetian documents, or possibly the “Khān al-Ṣabūn.” In the sixteenth century, the latter was used as a hostel for French merchants in Aleppo (Scharabi, *Der Bazar*, 169). The Venetian *khān* in Aleppo was also called the Khān al-Banādiqa (Concina, *Fondaci*, 95).

¹⁰⁶ Sauvaget, *Alep*, 1, 173.

¹⁰⁷ Ibn Ṣaṣrā, *Chronicle of Damascus*, 1, 173a.

¹⁰⁸ Broquière, *Voyage d’Outremer*, 35–6 (trans. 21). This building was also mentioned by other European travelers in Damascus (Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant*, II, 462).

1474.¹⁰⁹ In much the same period, both Anselm Adorno, arriving in Damascus in the early 1470s, and Arnold von Harff, coming in the 1490s, referred to a Venetian *fondaco* (probably called a *khān* in local parlance), where Venetians and other western travelers lodged and did business.¹¹⁰ Likewise, a Venetian–Mamlūk treaty drawn up in 1512 assured the security of Venetian merchants “in our *fondaco*” in Aleppo.¹¹¹ This usage was not unlike the Venetian mention of a *fondaco* in Constantinople after the Fourth Crusade, despite the fact that foreign enclaves in the Byzantine capital had never gone by that term in Greek. A similarly out-of-place Venetian usage appeared in the early sixteenth-century Italian translation of Marco Polo’s voyages, which included a passage added by Giovanni Battista Ramusio (who died in Venice in 1557) describing “numerous fine *fondacos* [in the Mongol capital] for the lodgment of merchants from different parts of the world, and a special hostelry is assigned to each description of people, as if we should say there is one for the Lombards, another for the Germans, and a third for Frenchmen.”¹¹² Evidently, while *funduq* slipped from use in Islamic lands and beyond, often replaced by the terms *khān* or *caravanseraï*, *fondaco* remained the term of choice in Italian (and particularly Venetian) usage to designate an enclave for cross-cultural business activities.

At the same time, it is probable that the Italian term frequently designated a warehouse (as it was understood in contemporary Italy) as much or more than a hostelry. Despite references to western merchants using *fondacos* and *khāns* in Syrian cities, there is also evidence that many traders rented ordinary houses in Damascus and elsewhere by the fifteenth century.¹¹³ Perhaps the *fondacos* and *khāns* were increasingly used for business and storage, rather than lodging, except for very short-term residents. Bertrandon de la Broquière, who traveled in Syria in the early 1430s, indicated that while pilgrims put up in *khāns*, more settled merchants had lodgings of their own. A Venetian merchant in Hama invited Bertrandon to his house (“sa maison”), and when local people discovered that he was lodging in the house of a European (“j’estoye logié à l’ostel d’un Franc”) they pestered him to invite them in for a drink. At nightfall, however, Bertrandon and

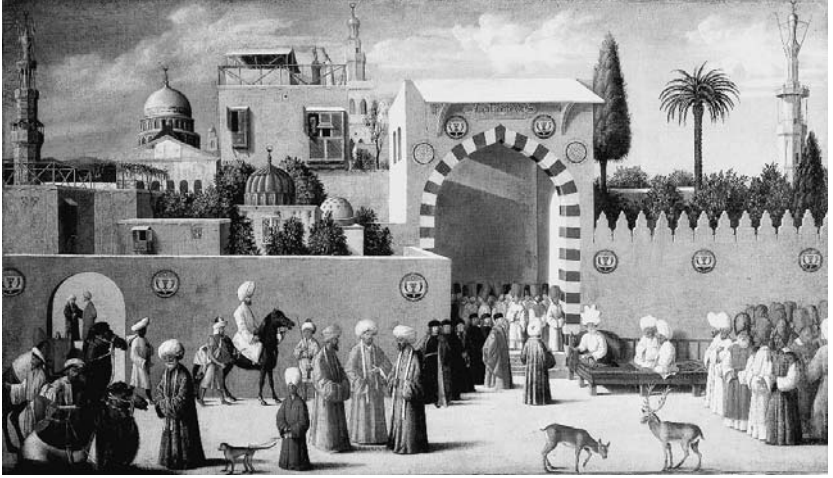
¹⁰⁹ L. Lockhart, R. Morozzo della Rocca, and M. F. Tiepolo (eds.), *I Viaggi in Persia degli ambasciatori veneti Barbaro e Contarini* (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, 1973) 118.

¹¹⁰ Adorno, *Itinéraire*, 337; Arnold von Harff, *Pilgrimage*, 230. The same anachronistic phenomenon is evident in earlier Italian literature. Thus Boccaccio (d. 1375) reflected Tuscan usage when he set one of his stories in Acre, where the heroine (disguised as a merchant) came upon a stall of some Venetian merchants (“un fondaco di mercanti viniziani”) (*Decameron*, 1, 246, trans., 216).

¹¹¹ Reinard, “Traités,” 47.

¹¹² Marco Polo, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, ed. and trans. Henry Yule (London: John Murray, 1903) 1, 96, 11, 412, 415.

¹¹³ Ashtor, *Levant Trade*, 407.



10 Reception of Venetian ambassadors in Damascus, school of Gentile Bellini, early 1490s. Paris, Louvre Museum. The scene shows the view of Damascus as seen from the Venetian *fondaco*.

his companions “had to return to our *khān*” (“la nuit vint qu’il nous en failly aler à nostre kan”).¹¹⁴

Adorno also reported the existence of a nocturnal curfew, remarking that Venetian merchants in Damascus “all live together in the same place, and they are shut up in their houses at night by the Muslims.”¹¹⁵ However, rather than being confined to a particular building as was the case in Egypt, Europeans in Damascus and Aleppo apparently inhabited a gated city quarter, that could be locked, such as the foreigners’ quarter (*ḥārat al-gharbā’i*) mentioned by Ibn Ṭūlūn in Damascus in 1510.¹¹⁶ Perhaps this was an innovation of the late Mamlūk or early Ottoman period, since later in the sixteenth century Ibn al-Ḥanbalī lamented that “although the Franks used to only live in *khāns*, now some Franks live in [ordinary] houses” in Aleppo.¹¹⁷

We have a rare and beautiful example of the visual landscape of European life in Syria in a painting, sometimes attributed to Gentile Bellini, depicting the reception of Venetian ambassadors at the gates of Damascus in the late fifteenth century. The painting, which is known to have arrived in Venice in about 1495, shows a view of a particular bath-house and also the Umayyad

¹¹⁴ Broquière, *Voyage d’Outremer*, 77–80.

¹¹⁵ Adorno, *Itinéraire*, 333.

¹¹⁶ Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Les Gouverneurs de Damas*, 211 (Arabic), 127 (French).

¹¹⁷ Sauvaget, *Alep*, 173. This resembles to the pattern of communal segregation in crusader cities and, later, in the Ottoman *millet* system.

mosque, including a minaret added by Sultan Qāyit Bay in 1488. This dating is confirmed in the costumes and by the Mamlūk blazons depicted on the city walls.¹¹⁸ Although little is known of the painting, Julian Raby has noted that “whoever painted [it] . . . must have visited Damascus, taking his view of the mosque and the bath house from an upper story of the Venetian *fondaco* which was situated inside the *sūq* to the south of the great mosque.”¹¹⁹ Certainly, the general view is correct, looking from the area where Europeans in the city had their commercial and lodging facilities.¹²⁰

The scene itself depicts a mixture of formality and informality, in both its people and its architecture, reflecting not only the immediate subject but also the realities of European life in a Mamlūk city. The group of six Venetian ambassadors stands before a seated figure in a magnificent turban, perhaps Sultan Qāyit Bay himself, while two groups of courtiers and officials watch the reception. Another standing figure with his back to the viewer, thus facing the ambassadors and the sultan (who looks fixedly back at him), is probably a dragoman, translating the diplomatic exchange. Meanwhile a variety of other people converse and go about their business in the same street, seemingly unaware of the formal tableau. In the distance three more figures appear, possibly women, two conversing on a roof and one looking out of a window. A number of animals also wander through the scene – camels, deer, and a pet monkey – recalling the contemporary exotic beasts observed by Felix Fabri in the Venetian *fondaco* in Alexandria.¹²¹

The artist combined the random incidentals of local human color with the formalities of the diplomatic reception and the geometric planes and domes of urban architecture. The scene reflects the double nature of commerce and diplomacy between medieval Christians and Muslims. On the one hand, relations were constrained by protocol, regulations, and the barriers presented by language and locked doors. This formal segregation is emphasized by the consciously rendered exoticism and rich color of the painting, in which the Venetians, five of whom are dressed in black, are set apart as the only sober element. On the other hand, pragmatism and commercial reality overcame these restraints, as people – with their animals

¹¹⁸ It has been suggested that the painting shows a reception by Sultan Ghūrī in 1512, but Jean Sauvaget disputes this (“Une Ancienne représentation de Damas au Musée du Louvre,” *Bulletin d'Etudes Orientales. Institut français de Damas* II [1945–1946] 5–6, 8–9). Sauvaget’s opinion is seconded and augmented by Julian Raby, *Venice, Durer, and the Oriental Mode* (Totowa, NJ: Islamic Art Publications, 1982) 55–65. See also Sylvia Auld, “The Mamluks and the Venetians Commercial Interchange: The Visual Evidence,” *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 123 (1991) 91.

¹¹⁹ Raby, *Venice, Durer, and the Oriental Mode*, 55.

¹²⁰ Sauvaget noted this point, and included a map showing the mosque, bath-house, and likely location of the Venetian *fondaco* (“Ancienne représentation,” 9, also fig. 3).

¹²¹ Ibn Ṣaṣrā told a tale that turned on the presence of a pet monkey in a *khān* in Damascus at the end of the fourteenth century (*Chronicle of Damascus*, I, 39–40 [9b–10b]).

and baggage – talked, mixed, wandered about, and carried on with their business affairs both in *fondaco* buildings and in the painted scene.

North Africa and Naṣrid Granada

Just as the *funduq* remained the preeminent space for lodging and commerce in Maghribi cities in the later middle ages, so too the *fondaco* persisted as the locus of European merchant activity. References to *khāns*, in contrast, were rare in the western Mediterranean, except in apparently accidental usage by foreigners. As in earlier centuries, European merchants sought to establish trading-houses in any Maghribi ports that looked economically promising, though their commercial activities were sometimes interrupted by local political fluctuations. Unlike the eastern Mediterranean, where Egypt and Syria were under Mamlūk rule for two-and-a-half centuries, the politics of many North African cities were in an almost continual state of flux during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Although Tunis itself remain fairly solidly under Ḥafṣid control, dynastic struggles and divided rule within the Ḥafṣid family could jeopardize treaties and their arrangements for *fondacos*. In cities further to the west, including Tlemcen, Oran, and Hūnayn, territorial shifts between competing dynasties – Ḥafṣids, Zayyānids, and Marīnids – could likewise throw diplomatic negotiations into disarray.¹²² In Morocco, the Marīnids held fairly steady control until the second half of the fifteenth century, when they yielded power to the Waṭṭāsid. Meanwhile, in Granada, the Naṣrids kept precarious hold on the last surviving small corner of al-Andalus until 1492. Even though Muslim states in both Granada and Morocco were under frequent military pressure from Castilian armies, they were nevertheless negotiating friendly commercial treaties with Christian merchants. In fact, throughout the Maghribi region there was often very little alignment between the fortunes of war and those of trade.¹²³

Christian politics and commercial patterns also influenced arrangements for *fondacos* in the western Mediterranean. Merchants from the realms of Aragón (including Valencia, Barcelona, Mallorca, and Sicily) were especially active in Maghribi ports, as were Genoese and Pisan traders. A Pisan treaty from 1353 cited the existence of Pisan *fondacos* in a number of places (*civitate*

¹²² On these ports, see Dufourcq, “Les Espagnols,” 5–128; A. Khelifa, “Le port de Hūnayn au moyen âge,” in *Histoire et archéologie de l’Afrique du Nord: Actes du Ve Colloque international réuni dans le cadre du 115e Congrès national des sociétés savantes, Avignon, 9–13 avril 1990* (Paris: Editions du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, 1992) 379–392.

¹²³ María Dolores López Pérez, “Las Relaciones diplomáticas y comerciales entre la Corona de Aragón y los estados norteafricanos durante la baja edad media,” *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 20 (1990) 153, 158, 167.

in Latin, *bilād* in Arabic) within the Ḥafṣid realm.¹²⁴ Venetians, by contrast, concentrated more of their business in the eastern Mediterranean, although they maintained *fondacos* in a few eastern Maghribi cities, notably Tunis and Tripoli, into the fourteenth century.¹²⁵ The Genoese also controlled a large percentage of the traffic through Seville, and thus frequented Granadan *fondacos* on their way to and from the Atlantic via the Straits of Gibraltar.

The instability of North African politics and the growth of Christian naval and military strength often allowed for much more advantageous trade treaties, from a European perspective, than was possible in Mamlūk Egypt. Into the fourteenth century, the kings of Aragón continued to demand from Ḥafṣid rulers the payments of tribute that had been established in the century before under James I. Whether these sums were actually paid is open to doubt, but they certainly made their way into the rhetoric of diplomacy. Catalan *fondacos* in Tunis and Bougie also appear to have continued to be lucrative concessions for the crown, as in earlier times, although texts no longer employed the proprietary usage (*fondaci nostri*) initiated by James I.

Not surprisingly, there is less evidence of an organized *fondaco* “system” (as seen in Alexandria) in the politically chaotic Maghrib, and western merchants may have had more privileges, broader latitude for negotiation, and greater freedom of movement. There were, nonetheless, plenty of *fondacos*, especially in Ḥafṣid lands, and their rules and regulations were not unlike those of *fondacos* in earlier periods. Diplomatic sources show that European merchants continued to receive the traditional access to “*fondaco*, bath, oven, shops, and church” (sometimes also warehouses and a cemetery) in Ḥafṣid cities throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. These treaties were explicit in noting that the *fondacos* were residences, in which western merchants would live (*habitare*) according to custom. They mentioned rooms (*camera*) for lodging, as well as storerooms and shops (*poteca*) for merchandise.¹²⁶ An Arabic treaty of fairly standard type negotiated between James II of Aragón and the sultan Muḥammad II, in 1301, ensured that Catalan merchants “shall have one consul, or possibly two, to defend their rights in the *dīwān* and outside it, and to do justice among Catalan and Aragonese Christians in their commercial dealings among themselves . . . They shall live in their *funduqs* according to their normal

¹²⁴ Amari (ed.), *Diplomi arabi*, 101, 304. Multiple Pisan *fondacos* appear in an earlier treaty, dated 1313 (*ibid.*, 88).

¹²⁵ Many of the diplomatic treaties establishing and renewing access to commercial facilities in Maghribi ports in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were published in Amari (ed.), *Diplomi arabi*, Mas Latrie (ed.), *Traité de paix et de commerce*, and Capmany, *Memorias*.

¹²⁶ Aragonese-Ḥafṣid treaty from 1360 (Las Cagigas “Un Traité de paix,” 71).

practice.”¹²⁷ The appeal to longstanding custom (*antiqua consuetudine*) still remained strong two centuries later, in 1504, when a Genoese treaty with the Ḥafṣids cited custom in connection with both a *fondico Januensium* and other residences in Tunis.¹²⁸

In contrast to Egypt, where Mamlūk policy strategically channeled western traffic through Alexandria, there were *fondacos* in numerous cities along the North African coast, including Tunis, Bougie, Bône, Sfax, Gabes, Sūs, Tlemcen, Tripoli, and Constantine. Indeed, many Ḥafṣid treaties permitted access to facilities in any city “throughout the realm,” where foreign merchants wished to trade. The plethora of *fondacos*, and open-ended nature of their establishment, suggests a much less clearly enforced division between facilities for foreign and local merchants in the Maghrib than in the Near East.

In theory, this allowed European merchants the freedom to choose their destination based on the shifting commercial climate of supply and demand. Tunis was always the most important Ḥafṣid port for European traffic, but Bougie, Tlemcen, and other markets could also be very lucrative. In fact, however, politics frequently interfered with commercial and diplomatic arrangements. The commercial advantages of Bougie and other ports along the western coast could be jeopardized by political squabbles within the Ḥafṣid dynasty, and by competition with the neighboring Zayyānids. This sometimes forced European states to enter into separate negotiations for trade with individual cities.

In Tunis, the *fondaco* buildings continued to be owned and maintained by Muslim authorities in the later middle ages, as had been true in earlier periods. In 1445, for example, it was “the responsibility of the *ṣāhib* of the *dīwān* to provide [Pisan and Florentine merchants] with their *funduq* . . . and to furnish, repair, and fortify it, without incurring any [financial] obligation upon them [i.e. the Italians] for this.”¹²⁹ Foreign communities could appoint their own staff, however, including doorkeepers and porters (*bawwabūn*, *portorios*, *ostiaros*) as they saw fit, and could instruct these employees to exclude anybody, including local Muslims, whom they

¹²⁷ “Yaskanūn fi fanādiqihim ‘alā ‘ādatihim”: Alarcón (ed.), *Documentos árabes diplomáticos*, 249–253 (doc. 116).

¹²⁸ Emilio Marengo, *Genova e Tunisi 1388–1515* (Rome: Tipografia Artigianelli di San Giuseppe, 1901) 214.

¹²⁹ Amari (ed.), *Diplomi arabi*, 174–175 (art. 13). Clauses of this type were common. In 1433, a treaty between Genoa and Tunis likewise stated that any expenses for rebuilding or working on the *fondaco* were to be paid by the *dīwān* (Mas Latrie ed., *Traité de paix et de commerce*, 135). Along similar lines, a response from the sultan of Tunis to a complaint about ovens in 1308 emphasized that the oven was loaned to the Christian community, not given, and thus they could cook in it but not hire it out for profit (Alarcón [ed.], *Documentos árabes diplomáticos*, 266–270 [doc. 120]).

did not wish to enter the building.¹³⁰ The relative proximity of Tunis to Italy made it more common than in Egypt for Italian commercial firms to establish partners in the city on a long-term basis. The *fondacos* in Tunis may thus have provided a base for more settled communities than their Egyptian counterparts.¹³¹

Clauses from Tunisian treaties also suggest greater competition between different Christian trading nations here than in Egypt, perhaps because of larger numbers of merchants, and greater European military and economic leverage with the Ḥafṣid state. Treaties routinely included provisions to ensure exclusive access to *fondacos*, and to prohibit the lodging of others without special permission.¹³² Each group wished to be certain that no other nation could negotiate preferable terms. An agreement between James II of Aragón and the Ḥafṣids in 1323 specifically added a clause to the effect that “none shall have better [terms], neither the Genoese nor any other.”¹³³ In 1301, another Aragonese–Ḥafṣid treaty had expressed similar concerns, including a clause to ensure that Catalan merchants should “have a notary (*kātib*) dedicated exclusively to them so that nobody will be able to mix their things with [those of the Catalans].”¹³⁴

Merchants from different regions within the extensive Aragonese empire competed with each other, so that Valencians, Mallorcans, Catalans, and Sicilians jockeyed for commercial privileges and access to their own *fondacos*. Correspondence between Tunis and the Aragonese court sometimes reflected the perplexities of Ḥafṣid administrators as they attempted to balance the claims of these different yet related groups.¹³⁵ It was common for competing merchant groups to establish treaties and *fondacos* in rival ports, and thus Mallorcan merchants favored trade with Bougie in the fourteenth century, while Catalans continued to do more business in Tunis.¹³⁶

All of the western *fondacos* in Tunis were located in the same area, east of the central walled city in the region outside the Sea Gate (Bāb al-Baḥr).¹³⁷

¹³⁰ Amari (ed.), *Diplomi arabi*, 126, 320, 327, etc.; Mas Latrie (ed.), *Traité de paix et de commerce*, 135.

¹³¹ Fernández-Armesto, *Before Columbus*, 137.

¹³² For example, from a Pisan–Ḥafṣid treaty of 1313: “un fondaco particolarmente destinato a loro alloggio”: and from a Mallorcan–Ḥafṣid agreement of the same year: “no sera negun companyo sino á lur voluntat” (Mas Latrie [ed.], *Traité de paix et de commerce*, 51–52, 189).

¹³³ “De mellors ni ha, de genoveses d'altra gent”: Capmany, *Memorias*, II, 168 (art. 4).

¹³⁴ Alarcón (ed.), *Documentos árabes diplomáticos*, 249–253 (doc. 116).

¹³⁵ Alarcón (ed.), *Documentos árabes diplomáticos*, 306–308 (doc. 138). Also, López Pérez, “Las relaciones diplomáticas,” 164; Abulafia, *Mediterranean Emporium*, 160–161.

¹³⁶ See documents in Antoni Riera Melis, *La Corona de Aragón y el reino de Mallorca en el primer cuarto del siglo XIV* (Madrid and Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1986).

¹³⁷ Travelers, including Anselm Adorno and Leo Africanus, mentioned these *fondacos* in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, though without the details which they provided for facilities in Alexandria (Adorno, *Itinéraire*, 103; Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, 382).

Goods had to be carried by stevedores from the port to these *fondacos*, where they were weighed and assessed before being stored.¹³⁸ If goods were held up on the quays, then merchants could claim damages from the *dīwān* for any goods lost or damaged before they reached the *fondacos*.¹³⁹ When merchants wished “to depart from Tunis . . . then the *dīwān* shall send a testimonial to the *fondaco* . . . which testifies to the fact of having seen the boxes [and other items] of the . . . merchants, and all this having been seen, they ought to be bundled up and loaded, without further examination in the *dīwān* or elsewhere.”¹⁴⁰ The inclusion of these clauses in a Genoese treaty in 1433 suggests a concern that the process of departure could be hampered by searches and queries by the *dīwān*. As in Egypt, all of these transactions and written communications were facilitated by interpreters, either dragomen or the scribes working in the *fondacos*. Piero di Pagnuzo, a Pisan citizen and self-described “*torcimanno*” living in the Pisan *fondaco* in Tunis, seems to have filled both offices when he translated and wrote out Latin and Arabic versions of a treaty between Pisa and the Ḥafṣid ruler Abū Fāris in 1397.¹⁴¹

European merchants in Tunis may also have conducted business in various commercial spaces, not only in their own residential *fondacos*, but also in the *funduqs* devoted to wholesale transactions of specific commodities (these were still very common in the Islamic west). Many of these *funduqs* were located in the commercial center of the city, rather than its outskirts.¹⁴² An agreement between Genoa and Abū Fāris, dated 1433, condoned earlier practice whereby Genoese merchants sold wool, hides, and other goods to Muslim merchants “in the *fondacos*” where these items “were customarily sold (*vendi consueverunt*),” while taking other goods to their warehouses (*magazenos ipsorum*) for storage.¹⁴³ An early fifteenth-century jurist, al-Ubbī (d. 1425), also encouraged sales in markets and *funduqs* within the city, and condemned the custom of doing business in Christian *fondacos* nearer the port. He remarked that Muslim merchants in Tunis ought not to go out to the Christian *fondacos* outside Bāb al-Baḥr to buy imported goods, as was their practice, any more than they ought to meet the Saharan caravans before they reached the city in order to negotiate cheaper prices.¹⁴⁴ These

¹³⁸ A fourteenth-century Catalan commercial manual included fees for stevedores (*bestays*) transporting goods to the *fondacos* in Tunis (Gual Camarena, *El primer manual [siglo xiv]*, 175–196).

¹³⁹ Mas Latrie (ed.), *Traité de paix et de commerce*, 51–52.

¹⁴⁰ Mas Latrie (ed.), *Traité de paix et de commerce*, 139.

¹⁴¹ Amari (ed.), *Diplomi arabi*, 325.

¹⁴² See, for instance, the location of the Funduq al-Ḥarīr in fifteenth-century Tunis (Garcin [ed.], *Grandes villes méditerranéennes*, unnumbered maps at end of book).

¹⁴³ Mas Latrie (eds.), *Traité de paix et de commerce*, 139.

¹⁴⁴ ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ‘Awn, *Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Ubbī wa kitābuhu “al-Ikmal”* (Tripoli: al-Dār al-‘Arabiyah lil-Kitāb, 1983) 418; also noted by Brunschvig, *La Berbérie orientale*, II, 254.

comments not only appear to support commercial fair play, but they also aimed to discourage unsupervised inter-faith business within the western *fondacos*.

Al-Ubbī may also have been concerned about other temptations present in Christian *fondacos*, where wine was still as freely available as it had been in earlier centuries. As in Egypt, commercial treaties with Ḥafṣid lands allowed foreign consuls to import certain quantities of wine, duty free. Though explicitly for use in the *fondacos*, this wine apparently found its way to Muslim buyers.¹⁴⁵ Its sale was legitimized, at least in practice, by the levy of a fine (or a tax), but some rulers tried to put a stop to this lucrative compromise. In 1398, according to al-Zarkashī, one Ḥafṣid sultan (presumably Abū Fāris) “ordered the demolition of a *funduq* located near the Sea Gate which was used for selling wine. In doing so, he forfeited the income of ten thousand [dinars] that it produced.” In its place, he built a *madrassa* and *zāwiya*.¹⁴⁶

Further to the west, there is less evidence of European *fondacos* in Marīnid cities, despite abundant data for *funduqs*. This may be because European merchants were less active in Moroccan markets, most of which were located quite far inland and were thus not easily accessible to Christian traders. Nonetheless, some Christians did business in Marīnid cities, as testified by the last will and testament of a Mallorcan merchant who died in Fez in 1387. Lacking a Latin notary, the text was written out by friar Jacme Olzina, attached to the chapel of “Sancta Maria de la Duana dels mercaders” in the city.¹⁴⁷ There is no mention of any *fondaco* in this text, nor in a roughly contemporary peace treaty between Peter IV of Aragón (1336–1387) and the Marīnid ruler, which merely referred to Aragonese merchants traveling throughout the country and “residing in [Moroccan] cities.”¹⁴⁸ A Pisan treaty, drawn up with Abū Inān Fāris in 1358, arranged that Pisan merchants were to have a *fondaco*, unless no such facility was available, in which case they should simply have a house (*casa*) as did the other Christians.¹⁴⁹

Two centuries later, when Diego de Torres arrived in Morocco in the middle of the sixteenth century, then under Waṭṭāsid rule, he found an “alhóndiga de los Christianos” in the port of Safi, where he disembarked, and he later described “alhóndigas de los mercaderes Cristianos” in Fez. He also noted lodging in other *alhóndigas* (though not specified as Christian)

¹⁴⁵ Mas Latrie (ed.), *Traité de paix et de commerce*, 143–144.

¹⁴⁶ Al-Zarkashī, *Chronique des Almohades*, 194.

¹⁴⁷ Gabriel Llompart, “Testamentos de mercaderes mallorquines rogados entre musulmanes (1374–1388),” *Hispania* 44 (1984) 425.

¹⁴⁸ Alarcón (ed.), *Documentos árabes diplomáticos*, 240 (doc. 114).

¹⁴⁹ Amari (ed.), *Diplomi arabi*, 310–311.

throughout the country while he worked to ransom Christian captives between 1546 and 1556.¹⁵⁰ It is possible that the Waṭṭāsids supported the concept of western *fondacos* to a greater degree than their Marīnid predecessors, perhaps in light of heightened military tensions following the fall of Granada in 1492 and the worsening atmosphere of Christian–Muslim relations during the sixteenth century. On the other hand, Diego de Torres’ use of the term *alhóndiga* may reflect Spanish usage, or simply translate *funduq*, still the most common type of residential and commercial enclave in Moroccan cities at that time.

In Naṣrid Granada, the *fondaco* system remained alive and well until the conquest of the region by Ferdinand and Isabella in the final decades of the fifteenth century. Ports along the southern Iberian coast were vital stopping points for ships traveling from Italy, southern France, and the realms of Aragón into the Atlantic, or across the Straits of Gibraltar to destinations in Morocco. European merchants also brought grain and eastern goods to Granadan markets, where they purchased silk, dried fruits, and other local products. The earliest surviving Genoese–Naṣrid treaty, drawn up in 1278 or 1279, granted the Italians *fondacos*, baths, ovens, warehouses, and other facilities throughout the kingdom (“in omnibus terris dicti domini regis”), both in port cities and inland.¹⁵¹ Two decades later, in 1296, Catalan merchants were also granted *funduqs* along with the right to “choose a consul in each place that has a *dīwān*.” There were Catalan consuls and *fondacos* in Almería and Málaga through the fourteenth century.¹⁵² The excellent harbors and strategic location of these ports also continued to make them sites for Genoese and Mallorcan *fondacos* in this period.¹⁵³ There may have been about twenty Genoese merchants residing in Málaga on a semi-permanent

¹⁵⁰ Diego de Torres, *Relación del origen y suceso de los xarifes y del estado de los reinos de Marruecos, Fez y Tarudante*, ed. Mercedes García-Arenal (Madrid: Siglo Veintiuno, 1980) 151, 192–193. See also James Monroe, *Islam and the Arabs in Spanish Scholarship (Sixteenth Century to the Present)* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1970) 18.

¹⁵¹ Lisciandrelli, *Trattati e negoziazioni* (no. 409); *Liber iurium Reipublicae Genuensis*, 1 (no. 989, cols. 1485–6); Garí, “Why Almería?” 226–228; Rachel Arié, *L’Espagne musulmane au temps des Nasrides (1232–1492)* (Paris: E de Boccard, 1973) 360–361.

¹⁵² Alarcón (ed.), *Documentos árabes diplomáticos*, 1–3 (doc. 1). Much of this treaty was renewed in 1321 and 1326 (docs. 15 and 27) though without the clause pertaining to *funduqs*. See also María Dolores López Pérez, *La Corona de Aragón y el Maghreb en el siglo XIV (1331–1410)* (Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1995) 188, noting Catalan *fondacos* in Málaga and Almería in the 1340s and 1350s.

¹⁵³ The case of the merchant Jaume Manfré was described in chapter 4. A letter from the same period, written in 1344 from the governor of Mallorca to the Naṣrid ruler, concerned a Mallorcan merchant detained in the *fondech d’Almería* (Pablo Cateura, “Notas sobre las relaciones entre Mallorca y el reino de Granada en la década de 1339–1349,” *Bolletí de la Societat Arqueològica Luliana* 830–831 [1979] 158).

basis in the middle of the fifteenth century.¹⁵⁴ However, in contrast to *fondacos* in the Mamlūk east, facilities in Granada probably did not serve as exclusive or restricted residences, at least not by the fifteenth century, when a list of grievances brought by Genoese merchants to the Naṣrid ruler in 1452 included references to both Genoese houses and warehouses in Granada.¹⁵⁵ Genoese *fondacos* in Málaga (a building later called the Castil de Ginoveses) and in Granada (the *funduq al-jinuyyīn*) may have been mainly intended for secure storage, though possibly also personal safety, since both buildings were heavily fortified.¹⁵⁶ In Granada, the Genoese *fondaco* was converted into a jail shortly after the transition to Christian rule, as observed by a German traveler who visited the city in 1494–1495.¹⁵⁷ After 1492, Genoese and other western merchants continued to acquire land and houses in former Naṣrid territories, just as they had in other regions of Castile, since the coastline remained strategic for access to the Atlantic.¹⁵⁸

The continuing growth of European trade and shipping in the Mediterranean during the later middle ages realigned spheres of trade and changed the nature of commercial spaces in Islamic cities. By the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Christian ships had achieved virtual hegemony over most Mediterranean routes, both those linking southern European and Muslim ports and those connecting the Mediterranean with the Atlantic and northern Europe via the Straits of Gibraltar. At the same time, traders in the Islamic world increasingly concentrated on overland traffic, or on shipping routes in the Red Sea and Indian Ocean. As a result, by the later thirteenth century the southern Mediterranean rim became a frontier zone to a greater extent than had been the case in earlier periods. Not only in terms of economics and trade, but also from the standpoints of politics and religion, this region was now the interface between two separate spheres.

European *fondacos* in Alexandria, Damascus, Tunis, Almería, and elsewhere represented critical points of contact and exchange between these two spheres, especially in economic terms. There were also other forms of contact, since European pilgrims and travelers were often allowed to travel

¹⁵⁴ Fernández-Armesto, *Before Columbus*, 107.

¹⁵⁵ Gabriela Airaldi, *Genova e Spagna nel secolo xv: il "Liber damnificatorum in regno Granate" (1452)* (Genoa: Università di Genova, 1966) 36, 55, etc.

¹⁵⁶ Calero Secall and Martínez Enamorado, *Málaga*, 252; Lopez de Coca Castañer, "Comercio exterior," 349; Seco de Lucena, *Granada árabe*, 52; Torres Balbás, "Las Alhóndigas hispanomusulmanas," 449.

¹⁵⁷ Jerónimo Münzer, *Viaje por España y Portugal (1494–1495)*, ed. and trans. Ramón Alba (Madrid: Ediciones Polifemo, 1991) 135.

¹⁵⁸ J. E. López de Coca Castañer and María Teresa López Beltrán, "Mercaderes genoveses en Málaga (1487–1516). Los Hermanos Centurión e Ytalian," *Historia, Instituciones, Documentos* 7 (1980) 103.

through Muslim lands, and westerners sometimes lived and worked in Muslim cities outside the confines of *fondaco* walls. Nevertheless, *fondacos* increasingly controlled foreign trade and channeled European traders to certain markets, while keeping them away from others.

These regulations were not a Mamlūk innovation, since this type of pattern had long been characteristic of *funduqs* and *fondacos*, both of which took advantage of the needs, opportunities, and routes of merchant diasporas. However, the burgeoning of European maritime trade and the demise of the Crusader states, combined with new Mamlūk commercial policies, created a new situation in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. With the loss of *fondacos* in Tyre, Acre, and other crusader cities, western merchants could no longer choose between a variety of destinations in the eastern Mediterranean. Instead, their commercial activities were restricted to a handful of terminal markets, where they did their business in particular *fondacos* and then returned home. Although there is evidence that some traders, particularly Venetians, were able to do business more freely in Syrian markets, European traffic in Egypt was generally limited to Alexandria. Notably, the situation was somewhat different in the Islamic west, where a plurality of political regimes allowed greater leeway to western negotiators, and more freedom for trade and *fondacos* in consequence.

The solidification of function of the *fondaco* as a facilitator for cross-cultural interaction almost certainly had an effect on the understanding of the *funduq* in Mamlūk lands and elsewhere. There was no differentiation between the two words in Arabic, and *funduq* could thus mean either a hostelry and depot for indigenous traders, or a regulated and restricted enclave for foreign merchants. It seems likely that while the latter sense gained importance – as more and more European traders sought access to a now limited number of Muslim ports – the former sense declined. Increasingly, commercial spaces dedicated to housing Muslim merchants, facilitating their business dealings, and storing and taxing their goods went instead by the titles of *khān* and *wakāla*.

The success of the *fondaco* system in Alexandria, Tunis, and other markets not only affected the evolution of commercial spaces in these Muslim cities, but it also had an influence on urban facilities in southern Europe. By the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, *fondacos* began to appear in Venice, Genoa, Pisa, Marseille, Ragusa, and other Mediterranean ports. These facilities were distinct from those in Spain and Sicily, where Muslim cities had been conquered by Christian armies, and their urban forms assimilated into Christian fiscal administrations. Instead, the new *fondacos* that took root in northern Italian cities and elsewhere were a transplanted

phenomenon. Both the idea and the term itself must have been imported by the same merchants who encountered these facilities in an Islamic context.

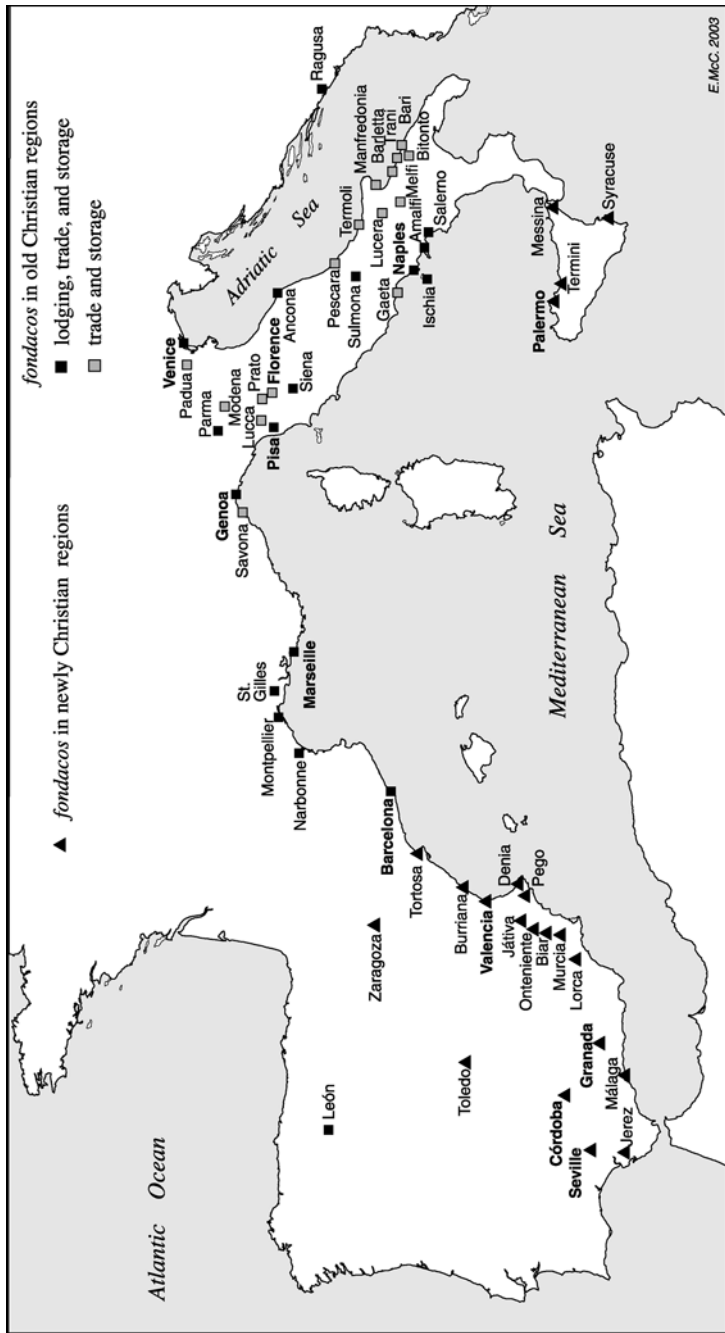
Although the transplant was successful, and the word *fondaco* (in various forms) took root in European languages, in reference to local facilities, its meaning changed as it crossed the boundary between cultures. In almost all cases, the functions of *fondacos* in southern Europe were different from those in contemporary Muslim ports. Over time, not unlike the modernization of the word *funduq* in Arabic, the European versions lost much of their more complex medieval sense. Thus, the modern Italian *fondaco* and Castilian *alhóndiga* are respectively a warehouse and a granary, no longer hostels, emporia, or points for cross-cultural contact. Their journey away from these meanings is described in the following chapter.

The fondaco in Mediterranean Europe

Felix Fabri, like many other German pilgrims, passed through Venice on his way both to and from the Holy Land. This city served as a natural gateway to the Adriatic and Mediterranean for travelers and traders coming south from cities of the German empire. Felix stayed in an inn (*hospitium*) during his time in the island city in the 1480s, but he remarked that “the German merchants have a house in Venice that is called a *fonticum*. It has many rooms and bedrooms in which merchants stay and store their goods. It is unbelievable how much merchandise is sent from this *fonticum* to Germany, and each year Venice levies more than twenty thousand ducats in taxes (*pro telonio*) on these exports.”¹ It should not be surprising that Felix’s description of the Venetian Fondaco dei Tedeschi (*fonticum Almanorum*) is reminiscent of his notes on the European *fondacos* that he observed in Alexandria. Certainly, the existence of this commercial and residential *fondaco* for German traders in Venice was no coincidence. Instead, as this chapter will demonstrate, it was just one example of the multiple ways in which the Islamic institution of the *funduql fondaco* was integrated into medieval Christian urban life in Mediterranean Europe.

By the thirteenth century, cognate words such as *fonticum* and *fondacho* had found their way not only into Latin, but also into other southern European vernacular languages. The multiplicity of these words, and their variety of meanings, bespeaks not only the piecemeal adoption of the idea of the *fondaco* in Europe, but also the many different ways in which these facilities could be understood. For example, in medieval Italian, the word *fondaco* (or *fondacho*) could apply, among other things, to a store or private warehouse, a public warehouse, a merchant firm, a warehousing tax, a residential facility, or a board of officers who regulated, measured, and stored provisions. Related terms proliferated, including *fondacaio*, *fondacare*, *fondacato*,

¹ Fabri, *Evagatorium in terrae sanctae*, I, 83 [32a], III, 432 [220a].



Map 4. Distribution of Christian *fondacos* in Mediterranean Europe (eleventh to fifteenth centuries)

fondachetto, and so forth.² All evidence points to the derivation of these and other cognate terms from the Arabic *funduq*, not directly from the Greek *pandocheion*, since the latter term was very rare, though not entirely unknown, in medieval Europe.³

Nevertheless, although European *fondacos* shared characteristics with contemporary *funduqs* and *fondacos* in Muslim cities, many took on new functions. In fact, the Fondaco dei Tedeschi in Venice was a very unusual example of cross-cultural replication. In most southern European cities, including Venice, the uses of *fondacos* reflected the particular interests of local merchants and administrators. These men had the power and resources to adapt or create institutions to suit their specific needs, including networks of warehouses, lodging-houses, and offices in the cities where they did business.⁴

When western European merchants encountered *funduqs* and *fondacos* in Islamic cities, they must have observed their multiple functions as residences for merchants and spaces for the storage, sale, and taxation of commercial goods. Not all of these functions were either necessary or appropriate in a western European Christian setting, as has already been shown for those parts of Spain, Sicily, and the Crusader states that came under Christian political rule. The regulated residential aspect, especially, tended to disappear in areas where cross-cultural trade was absent, indigenous hostleries were common, and where non-local merchants could mingle freely with the local population. In these regions, there was more emphasis on the control of goods, and the extraction of revenue through monopolies and

² A number of these are cited in Edler, *Glossary*, 126–128. For a wide range of other usages in medieval Italian, consult the Opera del Vocabolario Italiano Database, compiled by the Centro di Studi Opera del Vocabolario Italiano (<http://www.lib.uchicago.edu/efts/ARTFL/projects/OVI/>).

³ Greek authors had noted *pandocheions* in Italy during the early Roman period, but the word very rarely appeared in classical or medieval Latin. Du Cange cited only a handful of examples in his *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis* (Paris: Librairie des Sciences et des Artes, 1938) vi, 127. The occasional use of cognates in late medieval Latin by writers from northern Europe was probably a revival. In the 1480s, Felix Fabri used the word *pandocheum* to describe a wretched inn in Jaffa and an eating-house in Corfu (*Evagatorium in terrae sanctae*, I, 195 [75b]; III, 348 [193a]). He does not seem to have associated this word with *fundicum*. The link with drinking survived the centuries, and *pandoxando* and *pandocatrix* appeared in seventeenth-century England as terms applied respectively to the liberty of brewing ale and to an alewife (Thomas Blount, *Nomo-lexicon* [London: Herringman, Newcomb, Chiswel, and Bentley, 1691], “pandocatrix,” no page number). Blount traced the term *pandocatrix* to the twelfth century. In contrast to the rarity of the *pandocheion*, *xenodocheions* were common in early medieval Europe, especially in the context of charitable religious and monastic hospitality, just as they were in the Greek east. The word *xenodocheion* had easily crossed the bridge from Greek into Latin, probably eased by the strong Christian associations of the term. See Szabó “Xenodochiza”; Kislinger, “Kaiser Julian.”

⁴ Edwin Hunt, *The Medieval Super-companies. A Study of the Peruzzi Company of Florence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994) 99.

taxes on these items. There were only a few areas, notably the mainland territories of the realms of Aragón and the Venetian Adriatic, where politics and geography encouraged the continued control of certain merchant groups as well as their goods.

The new European *fondacos* all shared a purely commercial and fiscal utility. In contrast to the Arabic *funduq*, there was no charitable or religious significance to the European understanding of the *fondaco*, and its various meanings pertained instead to storage, money, merchants, taxes, or commercial business. Francesco Pegolotti outlined some of these in his fourteenth-century handbook of mercantile practice and regional terminology, cataloging those places where commercial goods were sold in cities (“luogora dove le mercatantie si vendono nelle cittadi”). These were variously called “*mercato* in the Tuscan dialect; *piazza* in many [other] languages; *bazar* or *raba* in Genoese; *fondaco* in many languages; *fonda* in Cyprus . . . and *sugo* (*sūq*) in Arabic.” He went on to note that “all manner of foodstuffs and things necessary for human life, and grain and livestock” could be had in such places.⁵ At the same time, he also listed *fondaco* among terms for places (together with *bottega*, *volta*, *stazione*, and *magazzino*) “where one places merchandise for safekeeping, and where merchants and other people go to stay in security, and to safeguard their merchandise and goods, and [where they keep] their account books and other such things.”⁶

Analysis of references to *fondacos* in cities in late medieval Spain, southern France, Italy, and the Dalmatian coast confirms Pegolotti’s observations on commercial usage. This chapter will thus examine three main roles established for *fondacos* in southern Europe, looking first at their continuing capacity as merchant hostelries and official enclaves for established mercantile communities (the notable example being the Fondaco dei Tedeschi in Venice); second, at their function as public or state-run commercial spaces; third, at their development into sites for storage and merchant business.

Throughout this discussion, it will be apparent that the medieval term was essentially limited to southern Europe, especially Italy and Spain. Except in rare instances, *fondacos* do not appear in medieval documents from northern Europe, or indeed from anywhere at a distance from the Mediterranean. Perhaps this was because there were already indigenous northern parallels and counterparts, such as the Hanseatic lodges in Germany, the Baltic region, and London, which served very similar functions. Or perhaps it was because some degree of familiarity or proximity

⁵ Pegolotti, *La Pratica della mercatura*, 17.

⁶ *Ibid.*

with the Muslim institution was necessary to ease its implantation in a Christian setting. Consideration of the geographical distribution of the *fondaco*, together with the functional relations between different variations of the institution, sheds light on the process and purpose of its adoption from an Islamic to a Christian context.

MERCHANT LODGING, COMMUNITY, AND FONDACOS

From their earliest appearance, *funduqs* in the Islamic world lodged travelers, particularly traders, and their offshoot, the *fondacos*, continued this tradition by housing foreign European merchant communities in Islamic cities. This aspect of the *fondaco* was imported to medieval Europe by the same merchant groups who encountered the institution in Muslim ports, but its function as a hostel, and especially as a site for communal lodging, was often short-lived in the new European context.

There were several reasons for this. First, there were already plenty of other inns, private houses, monastic hostels, and similar facilities to meet the lodging needs of merchants and other travelers. These went by many different names, including *diversorium*, *hospitium*, *albergo*, *hostellerie*, *ostalaggio*, *meson*, and *posada*.⁷ It was a well-known aphorism, repeated by a merchant writing to his partner in Prato, in about 1400, that “the early riser makes a good profit and can spend the night in an inn” (“può riposare all’albergo”).⁸ Thus, it was difficult for the *fondaco* to find a niche in this well-established industry. Second, except in Venice and a few other regions, the impulse for preserving the segregation and solidarity of foreign merchant communities was not very strong in situations when both visitors and hosts were Christian.

Although most Italian city-states had citizens and property in other towns, and it was common for special buildings to be set aside for the use of foreign merchant communities, these were not generally called *fondacos*.⁹ Instead, they were usually referred to as houses (*domus*) or hostels (*hospitia*), or – increasingly by the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries – as

⁷ Much has been written on inns and hospitality in medieval Europe. See Noël Coulet, “Inns and Taverns,” *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, ed. J. R. Strayer (New York: Scribner, 1982–1989), vi, 468–477; Francis Garrison, “Les Hôtes et l’hébergement des étrangers au moyen âge. Quelques solutions de droit comparé,” *Etudes d’histoire du droit privé offerts à Pierre Petot* (Paris: Librairie générale de droit et de jurisprudence, 1959) 199–222; N. Coulet, “Les Hôtelleries en France et en Italie au bas moyen âge,” in *L’Homme et la route en Europe occidentale au moyen âge et aux temps modernes* (Auch: Centre Culturel de l’Abbaye de Flaran, 1982) 181–205.

⁸ Iris Origo, *The Merchant of Prato* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1957) xiii.

⁹ David Nicholas, *The Growth of the Medieval City* (London: Longman, 1997) 172–173.

loggias.¹⁰ Even in Venice, where there were a number of other foreign merchant groups besides the Germans, including traders from elsewhere in Italy (Lombardy, Milan, Genoa) and from the Adriatic and eastern Mediterranean (Ragusa, Albania, Greece), these residents had their own city quarters or neighborhoods, in which they owned houses and other real estate.¹¹

Residential merchant *fondacos* did appear briefly in some areas of southern Europe during the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, at the same time that similar facilities were evolving in Islamic and crusader cities. These early communal *fondacos* were distinguished by their association with particular merchant groups (for example, the *fondaco* of the Pisans, or the *fondaco* of the Sieneese), but there is no indication that they were regulated like their counterparts in Islamic cities. Instead, they more resembled the *fondacos* for Italian traders in Sicily, Seville, and the Latin east, providing housing, a locus for business activity, and – almost certainly – a convenient site for taxation by local governments. It seems likely that this European variant represented an intermediate stage between the *fondaco* as a regulated residence for a particular group (as in Islamic cities) and the *fondaco* as a state or private warehouse (as in late medieval Italy). It is noteworthy that *fondacos* associated with particular merchant groups had disappeared in most Italian and southern French towns by the fourteenth century.

In Provence, the idea of the residential *fondaco* probably arrived through the mediation of Italian traders. In 1133, a treaty between Genoa and Narbonne granted a *fondaco* for the use of Genoese merchants on the banks of the Aude. A decade later, both Genoa and Pisa were promised *fondacos* in Montpellier in recompense for their assistance in quelling revolts and their support of William VI against the count of Toulouse.¹² Later, Raymond V of Narbonne and Toulouse gave the Genoese a house to use as a *fondaco* (“domum id est fondicum”) in St. Gilles in 1174, where they could “live and store their goods and do business,” in return for naval support from

¹⁰ The development of the *loggia* has been discussed in chapters 4, 5, and 6. On Italian *loggias*, see Sexton, “Renaissance Civic Loggias”; Charles Burroughs, “Spaces of Arbitration and the Organization of Space in Late Medieval Italian Cities,” in *Medieval Practices of Space*, ed. B. Hanawalt and M. Kobiakla (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000) 64–100.

¹¹ Susan M. Stuard, *A State of Deference: Ragusa/Dubrovnik in the Medieval Centuries* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992) 173–174; Deno Geanakoplos, *Byzantine East and Latin West: Two Worlds of Christendom in Middle Ages and Renaissance* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1966) 113; Giorgio Fedalto, “Le minoranze straniere a Venezia tra politica e legislazione,” *Venezia centro di mediazione tra oriente e occidente (secoli xv–xvi): aspetti e problemi* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1977) 1, 152, 159; Brühneilde Imhaus, *Le minoranze orientali a Venezia, 1300–1510* (Rome: Il Veltro, 1997) 37–83.

¹² Alexandre Germain, *Histoire du commerce de Montpellier* (Montpellier: Imprimerie de Jean Martel Ainé, 1861) 1, 92–94; Schaube, *Handelsgeschichte*, 553, 559; Kathryn Reyerson, “Patterns of Population Attraction and Mobility: The Case of Montpellier, 1293–1348,” *Viator* 10 (1979) 259–260.

Genoese ships.¹³ These grants were very similar to contemporary pledges made to Genoa by both Muslim and Christian rulers in Spain.¹⁴

In the thirteenth century, James I of Aragón was as eager to control *fondacos* in his Catalan and southern French territories as in Valencia and Tunis. A pledge to Genoese ambassadors in 1263 included a royal *fondaco* in Montpellier, given to Genoese merchants for their lodging, business, and commercial storage, but which they were not permitted to mortgage or sublet.¹⁵ Genoese merchants were not the only players in this period. Two decades earlier, merchants from Narbonne had been granted a *fondaco* in Tortosa, while in the 1270s, Catalan merchants had a *fondaco* in Narbonne, and Pisan merchants sought a similar privilege.¹⁶

Despite these early references, the concept of residential *fondacos* for foreign traders did not take root in southern France over the long term. By the early fourteenth century, as Kathryn Reyerson has observed, “the twelfth-century *fondachi* . . . had long disappeared” in Montpellier, and this seems to have been the case elsewhere as well.¹⁷ The buildings still remained and kept their names, as indicated when the widow of a silversmith in Montpellier rented out a house and the “*fondaco* of Pisa” to a visitor from Novara in 1333, but this private transaction shows that the building no longer had any official status.¹⁸ The post of *fondiguier* also still appeared in French urban statutes, but now as the keeper of a private or public warehouse for the storage of goods.¹⁹ Instead of lodging in *fondacos*, late medieval travelers in southern France had a variety of other options. By the middle of the fourteenth century, Montpellier and Marseille had at least twenty inns each, and Avignon nearly sixty. In the next century, Toulouse had about thirty hostels, and Arles had eighteen.²⁰ *Loggias* also began appearing in Provence by the fourteenth century, paralleling appearances in other Christian ports.

¹³ *Liber iurium Reipublicae Genuensis*, 1, cols. 296–300 (no. 310). In 1108 the Genoese had received privileges and houses in St. Gilles (Epstein, *Genoa and the Genoese*, 48).

¹⁴ See discussion in chapter 4 of promises issued to Genoa in 1146 by Alfonso VI of Castile and Ramon Berenguer IV of Barcelona; also treaties with Andalusí rulers in period 1149–1188 (in chap. 3).

¹⁵ (James I of Aragón), *Documentos de Jaime I de Aragón*, v, 49 (doc. 1342).

¹⁶ Germain Mouynès (ed.), *Inventaire des archives communales antérieures à 1790* (Narbonne: E. Caillard, 1877) II, 36–37 (doc. 21), 154–156 (doc. 93).

¹⁷ Reyerson, “Patterns of Population,” 278.

¹⁸ Kathryn Reyerson, “Land, Houses, and Real Estate Investment in Montpellier: A Study of the Notarial Property Transactions, 1293–1348,” *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 6 (1983) 80.

¹⁹ Noël Coulet, “Propriétaires et exploitants d’auberges dans la France du Midi au bas moyen âge,” in *Gastfreundschaft, Taverne und Gasthaus im Mittelalter*, ed. H. C. Peyer (Munich and Vienna: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1983) 121.

²⁰ Coulet, “Les hôtelleries,” 189; Philippe Wolff, “L’Hôtellerie, auxiliaire de la route. Notes sur les hôtelleries toulousaines au moyen âge,” *Bulletin Philologique et Historique (jusqu’à 1610) du Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques* (Paris) 1 (1960) 189–205. In Avignon, 169 individuals were



11 Merchants unloading cargo at a *loggia*, perhaps in Perpignan, c.1489. Maestro de Canapost, Retable de la Trinité, Musée Hyacinthe Rigaud, Perpignan. My thanks to Larry Mott for drawing my attention to this painting.

A similar pattern is found in western Italian cities, though at a later date. *Fondacos* became common in Genoa, Pisa, Florence, and other cities from the thirteenth century, but quickly devolved from residences to warehouses. It is striking that *fondacos* did not appear in western Italy until nearly half a century after those in Provence, Spain, and Sicily, suggesting that Genoese and Pisan traders long thought of them only as facilities for their convenience and lodging abroad. The fact that the Fondaco dei Tedeschi was flourishing in Venice by the 1220s (see below) further confirms the impression that most Italians saw the *fondaco* as a residence for traders doing business far from home – their own situation in Alexandria, Tunis, Seville, or Montpellier – not in neighboring cities.

Nevertheless, when business travelers from Italy and further afield needed lodging in Italian cities, there were hostels to accommodate particular communal groups. For example, in 1203 there was a hostelry in Arezzo devoted to guests from Florence (*hospes Florentiae*). Another in Verona was described as a *domus mercatorum* in 1216. A Milanese law of 1340 required that foreign

listed as innkeepers in 1371 (Joëlle Rollo-Koster, “Mercator Florentinensis and Others: Immigration in Papal Avignon,” in *Urban and Rural Communities in Medieval France*, ed. K. Reyerson and J. Drendel [Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1998] 96–97).

merchants stay in a specified hostelry (*hospitio*), while they did business in that city, and this was quite a common requirement in other cities.²¹

Pisa, in the early thirteenth century, was one of the first western Italian cities to adopt the terminology of a residential communal *fondaco* and the word would continue to be common there in later periods – though with different meanings. Florentine merchants had a residential *fondaco* in Pisa in 1214, as did merchants from San Gimignano by 1238.²² At about the same period, the chronicler Salimbene de Adam described a lodging-house in Pisa for merchants from Parma, adding that this facility was “called a *fondaco* by the Pisans.”²³ The term must have been quite common by 1278, when traders from Narbonne requested a *fondaco* in Pisa on the grounds that merchants from Provence, Genoa, and Catalonia already enjoyed these privileges.²⁴ By 1305, a whole section of the Pisan merchant statutes concerned the *fondaco* for merchants from Siena, though it is not clear whether this was a residential or purely commercial facility.²⁵ Other Pisan rulings from the same year established a Pisan *fondaco* in Genoa, to serve as a hub for both Pisan lodging and business.²⁶ Evidently, the paradigm of the communal *fondaco* survived in Pisa and Genoa into the early fourteenth century, by which point it had long disappeared in southern France. However, these western Italian *fondacos* were never subject to the strict regulations imposed on their counterparts in Venice or Islamic ports.

The fact was that most Christian merchants had little need for regulated communal *fondacos* in Christian cities, and few governments could maintain them. Thus, these facilities usually fell from residential use in southern Europe after a century or so of experimentation. Notable exceptions were the *Fondaco dei Tedeschi* in Venice, and the *fondacos* for visiting Muslim merchants in the realms of Aragón.

²¹ Antonio Noto (ed.), *Liber datii mercantie communis mediolani. Registro del secolo xv* (Milan: Università Commerciale Luigi Bocconi, 1950) 62–63.

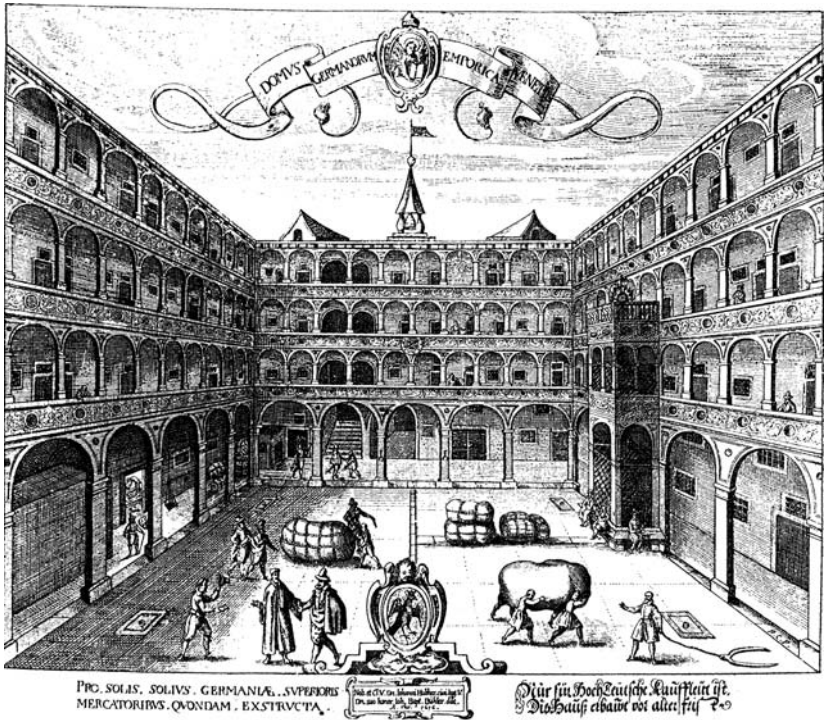
²² Amintore Fanfani, “Note sull’industria alberghiera italiana nel medio evo,” *Saggi di storia economica italiana* (Milan: Società Editrice “Vita e pensiero,” 1936) 116; Schaube, *Handelsgeschichte*, 655, 759; Szabó, “Xenodochia,” 83.

²³ “Mercatores Parmenses domum habebant ad hospitandum, quam Pisani fundicum appellant”: Salimbene de Adam, *Cronica*, ed. F. Bernini (Bari: G. Laterza & Figli, 1942) I, 61. Salimbene’s impulse for clarification may suggest that the term *fondaco* was still somewhat unusual at the time he was writing. Nevertheless, the merchants from Parma apparently knew the term. In 1247, when Frederick II held the city of Parma, “nobody dared enter the city,” since those who did so (apparently merchants) were captured approaching with their wagons of goods, or were later taken “in the *fondacos*” (*Chronicon Parmense*, in Muratori [ed.], *Rerum Italicarum scriptores*, IX, 772).

²⁴ Port, *Essai*, 87, 90, 110. As noted above, Narbonese merchants would also have been familiar with *fondacos* in their home city.

²⁵ Bonaini (ed.), *Statuti*, III, 79–80.

²⁶ Bonaini (ed.), *Statuti*, III, 390.



- 12 Merchants and goods in the courtyard of the Fondaco dei Tedeschi in Venice. Note the traditional form of the building. Engraving by Raphael Custos, first half of the seventeenth century. From the collection of the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin.

VENICE AND THE FONDACO DEI TEDESCHI

Whereas most *fondacos* in southern Europe were functionally different from their prototypes in the Islamic world, the Fondaco dei Tedeschi in Venice stands out as an example of almost direct institutional adoption from a Muslim into a Christian context. This hostelry and commercial entrepôt for German merchants doing business in Venice was one among a number of “oriental” imports that influenced Venetian aesthetics and culture in the later middle ages.²⁷ The Venetian Fondaco resembled its counterparts

²⁷ Deborah Howard, “Venice and Islam in the Middle Ages. Some Observations on the Question of Architectural Influence,” *Architectural History* 34 (1991) 68–69. Howard points out that many scholars have noted the “distinctly oriental atmosphere” of Venice, and the city has been compared to a “colossal *sūq*.” Western Italian cities such as Genoa, Pisa, and Florence exhibited few of the eastern architectural influences (both Byzantine and Islamic) that were so evident in Venice (*ibid.*, 59).

in Alexandria not only in architectural form, but also in its administration, regulations, and purpose. As in Egypt, both merchants and their goods were compelled to lodge in the Fondaco, and this residence requirement depended on regional origin. German traders not only brought northern commodities to Venice, but they also obtained local and other goods through the Fondaco to carry back to Germany. Venetian authorities oversaw all business in the Fondaco, appointed its officials, and charged hefty fees for lodging and taxes.²⁸

Today, the Fondaco dei Tedeschi is probably the best-known example of a *fondaco* in the Mediterranean world. First established in the early thirteenth century, it flourished into the early modern period, and remained a possession of the Venetian government until the fall of the Republic in 1797. Recently, the building (which now houses the main post office in Venice) has been thoroughly studied by modern historians of art and architecture, in part because new murals by Titian and Giorgione had been added when the Fondaco was rebuilt after a fire in the early sixteenth century.²⁹

References to a *fondaco* for German merchants – a “fonticum comunis Veneziarum ubi Teutonici hospitantur” – first appeared in the 1220s, although it is possible that a facility existed before this date. An early thirteenth-century origin makes sense not only because of the increase in Mediterranean traffic and German mercantile activity in the later twelfth century, but also because of contemporary German and Venetian political and economic ambitions. Peace treaties signed in 1177 between Venice and Frederick Barbarossa encouraged commercial exchange and set the scene for establishing a trading-house.³⁰ Venice was also eager to gain further control over traffic in the Adriatic and eastern Mediterranean in the wake

²⁸ The resemblance between the Fondaco dei Tedeschi and western *fondacos* in Egypt, together with the abundant sources for the German trading-house, make it tempting to borrow data from Venice to illuminate the poorly documented daily life of the *fondacos* in Alexandria. Such borrowing would be risky, especially in light of obvious differences between the two forms (for instance, there was no religious distinction between German traders and their Venetian hosts – at least until the Reformation). Nevertheless, it is worth keeping in mind the possibility that the well-documented arrangements for staff, finances, maintenance, and other routine operations in the Fondaco dei Tedeschi could shed light on our understanding of overseas *fondacos*.

²⁹ The fundamental study of this facility is Henry Simonsfeld's *Der Fondaco dei Tedeschi in Venedig und die Deutsch-Venetianischen Handelbeziehungen* (Stuttgart: Neudruck der Ausgabe, 1887). Also important is G. M. Thomas's edition of the *Capitolare dei visdomini del Fontego dei Todechi in Venezia (Capitular des deutschen Hauses in Venedig)* (Berlin: A. Asher & Co., 1874), containing statutes relating to administration of the Fondaco dei Tedeschi. Because this building, its history, and its documentation have been comparatively well studied, it is unnecessary to provide more than a brief overview here. See also Karl-Ernst Lupprian, *Il Fondaco dei Tedeschi e la sua funzione di controllo del commercio tedesco a Venezia* (Venice: Centro Tedesco di Studi Veneziani, 1978); Concina, *Fondaci*, 125–217; Manlio Dazzi and Mario Brunetti, *Il Fondaco Nostro dei Tedeschi* (Venice: Ministro delle comunicazioni, 1941). On Titian and Giorgione, see Juergen Schulz, “Titian at the Fondaco dei Tedeschi,” *Burlington Magazine* 143 (2001) 567–569.

³⁰ (Frederick I), *Diplomata*, *Diplomata*, x, III, 218–222 (doc. 695), 242–243 (doc. 708).

of the Fourth Crusade. With Constantinople and the Aegean firmly within the Venetian commercial sphere after 1204, and a strong Venetian merchant presence in the *fondaco* communities in both Ayyūbid Alexandria and crusader Acre, Venice was unwilling to allow other merchants (beyond their current competitors from Genoa, Pisa, and Barcelona) to enter the maritime trading sphere in the eastern Mediterranean. Regulations motivated by these thirteenth-century conditions continued to be enforced in later periods, even after the Paleologan restoration and, later still, following the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople.

German merchants also benefited from the Fondaco dei Tedeschi. By the time Felix Fabri arrived in Venice, German traders and pilgrims had been coming to Venice for centuries.³¹ The geographical contours of mountain passes and trade routes made the city an obvious destination for northerners seeking access to the Mediterranean and Mediterranean goods. A decree passed in 1475, shortly before Felix arrived in Venice, reconfirmed earlier rules to the effect that “no German merchant may on any pretext take lodgings in any place outside the exchange house, upon a penalty of fifty ducats, and the same penalty shall fall upon anyone who has lodged or received into lodgings such a person.”³² The Italian term “Tedeschi” (usually *teutonicus* or *alemanus* in Latin) broadly applied to merchants from many northern cities, both imperial and independent, in Germany and beyond. The 1475 regulations cited merchants from Poland, Bohemia, and Hungary, and “other subjects of the emperor” who “shall be liable with all their merchandise to pay the duties at our exchange house.”³³ Merchants from Regensburg, Cologne, Ulm, Nuremberg, Lubeck, and elsewhere all lodged together in the Fondaco dei Tedeschi, although their regional rivalries occasionally created dissension. A controversy between merchants from Nuremberg and Cologne came to a head in 1429, and its description reveals that the two groups had traditionally maintained separate kitchens and dining spaces in the Fondaco. After this point, Venetian administrators ruled that there should be only one kitchen, though there would continue to be two ovens and two cooks, one for each group.³⁴

³¹ German traders had trafficked with Venice since the early middle ages, as shown by Michael McCormick (*Origins of the European Economy*, 678–687), but the volume of trade increased by the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. By the later middle ages, many northern merchants would have been familiar with the Hanseatic *kontors* and the Steelyard in London, facilities that had certain functional similarities to the Fondaco dei Tedeschi.

³² Thomas, *Capitolare*, 228–229; English translation in David Chambers and Brian Pullan (eds.), Venice: *Documentary History 1450–1650* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992) 328.

³³ Thomas, *Capitolare*, 227; Chambers and Pullan (eds.), *Documentary History*, 328.

³⁴ Dazzi and Brunetti, *Il Fondaco Nostro dei Tedeschi*, 57–58. The segregation of ovens for the two German communities recalls stipulations regarding special ovens annexed to *fondacos* in Islamic cities.

Not all Germans coming through Venice were long-distance traders, nor were all of them required to stay in the Fondaco. A number of Germans in more long-term residence (bakers, tradesmen, and artisans) were considered exempt, probably because the income and tax potential of these small-scale businessmen was of little interest to the city. Pilgrims, also, were allowed to reside elsewhere in the city, so that when Felix Fabri inquired at the Fondaco about a place to stay, his party “was conducted by a certain German to the Inn of St. George, which is large and respectable.”³⁵ Later, returning through Venice at the end of his travels, Felix stayed at the St. George again. However, when he stopped by the Fondaco dei Tedeschi to get news from a party of merchants recently arrived from his hometown of Ulm, a young trader in the party insisted that Felix have the key to his room, and that he leave his inn and come to eat and sleep with them in the Fondaco.³⁶

The Fondaco dei Tedeschi was located by the Rialto Bridge, one of the most important commercial areas in medieval Venice, a site where traders came together from many different regions with all kinds of goods. The land for the facility seems to have been acquired by the commune in 1222, apparently with the assistance of a German merchant, Bernardus Teotonicus, a confidant of the doge Pietro Ziani.³⁷ The first explicit reference to the building dates to December 1228, when the administration of a “*fondaco* belonging to the Venetian commune for housing German merchants” was farmed by the city for a sum of 1,100 ducats, payable in three installments.³⁸ Shortly thereafter, a document from January 1229 recorded the lease of the Fondaco to a certain Abilinus Teotonicus, apparently a German.³⁹ This venture in farming the Fondaco may not have been successful, at least from the point of view of urban administrators, since the city had assumed direct administration of the facility by the second half of the thirteenth century.⁴⁰ Both fiscal models had precedents elsewhere, in Muslim and Christian cities, and Venice was following an established tradition of urban and royal authorities deriving profit from *fondacos* under their control.

Later, the city of Venice mainly profited from the Fondaco dei Tedeschi through fees and taxes on commercial transactions in the building. By the

³⁵ Fabri, *Evagatorium in terrae sanctae*, I, 31 [11b].

³⁶ Fabri, *Evagatorium in terrae sanctae*, III, 388 [207b].

³⁷ Wolfgang von Stromer, *Bernardus Teotonicus e i rapporti commerciali tra la Germania Meridionale e Venezia prima della istituzione del Fondaco dei Tedeschi* (Venice: Centro Tedesco di Studi Veneziani, 1978) 9, 32.

³⁸ *Liber communis detto anche plegiorum del R. Archivio generale di Venezia*, ed. R. Predelli (Venice: Tipografia del Commercio di Marco Visentini, 1872) 68 (no. 249) and 161 (no. 685). The 1228 text is also edited in Simonsfeld, *Der Fondaco dei Tedeschi*, I, 1–2 (doc. 2).

³⁹ Lupprian, *Il Fondaco dei Tedeschi*, 7.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* It remains a matter of debate whether the Fondaco dei Tedeschi was originally a state-controlled facility, either leased or directly administered, or if it was at some point a private enterprise.

later fifteenth century, these amounts were variously reported as totaling 20,000 ducats a year (according to Felix Fabri in the early 1480s), 1,000,000 as claimed in a source from 1470, or 100 ducats per day as recorded in 1493 and 1499.⁴¹ The Venetian chronicler Marino Sanudo, who noted the latter figure, added that this was because of “the prominent position and the size and convenience of the place, being in the middle of the Rialto,” the commercial heart of the city.⁴² There was also other income associated with the Fondaco, since its rooms were rented out for a set price, and guests owed additional small sums to the keeper of the house for maintaining the building.⁴³ Despite these fees paid to Venice, German merchants also profited from the Fondaco, as attested by the fact that – though under some duress – they were willing and able to pay for access to the facility’s location and amenities.

Venetian authorities did not permit German merchants to traffic beyond Venice, or to rent ships for transport down the Adriatic into the Mediterranean (although this was possible for German pilgrims such as Felix Fabri). Instead, traders were required to stay in the Fondaco dei Tedeschi and to conduct their business there under the watchful eye of Venetian authorities and tax-collectors, before returning northward with cargoes of Venetian and other Mediterranean commodities. Venetians were likewise prohibited from trading with German merchants outside the city, whether in Padua, Treviso, or other non-Venetian regions, nor were Venetians permitted to travel northward to do business in German cities (this restriction did not include Flanders, England, or other northern European markets, where Venetians traded regularly).⁴⁴

German traders imported a variety of northern commercial goods to Venice, with many items originating in Russia, Scandinavia, and the Baltic region, including wool and fustian cloth, metals (silver, copper, tin, zinc, lead, gold, and iron), furs, hides, objects of horn, and leather. Felix Fabri marveled at the quantities of goods traded through the Fondaco dei

⁴¹ Lupprian, *Il Fondaco dei Tedeschi*, 9. A century later, Ferdinand Braudel’s analysis of monthly tax receipts indicated seasonal variations in traffic passing through the Fondaco dei Tedeschi. This would seem to confirm the fifteenth-century estimates. In 1561–1562, volume ranged from about 2,000 ducats received by the city each month in March, April, May, and December, to roughly 4,000 ducats in June, July, August, October, and January, to a peak of about 5,000 ducats levied in taxes in February (*Mediterranean World*, 1, 266).

⁴² Marino Sanudo, *Laus urbis Venetae*, in Chambers and Pullan (eds.), *Documentary History*, 9–10.

⁴³ Simonsfeld, *Der Fondaco dei Tedeschi*, 11, 12.

⁴⁴ Prohibitions on Venetian trade are found as early as 1272 (von Stromer, *Bernardus Teotonicus*, 4–5; Simonsfeld, *Der Fondaco dei Tedeschi*, 11, 31–32). As stated in the ruling from 1475, “No Venetian citizen or subject may go to Germany, or to any part of Germany . . . to buy or sell merchandise from any German, on pain of losing all goods bought or sold, and paying as much again by way of penalty” (Chambers and Pullan [eds.], *Documentary History*, 328).

Tedeschi, and a decade later, in 1494, the pilgrim Pietro Casola claimed that its contents “would suffice alone to supply all Italy with the goods that come and go.”⁴⁵ German merchants returned home bearing the traditional commodities of Mediterranean trade: spices, pepper, drugs, cotton, sugar, and silk.

Strict controls on German trade were desired not only by the Venetian administration and maritime merchants, but also by local guilds that felt their businesses were threatened by German imports. Complaints from the Venetian mercers’ guild, a round 1446, insisted that German traders be under their authority, since their business was being destroyed by foreign traders who “stock and sell mercery on the Rialto Bridge . . . [and] if no measures are taken, the said mercers . . . will shortly be ruined.” This text goes on to provide a glimpse at the spectrum of German commodities passing through the Fondaco dei Tedeschi in the mid-fifteenth century, including “basins and other brassware, iron and tin, locks, mirrors, mirror glass, caps, gloves of wool or hide, cups, bales of cloth, shears, scissors, jugs, paternoster beads, hats, spectacles . . . razors, axes, belts, combs of horn or wood, cushions, serges, coarse cloth, and every other kind of mercery.” The Germans also “make girdles, big bags, woollen and straw hats, wallets, playing cards, caps, and dyed skins for girdles and bags.”⁴⁶

There were also other concerns about German merchants and their business. Some Italians saw them as an easy mark, believing that German quality controls were not up to Italian standards. In 1434, the Venetian trader Andrea Barbarigo managed to sell a cargo of sub-standard cotton in the Fondaco dei Tedeschi, even though “it was held by all there to be bad and abominable wares.”⁴⁷ Others voiced different complaints regarding German merchants, and in the fifteenth century the Medici family (who had their own more direct connections to northern markets) refused to do business with Germans in the Fondaco dei Tedeschi since it was too difficult to track down bad debts if delinquent traders left for home.⁴⁸

By the later fifteenth century, when Felix Fabri passed through Venice, the German presence in the Fondaco was long established. Over time, the number of traders had grown, forcing renovations and enlargements to

⁴⁵ Pietro Casola, *Canon Pietro Casola's Pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the Year 1494*, ed. and trans. Margaret Newett (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1907) 129.

⁴⁶ From the Mariogola or rule book of the mercers (ASV Arti, b. 312, ff. 10r–14r), translated in Chambers and Pullan (eds.), *Documentary History*, 281–284.

⁴⁷ F. C. Lane, *Andrea Barbarigo, Merchant of Venice 1418–1449* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1944) 106.

⁴⁸ Raymond de Roover, *The Rise and Decline of the Medici Bank, 1397–1494* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963) 245.

the building in 1319 (following a fire the year before), 1372, and 1401.⁴⁹ During the 1340s, the street leading to the Fondaco and the Rialto Bridge had to be widened, another indication of efforts to meet the needs of growing commercial traffic in this area of the city. Another devastating fire broke out in January 1505, burned for an entire night and throughout the following day, and necessitated complete rebuilding of the Fondaco. Construction – this time in stone – took three years, and the Council of Ten authorized its funding with revenues from the Venetian salt monopoly.⁵⁰ In the interim, German traders were housed in other lodgings until the new Fondaco, elegant and enlarged, was ready for their occupation. A list of leases on rooms and storage chambers drawn up in 1508, when the new building opened its doors, noted three floors with sixty-eight occupied rooms, eight more still vacant, and twenty-five storage vaults. Merchants could lease rooms for an annual rent, paid to the city, along with various other customary fees for services and tips. In addition, six more rooms, on the third floor, “shall not be assigned to particular merchants, but shall be reserved for the accommodation of travelers and vendors of cheap cloth, to prevent them from lodging at the inns outside the exchange house, for [by doing so] they cause great loss to our most illustrious government.”⁵¹

By the 1480s, the Fondaco dei Tedeschi may have housed up to 120 merchants, usually for fairly short-term stays, though numbers were reduced when some traders tried to keep their room keys even when they were not in residence.⁵² A century later, when a papal nuncio visited Venice around 1580, he estimated that there were nearly 900 Germans (mostly Protestants) in

⁴⁹ Benjamin Kedar, *Merchants in Crisis: Genoese and Venetian Men of Affairs and the Fourteenth-century Depression* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976) 14; Simonsfeld, *Der Fondaco dei Tedeschi*, I, 21, 98, 135.

⁵⁰ Dazzi and Brunetti, *Il Fondaco nostro dei Tedeschi*, 59–60. Unlike in Sicily and Apulia, the Venetian salt trade did not pass through a *fondaco*.

⁵¹ Simonsfeld, *Der Fondaco dei Tedeschi*, I, 363–364; Chambers and Pullan (eds.), *Documentary History*, 329–330. These house rules for the Fondaco in 1508 also stated that “the rooms on the first and second floors shall be rented at twelve ducats a year each, and those on the third floor at eight ducats, to be paid in full to St. Mark, on the understanding that merchants shall pay in addition to this rent all the other royalties and expenses which they have been accustomed to pay, and shall similarly make the customary payments to the steward of the exchange house.” The basic outline of these regulations is found as early as the middle of the fourteenth century, though rents seem to have increased sharply in the first half of the fifteenth century (Simonsfeld, *Der Fondaco dei Tedeschi*, II, 12–13, 15).

⁵² P. Braunstein, “Appunti per la storia di una minoranza: la popolazione tedesca di Venezia nel medioevo,” *Strutture familiari, epidemie, migrazioni nell’Italia medievale*, ed. R. Comba, G. Piccinni, and G. Pinto (Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1984) 516; P. Braunstein, “Remarques sur le population allemande de Venise à la fin du moyen âge,” *Venezia centro di mediazione tra oriente e occidente (secoli xv–xvi): aspetti e problemi* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1977) I, 233–236. Simonsfeld discussed the problem of absent keys to unoccupied rooms, and the degree to which this cut down on space available in the Fondaco to newcomers (*Der Fondaco dei Tedeschi*, II, 13).

the city. Although some of these were servants in private houses, tradesmen, or artisans, others were “merchants, the richer or more prosperous folk, or their agents or correspondents” who lived in the Fondaco dei Tedeschi. “If you count officials and servants as well,” he continued, “there are nearly two hundred living in that great building. They live as in a college, having everything in common, and they eat in the same place at a set hour, which proves very convenient for their business.”⁵³ The nuncio went on to report rumors of heresy and dissolute living in the Fondaco, unwittingly drawing on the age-old theme of religious and moral iniquities rampant within the walls of such an establishment.

By the second half of the sixteenth century, after the Reformation, the Fondaco dei Tedeschi took on a new role, and in fact came to resemble its Islamic counterparts even more closely than had been the case previously. Many of the German merchants in the Fondaco dei Tedeschi were now religiously distinct from the local Venetian population, just as had long been the case with Christian merchants in the *fondacos* in Alexandria, Tunis, Damascus, and other Muslim cities. Even before the Reformation, the Fondaco dei Tedeschi had provided for the religious needs of its resident community, just as did *fondacos* across the Mediterranean. In the middle of the fourteenth century, an altar had been established in the Fondaco in order that German merchants could worship together in the convenience of their lodging without having to venture forth to attend mass in a local church.⁵⁴ These provisions would later become not only convenient but necessary for German Protestant traders in Venice.

The Fondaco dei Tedeschi is the only medieval *fondaco* for which detailed records survive to document its administration and staff. Venetian city officials established regulations for the Fondaco as early as 1242, with more comprehensive additions in 1268, and these statutes were reiterated in later legislation throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.⁵⁵ Many of the rules for the Fondaco addressed the desires for order and revenue on the part of the Venetian government, responded to complaints by German merchants, or reacted to the pleas of local merchants and guilds concerned at losing business to foreigners.

As well as emphasizing the city’s control of the building itself, through oversight by the Venetian Council of Ten, Fondaco regulations instituted

⁵³ Aldo Stella, *Chiesa e stato nelle relazioni ei nunzi pontifici a Venezia* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1964) 279. English translation in Chambers and Pullan (eds.), *Documentary History*, 330.

⁵⁴ Simonsfeld, *Der Fondaco dei Tedeschi*, II, II.

⁵⁵ These are published in Thomas, *Capitolare*. They include Latin statutes dated 1242 to 1281, and Italian legislation on the Fondaco drawn up from 1268 to 1499.

officials for the building, including three elected *vicidomini* (overseers), two *scrivani* (notaries), up to thirty *sensali* and *messeti* (agents and brokers), a *fundicarius* (responsible for financial and daily administration of the building), a *ponderator* (weigher), and various other lower-ranking service posts. These men were appointed each year by the city, received a salary from the commune, and were prohibited from personally taking part in any monetary transactions – purchases, sales, gifts, or bribes – occurring in the Fondaco (though tipping was permitted).⁵⁶

The fact that administrators in the Fondaco dei Tedeschi were all local people employed by the Venetian commune, rather than appointed by the German residents, marks a departure from the model of *fondacos* abroad. In Alexandria and Tunis, although the *fondaco* buildings were owned by the Muslim administration, the consul, notaries, and *fundicarius* were always Europeans, and usually chosen either by their home government or by western merchants doing business in the relevant *fondaco*. This innovation in Venice is further indication of the power of the Serenissima vis-à-vis German traders, who were eager to continue traffic even in the face of apparently disadvantageous terms.

The regulations placed great emphasis on standard practice, honest dealing, and meticulous record keeping. All goods had to be weighed on official scales when they entered the building, and again before they left, and nothing could be bought or sold without being properly assessed. All transactions and goods passing through the Fondaco were to be recorded in the official ledgers by the *fundicarius* or one of the notaries, and for this purpose, the two notaries took it in turns each month to sleep in the Fondaco in order to be available as needed. Every month, an accounting (*ratione*) had to be submitted to the overseers (*vicidomini*).⁵⁷ Whenever a merchant arrived at the Fondaco, the *fundicarius* assigned him to one of the thirty agents (*sensali*), who would accompany him and advise him during his stay, apparently in much the same way that dragomen operated in the eastern *fondacos*.⁵⁸ Every month, also, the *fundicarius* and one of the notaries went together (never alone) to purchase wine for the Fondaco, and the subsequent sale of this wine and its price were strictly controlled. Like other officers in the Fondaco, the keeper of the tavern received a salary from the state, and could only sell wine to registered residents during certain legal hours. The German merchants frequently agitated for increased

⁵⁶ Thomas, *Capitolare*, xii. This arrangement seems generally to have been satisfactory, except in certain situations. In 1386, for example, the city's financial difficulties forced a 50 percent cut in the salary of brokers (*sensali*) working in the Fondaco (Lupprian, *Il Fondaco dei Tedeschi*, 19).

⁵⁷ Thomas, *Capitolare*, xiii.

⁵⁸ Lupprian, *Il Fondaco dei Tedeschi*, 13–14.

hours of operation, but the rules were strict, and any tavern-keeper found to be bending them was liable for dismissal. The numerous rules and ordinances relating to the sale of wine in the Fondaco indicate the enduring importance of the topic, in terms of both profit to the city and customer demand.⁵⁹

Other regulations recall further constraints placed on merchants in Islamic *fondacos*, including the fact that the Fondaco dei Tedeschi was locked every night and opened in the morning by Venetians. In 1330, a merchant from Augsburg had to justify the fact that he had lodged elsewhere than the Fondaco, and he explained that this was because he had arrived in Venice after the Fondaco's doors had been shut. This excuse was not accepted by Venetian authorities, however, on the grounds that he was a long-time trader in Venice and ought to have known better.⁶⁰ As has been noted elsewhere, *fondacos* were not unique in imposing a nocturnal curfew, since medieval cities, warehouses, and private houses routinely locked up their gates and doors at night. But there were differences between keeping thieves out of the *fondaco* and locking residents within. As in Muslim cities, the fact that access to the Fondaco dei Tedeschi was controlled by local authorities, not the German merchants, indicates an interest in securing people as well as simply guarding goods.

The evidence for parallels between the Fondaco dei Tedeschi in Venice and the European national *fondacos* in Alexandria and other Muslim cities is both compelling and unique. No other town in south Europe successfully maintained such a facility to regulate the trade and personal movement of a particular group of foreign traders, or to profit so openly from their business. Why was the Fondaco dei Tedeschi in Venice such a faithful copy of prototypes in the Islamic world, while contemporary *fondacos* in Genoa, Florence, Pisa, Montpellier, Marseille, and elsewhere in the western Mediterranean were so different? The reason rests on a combination of factors, including the geography of trade routes, the rise of German trade, consumer demand for particular goods, and – above all – the fact that the city of Venice had both the model to follow and the ability to follow it. Venice was one of the few European ports with the power and topography to exert economic control in its territories in the way that Ayyūbid and Mamlūk rulers could enforce their dominance over trade and traders in Egypt.

⁵⁹ Thomas, *Capitolare*, xiii; Simonsfeld, *Der Fondaco dei Tedeschi*, 11, 17 (also 1, 77 [doc. 185a]); Dazzi and Brunetti, *Il Fondaco Nostro dei Tedeschi*, 59. Once again, these regulations on wine recall the concerns and restrictions relating to the European *fondacos* in Islamic cities.

⁶⁰ Thomas, *Capitolare*, xvi; Simonsfeld, *Der Fondaco dei Tedeschi*, 11, 16.

Situated at the northern tip of the Adriatic, with land routes through mountain passes (especially the Brenner) and the Po Valley leading down from the north and west towards its excellent harbor, Venice was positioned to control commercial traffic through its port to a degree impossible for cities along the western Italian and French coast. Its island location, likewise, discouraged suburban settlements and economic competition, and permitted greater control of visitors to the city and access to its markets than was the case for mainland cities, despite their walls and gates. The Adriatic also served as a channel for Mediterranean traffic to and from Venice. The importance of this sea in the development of the Fondaco dei Tedeschi is suggested in the fact that several other Adriatic ports besides Venice, including Ancona and Ragusa, adopted the model of the regulated communal *fondaco*, though none with the same enduring success.⁶¹

For German and other northern merchants seeking access to the eastern Mediterranean trading sphere, the route through Venice was almost inevitable. In contrast, merchants and pilgrims coming south by a more westerly route could choose their destination – whether Marseille, Genoa, Pisa, or elsewhere – according to the variable contingency of routes, commerce, or politics. Travelers could come either through France along the Rhone Valley to the Mediterranean, or through several passes leading to Lake Como, Milan, and from there to a choice of Ligurian or Tuscan ports. But none of these western routes had the expediency of Venice.

Venice's creation of the Fondaco dei Tedeschi came from its recognition of the commercial and fiscal advantages of its unique location. Unlike other southern European ports, it had both the model and the geographical situation to implement a facility of this type. Although there is no evidence that the Fondaco dei Tedeschi was directly modeled on the *fondacos* of Alexandria, the administrative parallels are too clear to dismiss this possibility. As has been outlined above, German merchants were required to traffic through the Fondaco, and to stay and store their goods within its walls. The building was owned by the city, which hired and payed the staff, arranged for security, and imposed a nocturnal curfew. Just as Europeans

⁶¹ Ancona: F. Braudel, *Civilization and Capitalism, 15th–18th Century* (New York: Harper & Row, 1981) III, 480; Ragusa had a large regulated *fondaco* in its port district in the fifteenth century (Stuard, *A State of Deference*, 47–48). There had been *fondacos* in Ragusa at least since the thirteenth century (*Liber statutorum civitatis Ragusii compositus anno 1272*, ed. V. Bogisic and C. Jirecek [Zagreb: Societas Typographica, 1904]; new ed., *Statut Grada Dubrovnik, 1272* [Dubrovnik: Historijski Arhiv Dubrovnik, 1990] 199). When Felix Fabri arrived there in the 1480s, however, he specifically noted the lack of inns, and did not mention a *fondaco* (*Evagatorium in terrae sanctae*, I, 35 [13a]).

were prohibited from trafficking inland from Alexandria, so German merchants in Venice were not permitted to venture beyond this market into the commercial sphere of the Adriatic and eastern Mediterranean.

In both cities, *fondacos* were located at the end point of a trade diaspora, where one group of merchants was forced – by both geography and legislation – to hand off their business to another group. The *fondacos* in Venice and Alexandria linked three trading networks: German merchants controlled traffic along inland routes across the empire and eastern Europe; Venetians sought to dominate maritime trade routes in the eastern Mediterranean; while overland commerce in Egypt and Syria was mainly in the hands of indigenous Muslim and Jewish traders. Both Venice and Alexandria were geographically positioned to encourage their development as terminal emporia, where merchants met, traded their goods, paid taxes, and returned home. Thus, Venetians and Germans converged in Venice, Venetians and Egyptians in Alexandria. The commercial potential of both cities was exploited by their rulers. Egyptian sultans and Venetian doges clearly understood the fiscal opportunities presented by the control of *fondacos*, and they paid due attention to these facilities.

The unique situation of Venice was demonstrated in the early fifteenth century, when both Genoa and Milan tried to establish *fondacos* along Venetian and Muslim lines, but failed because they were unable – or unwilling – to adopt the controls imposed in Venice and Alexandria. In 1417, German–Venetian relations had been strained by the latter’s incursions in Dalmatia, and in consequence, Emperor Sigismund of Hungary forbade German traders to traffic through Venice. German activity in Venice declined accordingly (though it did not disappear entirely), and German merchants immediately sought other points of access to the Mediterranean.⁶² Merchants from Constance arrived in Genoa to petition for commercial privileges, and Genoa was more than happy to comply. In late 1419, Genoese ambassadors visited a number of German towns, including Augsburg, Nuremberg, and Munich, with promises of honest dealing, freedom of prices, and the offer of Genoese ships that Germans could hire to carry their goods to other ports in the eastern and western Mediterranean. These liberal concessions regarding prices and transport were intended to contrast with the stricter Venetian controls over sales and shipping, but the Genoese went even further, denouncing the practice of locking up merchants and their animals in the *fondaco* at night, as was done in Venice (“sicut fit in

⁶² Genoese–German negotiations in the 1420s are outlined by P. Dollinger, “Projets d’un Fondaco dei Tedeschi à Gênes et à Milan au xve siècle,” *Byzantinische Forschungen* 12 (1987) 675–688.

Veneciis”) and vowing that this would not happen in Genoa.⁶³ It appears that Genoa proceeded with these plans, since there is mention of expenditure for a *fondicus* in 1424, and later data from the same year confirm the establishment of a *habitaculum* to lodge German merchants in the city. The *fondicus* was rented to the German community for 80 *livres* a year, a sum collected by the Genoese *douane*.⁶⁴

In 1422, German merchants also requested privileges in Milan, perhaps building on marriage ties between the Visconti family and the dukes of Bavaria. They were granted rights to a house (“una domo aut habitatione”) in which they could stay, tax-free, with their families and servants. At the same time, they also received the right to exercise legal jurisdiction over their own community in all but capital crimes.⁶⁵ This concession of legal jurisdiction mirrored rights granted to *fondaco* communities in the Islamic world, but not accorded to German merchants in Venice.

Despite these generous concessions offered to German merchants in Genoa and Milan, the reopening of Venice to German traffic in 1431 hindered the further development of *fondacos* for Germans in northwest Italy. Some traffic continued, especially for traders seeking access to western Mediterranean markets, and German merchants again requested privileges in Genoa in 1466 and in Milan in 1472. Yet this was precisely the period in which traffic through the Fondaco dei Tedeschi in Venice was growing by leaps and bounds, requiring the expansion of its facilities and staff. Although the documentation testifies to the strict regulations surrounding the Fondaco dei Tedeschi, and frequent German complaints about its inconveniences, fees, and rules, the system evidently worked. For all its restrictions, the geographical and commercial advantages of Venice outweighed the more liberal policies offered by Genoa and Milan. Further rebuilding and expansion of the Fondaco dei Tedeschi after the fire of 1505 indicates the continued growth of German traffic in Venice despite broader economic and political changes on the world stage: the growth of Ottoman power, the Hapsburg union of the German and Spanish empires, and the discovery of sea routes to India and the New World.

As the example of the Fondaco dei Tedeschi makes clear, the success and function of a *fondaco* as a regulated point of mediation for international

⁶³ Aloys Schulte, *Geschichte des mittelalterlichen Handels und Verkehrs zwischen Westdeutschland und Italien mit Ausschluss von Venedig* (Leipzig: Verlag von Duncker & Humblot, 1900) I, 256–259.

⁶⁴ Dollinger, “Projets,” 684.

⁶⁵ Noto (ed.), *Liber datii mercantie*, I; Dollinger, “Projets,” 682–683. The Milanese facility was not specifically called a *fondaco*, despite administrative parallels, nor is it clear whether the Germans actually ever obtained this *domus* in Milan.

trade and traders depended on particular geographic, economic, and political circumstances. Given the right conditions, *fondacos* could play a critical role as commercial meeting places for different merchant communities and as portals for cross-cultural exchange. Not only for German merchants doing business in Venice, but also for non-Christian traders who sought access to ports and markets in southern Europe, the advantages of the *fondaco*'s role as a nexus outweighed the very real restrictions that it imposed.

FONDACOS FOR NON-CHRISTIAN MERCHANTS

Few Muslim traders visited Christian markets outside the Iberian Peninsula during the later middle ages, and there were no *fondacos* to house them in Marseille, Genoa, Florence, or other European ports in the western Mediterranean. As we will see, Arago-Catalan and Adriatic ports were once again an exception. The reasons for this absence of Muslim merchants in most southern European ports are complex, and they shifted over time. Economic factors were certainly important, compounding a longstanding imbalance in the desirability of European and Islamic goods with the fact that Christian merchants – and Christian ships – came to dominate routes across the Mediterranean by the thirteenth century, bringing goods and trade through Islamic ports. Logistical, cultural, and religious factors must also have played a role, since the lack of appropriate lodging and other facilities for Muslim traders in most Christian ports discouraged their travel and trade in these markets. Yet these considerations were neither universal nor insurmountable.

Why were there no *fondacos* for Muslim merchants in most European ports? After all, *fondacos* were recognized in southern Europe as facilitators of cross-cultural trade, and were even established in certain regions (the realms of Aragón and Venice) where they proved useful and lucrative. The answer involves chronology, competition, and topography. The pattern was already established in the early middle ages, since Muslim traders rarely visited French or Italian ports even before the hegemony of Christian shipping in the Mediterranean. There was apparently little to draw Muslim traders to Europe, and several factors – including disinclination and inconvenience – to keep them away. With the exception of conquered territories, there were no *fondacos* in Latin Europe until the twelfth century, and Muslim merchants would not have found facilities to meet their needs for communal lodging, religious accommodation, legal traditions, and food-ways. Later, the rapid development of Christian mercantile power introduced the concept of the *fondaco* to European consciousness, but this commercial

revolution also established competition. Muslim merchants were unwelcome in Christian ports unless their business and movement could be strictly controlled. In the few areas where this was possible, when political circumstances combined either with longstanding custom, as in the realms of Aragón, or geographical advantage, as in Venice, regulated *fondacos* did emerge to handle Muslim traffic. These facilities orchestrated a balance between the needs of local governments and merchants, and the requirements of foreign traders. In other areas, notably southern France and northwestern Italy, where there was neither a tradition of Muslim presence nor the topographical ability to channel and protect trade, *fondacos* never evolved as facilities for cross-cultural trade.

In the realms of Aragón, *fondechs* (*fonduks*) for housing Muslim merchants and travelers had existed since the thirteenth-century conquests of James I, and their existence underscores the degree to which *fondacos* were perceived as mediation points for cross-cultural interaction and trade. *Fondechs* flourished in the *morerías* of Valencia and elsewhere during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and the fact that they rendered substantial revenues in royal rents ensured their continued official protection and oversight. These royal *fondechs* were leased out, usually for terms of two to four years, and their rents (and thus value) increased steadily over time.⁶⁶ The regalian monopoly over the Muslim quarters of Valencia, Játiva, Zaragoza, and other cities allowed the king to require that any foreign Muslims visiting these markets must lodge in the *fondechs* and pay their fees. Seigneurial Muslims were exempt from this requirement, as were those who had family in a particular town.⁶⁷ After the conquest of Granada by Ferdinand and Isabella, a similar system was put in place there as well, with an *alhóndiga* established for visiting Muslims in 1498.⁶⁸ This model was presumably adopted from the *fondechs* in Aragón-Catalan realms, through the influence of King Ferdinand, since it had not previously been common practice in Castilian cities.

By the fifteenth century, the *fondechs* in the *morerías* of the realms of Aragón were well known as sites for drinking, gambling, and prostitution, all of which were subject to royal oversight and licensing fees. The attraction of these activities meant that the *fondechs* became places where Christians

⁶⁶ F. Vendrell Gallostra (ed.), *Rentas reales de Aragón de la época de Fernando I (1412–1416)* (Barcelona: Instituto Universitario de Estudios Medievales, 1977) 20, 34, 41–42, 50, 57, 60; Meyerson, *Muslims of Valencia*, 154–155, 286.

⁶⁷ Barceló Torres, *Minorías islámicas*, 97; Meyerson, *Muslims of Valencia*, 155.

⁶⁸ Manuel Espinar Moreno, “Del urbanismo musulmán al urbanismo Cristiano. II: Andalucía oriental,” in *Ponencias y comunicaciones* (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 1991) 229–230. The rest of the city’s Islamic community was banished to the suburb of Albaicín.

and Muslims came together not merely for commerce but also for alcohol, dice, and sex.⁶⁹ In 1495, the Muslim community of Játiva complained that after recent renovations to the *fondech*, “Christian youths were sneaking into the *fondech* through a window and spending the night in the *moreria*.”⁷⁰ As a result of such activities, the *fondechs* often had a bad reputation, frequently appearing in contemporary Valencian court documents as the sites of brawls and other misconduct.

This was not universally the case, however, since many *fondechs* continued to be viewed as respectable hostelries. In Zaragoza, for example, Muslims coming with their families to do business in the city would lodge their daughters in the city’s *fondech*, in order that the girls remain secluded and not be “maltreated or spoiled for marriage” as noted in a legal case from 1496.⁷¹ Perhaps this was the same *fondech* in Zaragoza that had had its rents given to the nuns of the convent of Peramán by King Ferdinand I of Aragón in the early fifteenth century.⁷² Surely such a grant would have been inappropriate if this *fondech* were renowned for illicit activities.

Adriatic ports would also establish *fondacos* to host visiting Muslims, but not until the conquest of Constantinople in 1453 and the advent of Ottoman diplomatic and commercial activity in the eastern Mediterranean. In 1514, Ancona established a “fondaco dei mercanti turchi et altri musulmani,” and a century later, in 1612, a Fondaco dei Turchi was established in Venice for lodging merchants from the Ottoman Empire. There may also have been an earlier *fondaco* for Muslim merchants in Venice, but no trace of this facility remains.⁷³ Although outside the chronological scope of this study, the foundation of the Fondaco dei Turchi, in the wake of Venetian victories at the battle of Lepanto in 1571, indicates the continued economic and political ability of early modern Venice to take advantage of the segregated

⁶⁹ Meyerson, *Muslims of Valencia*, 49, 155, 227. Also M. Meyerson, “Prostitution of Muslim Women in the Kingdom of Valencia: Religious and Sexual Discrimination in a Medieval Plural Society,” in *The Medieval Mediterranean: Cross-Cultural Contacts*, ed. K. Reyerson and M. Chiat (St. Cloud, MN: North Star Press, 1988) 87, 89, 91. Although these activities are reminiscent of prostitution in late antique *pandocheions*, this seems a new development in the realms of Aragón since the thirteenth century.

⁷⁰ Meyerson, *Muslims of Valencia*, 156.

⁷¹ Meyerson, *Muslims of Valencia*, 250.

⁷² Vendrell Gallostra (ed.), *Rentas reales*, 72. Peramán, a convent in Pinseque, had been combined with the convent of Santa Inés in Zaragoza in 1406. My thanks to Brian Catlos for this information.

⁷³ Braudel, *Civilization and Capitalism*, III, 480; Agostino Sagredo, *Fondaco dei Turchi in Venezia* (Milan: Stabilimento di Giuseppe Civelli, 1860) 25. On the architecture of the Venetian facility, see J. Schulz, “The Original Appearance of the Fondaco dei Turchi at Venice,” *Abstracts of Papers delivered in Art History Sessions* (Los Angeles: College Art Association of America Annual Meeting, 1977) 27. Over time, there may have been several facilities for housing Muslim merchants in Venice. See Concina, *Fondaci*, 219–246; Alethea Wiel, “The Demolition of the Warehouse of the Persians in Venice,” *Burlington Magazine* (1908) 221–222; Auld, “Commercial Interchange,” 93.

fondaco model. Like the Fondaco dei Tedeschi, and like *fondacos* in the contemporary Muslim world, the Fondaco dei Turchi enforced a nocturnal curfew and insisted that all Turkish merchants must stay and store their goods within its walls. There was also special emphasis on privacy and segregation, with care taken that the courtyard should not be overlooked by other buildings. No weapons were allowed in the building, nor any “women or beardless persons who may be Christians.”⁷⁴

Muslim traders were not the only potential “foreign” presence in southern European cities. Attitudes towards local Jewish communities, and Jewish visitors, also emphasized segregation through separate city quarters and lodging-houses, though these were not called *fondacos*. When Benjamin of Tudela traveled along the Mediterranean coast in the late twelfth century, he generally stayed as a guest with members of the Jewish communities in towns along his route. But there were also more formal Jewish guest-houses available in the later middle ages and early modern period. A text from 1328 noted a *hospicium* located in the Jewish quarter of Tortosa, and a “hospitium venture hebrei” existed in Bologna early in the next century. There was likewise a Jewish hostel in Milan, in 1575, where Jewish visitors to the city were permitted to lodge (“allogiare a l’hostaria”) for up to three days.⁷⁵

In Venice, the city administration’s characteristic vigilance was evident in provisions for its Jewish residents. Few Jews were permitted to live in Venice before the fourteenth century, although they could enter the city briefly on commercial business. By the fifteenth century, however, there seem to have been a number of Jewish inhabitants in the city, and the population increased dramatically following the expulsion of Jews from Spain in 1492. To handle this influx, Venice adopted a policy of residential segregation already prevalent in Venetian overseas colonies such as Candia, where Jews lived in their own quarter (called *judaica* or *judaiche*). The creation of the Ghetto Nuovo in Venice in 1516 provided a separate residential area for the city’s growing Jewish population.⁷⁶ Like the Fondaco dei Tedeschi, which had recently been rebuilt and enlarged after the fire of 1505, the Ghetto

⁷⁴ Regulations drawn up by the Cinque Savi alla Mercanzia, May 1621, translated in Chambers and Pullan (eds.), *Documentary History*, 350–352.

⁷⁵ Antoni Rubio y Lluch, *Documents per l’historia de la cultura catalana mig-aval* (Barcelona: Institut d’Estudis Catalans, 1908) 88 (doc. 71); Salo W. Baron, *The Jewish Community, its History and Structure to the American Revolution* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1945) II, 11 (Baron translates the Hebrew *maḥanot* as *fondachi*); Hirschberg, *History of the Jews in North Africa*, 474; Shlomo Simonsohn, *The Jews in the Duchy of Milan* (Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1982) III, 1609–1610 (doc. 3658).

⁷⁶ Jacoby, “Venice and the Venetian Jews,” 30, 37–38.

Nuovo provided regulated communal lodging under the eye of the Venetian administration, which tolerated its activities and held the keys to its gates. Unlike the Fondaco, the Ghetto housed permanent rather than temporary residents in the city, but both institutions addressed the Venetian concern to control and regulate the presence of “others” within its island domain.

THE FONDACO AS COMMERCIAL ENTREPÔT AND WAREHOUSE

Throughout Mediterranean Europe, all regional versions of the *fondaco* drew on models originally encountered by European rulers and merchants in Islamic ports, or in conquered Muslim cities, and they evolved to meet a variety of fiscal and commercial needs. In contrast to the communal facilities discussed above, the majority of European commercial *fondacos* were facilities for storing and controlling goods rather than people. Most references associate commercial *fondacos* with money, commodities, and commercial operations, not with merchant communities or their lodging.

Two basic versions of the commercial *fondaco* had emerged in Europe by the second half of the thirteenth century: first, warehouses administered by a ruler or city, and often deployed to enforce taxation or monopolies on certain goods; second, *fondacos* held by private merchants or merchant firms. In both cases, the word for the physical facility also came to apply, by extension, to more abstract related concepts, such as the office that levied taxes on particular goods, a branch of a merchant firm, or an account register. This variety and flexibility of usage suggests that ongoing experimentation fostered a rapid evolution of the *fondaco* in its new European context.

OFFICIAL FONDACOS AND ROYAL MONOPOLIES

As in the Islamic world, European *fondacos* were convenient points through which to monitor prices and distribution, and many were connected with specific commodities, most notably grain, salt, oil, iron, and textiles, while others provided space for more generalized wholesale transactions. *Fondacos* associated with royal monopolies were commonly found in those regions of Spain and Sicily that had once been under Muslim rule, as well as in southern Italy. In 1317, for example, Robert, king of Naples (1309–1343) addressed a short memo to the *fundicariis* of “the *fondacos* of our court” (“fundicorum curie nostre”).⁷⁷ In Castile, shortly after their conquest of

⁷⁷ A. Zambler and F. Carabellese, *Le Relazioni commerciali fra la Puglia e la Repubblica di Venezia dal secolo X al XV* [1898]; new ed. Bologna: Arnaldo Forni, 1991) 135–136 (no. 49).

Málaga in 1487, Ferdinand and Isabella observed the example of their predecessors Ferdinand III and James I, and placed the main *alhóndiga* (probably already the city's grain entrepôt) and customs house under royal control ("el alhondiga e aduana quedan para nos").⁷⁸ City-states could likewise administer public commercial *fondacos*. They appeared in Pisa, Genoa, Venice, Ragusa, and other ports whose merchants and urban officials were familiar with practices in Islamic ports. The best-documented example of this type was the facility in Porto Pisano, which handled a variety of commodities arriving in Pisa and appeared frequently in the city's statutes from the late thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries.⁷⁹

Regulations concerning these European facilities, both specialized and general, show that many fundamental characteristics of the Muslim commercial *funduq* were adopted into Christian usage. *Fondacos* in southern Europe served as depots for the reception of imported goods, whether brought from the hinterland or from more distant locales, and provided space for their storage before sale. In many instances, *fondacos* were sites where unrefined goods were transferred before processing: grain for milling into flour for bread, iron for working, raw wool for dyeing and spinning. Most transactions in this setting were wholesale exchanges between merchants, or between merchants and government officials, not retail sales. Indeed, retail sales were often explicitly prohibited. In Pisa, in 1305, the keepers of *fondacos* for textiles were not to "permit any goods to be sold at retail or by the piece" in their facilities.⁸⁰

The workings of these official *fondacos* were nicely described by Boccaccio, who was familiar with the system after serving an apprenticeship in his youth with a commercial firm in Naples in the 1330s:

In the seaports of all maritime countries, it used to be the practice, and possibly still is, that any merchant arriving there with merchandise, having discharged his cargo, takes it to a *fondaco*, which in many places is called the *dogana*, and is maintained by the commune or by the ruler of the state. After presenting a written description of the cargo and its value to the officers in charge, he is given a storeroom (*magazzino*) where his merchandise is placed under lock and key; the officers then record all the

⁷⁸ Francisco Bejarano Robles (ed.), *Los Repartimientos de Málaga* (Málaga: Universidad de Málaga, 1985) 101.

⁷⁹ Paolino Pieri records in his chronicle that in 1291 Genoese and Florentine armies attacked Pisa and Porto Pisano, and laid waste to the port region, including this *fondaco* (Paolino Pieri, *Cronica di Paolino Pieri Fiorentino delle cose d'Italia dall'anno 1080 fino all'anno 1305*, ed. A. F. Adams [Rome: Stamperia di Giovanni Zempel, 1755] 54).

⁸⁰ Bonaini (ed.), *Statuti*, III, 102. In the kingdom of Naples, in 1450, there was a similar distinction between retail sales of iron and sales in the royal *fondacos* (J. Ametller y Viñas, *Alfonso V de Aragón en Italia y la crisis religiosa del siglo XV* [Gerona: P. Torres, 1903] 690 [art. 17]).

details in their register under the merchant's name, and whenever the merchant removes his goods from bond, either wholly or in part, they make him pay the appropriate dues. It is by consulting this register that brokers, more often than not, obtain their information about the amount and value of the goods stored at the *dogana*, together with the names of the merchants to whom they belong. And when a suitable opportunity presents itself, they approach the merchants and arrange to barter, exchange, sell, or otherwise dispose of their merchandise.⁸¹

Despite its fictional guise, Boccaccio's account is confirmed in contemporary urban statutes and other documents, all of which detail a similar protocol. In the early fourteenth century, for example, any merchant ship arriving in Porto Pisano was entitled to a key to a shop or storeroom ("apothecam sive magazenum") in the city's *fondaco*, and the ship's scribe or another of its officers was later responsible for returning this key before the ship departed so that the space could be reassigned to another vessel.⁸²

Royal and urban governments were interested in the movement of commercial goods not only from a fiscal viewpoint, given their potential revenues from taxation, but also from a concern to ensure public supply, mediate prices in the event of famine or other shortage, and control movement of potential war materials. It should be no surprise, therefore, to find that critical foodstuffs (grain, salt, oil, etc.), metals (iron, steel, copper), and textiles important to local economies (wool and silk) were the items most commonly channeled through the controls of the *fondaco* system, just as was the case in the Islamic world. This pattern persisted in European *fondacos* throughout the later middle ages. A wide variety of other goods also arrived in *fondacos*, but it was rare to find imported luxury items such as spices, drugs, or precious metals mentioned in connection with these official facilities.

Iron and salt

In Sicily and southern Italy, iron, salt, pitch, dyestuffs, and certain other goods could be sold only through official royal *fondacos* or, in some cities,

⁸¹ Boccaccio, *Decameron*, Eighth day, tenth story, 4–6, II, 348, trans., 666–667. On Boccaccio's apprenticeship in Naples, see V. Branca, *Boccaccio. The Man and his Works* (New York: New York University Press, 1976), 16–27. While in Naples, Boccaccio may have lived in the Florentine *fondaco* (*ibid.*, 16–17). *Dogana*, like *fondaco*, was a term (from *dīwān*) imported from Arabic. The Arabic office of the *dīwān*, for monitoring goods and collecting taxes and other fees, overlapped with the structure of the *funduqlfondaco* in Muslim ports, and it is not surprising that the terms continued to mingle in Christian contexts.

⁸² Bonaini (ed.), *Statuti*, III, 427. As in the Venetian Fondaco dei Tedeschi, Pisan officials assigned keys and space in the *fondaco*, and absent merchants were not allowed to retain their rights to a particular room or shop.

through *fondacos* belonging to particular merchant groups.⁸³ Salt was particularly important, since it was a preservative for fish and meat, and there were salt *fondacos* in Pescara, Barletta, Lucera, Manfredonia, Termoli, Bari, and other towns. There were likewise warehouses for iron in Naples, Gaeta, Trani, Manfredonia, Barletta, and Melfi, as well as less specialized facilities for general merchandise.⁸⁴ *Fondacos* and their monopolies (*secrezie*) were under the oversight of royal officials known as *secreti*, and administered on a day-to-day basis by a *dohanerius* or *fundicarius*. Frequent references to keys demonstrate concerns about access and security. In all *fondacos*, tariffs in the form of a mark-up (*terzaria*) or tax (*ius fundici* or *cabella/gabella*) had to be paid to the crown at the time of sale. The *terzaria* (i.e. a third of the value of the goods) was the difference between what the crown paid for iron (often 4 ducats per quintal) and its price (thus 6 ducats per quintal) in the royal *fondacos*. This 50 percent mark-up was also applied to other goods subject to royal monopolies, including steel, though some items yielded a lower profit.⁸⁵ The *cabella* (*gabella*) or *ius fundici*, in contrast, was a straight tax of 3 percent on value at the time of sale, levied on a wide variety of goods. Early in the reign of Joanna I (1343–1382), for example, Venetian merchants paid the *ius fundici* on oil, salted meat, cheese, lard, and other items sold within their *fondacos*, or weighed with *fondaco* scales.⁸⁶ Pegolotti (writing 1310–1340) also stated that if a merchant in Apulia intended to export oil or other commodities, he negotiated “in the *fondaco* or *piazza* where he has left the merchandise in storage (‘di fondacarsi’)” and paid a certain rate of tax upon its retrieval.⁸⁷ The term *cabella* was also used for the right to collect this tax. Since the taxes on particular products often yielded only

⁸³ The Venetian *fondacos* in Apulia, like their counterparts elsewhere in Sicily and southern Italy, were used for residence, storage, and sales. Regulations made in 1347 for the Venetian *fondaco* in Trani ruled that “no citizen of Trani nor any non-Venetian foreigner may live in the said *fondaco*, nor may they have a house or storeroom in that *fondaco* unless they are Venetian, except for the custodian of the said *fondaco*, and likewise excepting the house of the commune customarily for foreigners and of course also excepting the houses and warehouses of the royal *gabella* for iron, salt, and dyestuffs” (Zambler and Carabellese, *Relazioni commerciali*, 136–152 [no. 50]). Venetians continued to have access to *fondacos* in Naples and Trani in the 1450s. See (Alfonso I of Naples), *Diplomatico aragonese Re Alfonso I (1435–1458)*, ed. Eustacio Rogadeo, Codice diplomatico barese II (Bari: Vecchi, 1931) 238–239, 258–259; (Alfonso I of Naples), *Il “Codice Chigi.” Un registro della Cancelleria di Alfonso I d’Aragona, re di Napoli, per gli anni 1451–1453*, ed. J. Mazzeni (Naples: L’Arte tipografica, 1965) 100–102, 163–164.

⁸⁴ (Alfonso I of Naples), *Diplomatico aragonese*, 171–174, 176–182, 236–238, 371–372; (Alfonso I of Naples), *Il “Codice Chigi.”*, 54–55, 81–82, 262–263. The salt trade had also been regulated under earlier rulers, including Frederick II and Charles of Anjou.

⁸⁵ Alan Ryder, *The Kingdom of Naples under Alfonso the Magnanimous. The Making of a Modern State* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976) 357.

⁸⁶ Zambler and Carabellese, *Relazioni commerciali*, 136–152 (no. 50).

⁸⁷ Pegolotti, *La Pratica della mercatura*, 163. This sum is not stated as being *cabella*.

small sums, it was common for the crown to farm the *cabelle* on an annual basis, either individually or in bundles. However, if no reasonable bids were tendered for the right to collect the *cabella*, then royal *secreti* had to sally forth and gather the various *cabelle* from local *fondacos* and other venues.⁸⁸

Royal administration of *fondacos* for the sale and distribution of iron and salt was little different in the fifteenth century, during the reign of Alfonso the Magnanimous, than it had been in the thirteenth century under Frederick II. To some extent, however, this was owing to revival more than continuity. In the interim, starting during the Angevin regime, many of the “ancient monopolies” (or *secrezie*) belonging to the crown had been gradually usurped by other powers, especially the nobility. Alfonso the Magnanimous sought to reverse these encroachments, and demanded in 1446 that all nobles produce proof of their right to collect tolls on iron, pitch, and steel sold within their domains.⁸⁹ Among other things, Alfonso wanted control of these revenues to use for other purposes, such as granting a fourth part of local *fondaco* taxes to the church in Barletta in 1442.⁹⁰

Fifteenth-century petitions and legal records indicate many imperfections in the *fondaco* system, especially in matters of distribution. Evidently, there were often shortfalls in supplies of iron and salt available to the *fondacos* in outlying regions, creating local unrest and improper pricing. Shortages and transport costs meant that prices for salt and iron could be higher in rural *fondacos* than in the larger cities, but revenues were sometimes insufficient to pay the staff. However, when the treasurer of Calabria wanted to shut down the *fondaco* for salt in Monteleoni, the town objected, arguing that the *fondaco* had been in place “from time immemorial.”⁹¹ In other circumstances, rural people sought to bypass the system of local *fondacos*, since iron was often unobtainable or too expensive there. In 1450, Alfonso heard a petition from his subjects in the kingdom of Naples asking that he permit them to purchase iron in any royal *fondaco*, pay the *cabella*, then resell it at retail in their own districts, since “there was a great scarcity of iron and the local *fondacos* did not have sufficient quantities to sell.” This process would save most residents the need to travel long distances to obtain iron.⁹² Similar problems were apparent in the *fondacos* for salt, since a year earlier, in 1449, a royal inspector had found that the salt *fondaco* in

⁸⁸ Ryder, *The Kingdom of Naples*, 358.

⁸⁹ Ryder, *The Kingdom of Naples*, 356; P. Gentile, “Lo Stato napoletano sotto Alfonso I d’Aragona,” *Archivio Storico per la Province Napoletane* n.s. 24 (1938) 10–19.

⁹⁰ (Alfonso I of Naples), *Diplomatico aragonese*, 92–94.

⁹¹ Ryder, *The Kingdom of Naples*, 355.

⁹² Ametller y Viñas, *Alfonso V de Aragón*, 690 (art. 17).

Bitonto was empty. The record makes clear that this was a locked building, or storeroom, since he had to obtain the key (“*clavem dicti fundici*”) before making his discovery. The local administrator, the *dohanerius*, protested that he had repeatedly tried to obtain fresh supplies from the *fondaco* in Bari, but without success.⁹³

Grain, oil, and foodstuffs

In Castile, royal *alhóndigas* also functioned as warehouses for monopoly goods, especially grain and salt. As in Sicily and southern Italy, data from shortly after the Christian conquest of this region indicate that these functions were directly adopted from Muslim practice, and became incorporated within a broader royal fiscal agenda. These royal policies were still in place during the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, and within the next century, *alhóndigas* for storing grain began to appear across the Atlantic in New Spain.

By the fifteenth century, the *alhóndiga* system in Castile had narrowed to a few centralized facilities in major cities. There is little evidence, as is so clear for southern Italy, of a graduated network of royal warehouses for regional distribution and taxation. Instead, the Alhóndiga del Pan in Seville became the hub for grain traffic in Andalusia, and while there were also grain *alhóndigas* Málaga, Granada, Toledo, and other Castilian cities, these never reached the preeminence of the facility in Seville.⁹⁴ This pattern made sense, geographically, given the fact that until the 1490s, Seville was the only major southern port in Castile, and located in one of the most important agricultural regions of the country. Any grain or other produce coming to or from the southern coast would necessarily have traveled via Seville, until the conquests of coastal cities in Granada during the later fifteenth century opened up other channels for maritime access.

By law, all imported grain coming through Seville was supposed to pass through the Alhóndiga del Pan, though data suggest that this could never

⁹³ Francesco Carabellese, *La Puglia nel secolo xv da fonte inedite* (Bari: Commissione Provinciale di Archeologia e Storia Patria, 1901) 110–111.

⁹⁴ An *alhóndiga del trigo* existed in Málaga at the time of the city’s conquest (Calero Secall and Martínez Enamorado, *Málaga*, 125). This was probably the same *alhóndiga* that Ferdinand and Isabella claimed as royal property in their *repartimiento* of the city (Bejarano Robles [ed.], *Repartimientos de Málaga*, 101). In Granada, L. Torres Balbás cited *alhóndigas* for grain, honey, wood, cheese, figs, oil, and other goods in the early sixteenth century (“Las Alhóndigas hispanomusulmanas,” 452). In Toledo, local statutes in 1562 noted that the mayor (*alcayde*) of the city was to hold the key to the *alhóndiga* where wheat (*trigo*) and bread (*pan*) were brought to be stored. This building was to be kept very clean (E. Saez, “Aranceles de Toledo,” *Anuario de la Historia del Derecho Español* 14 [1942–1943] 549).

be fully enforced.⁹⁵ As with *fondacos* elsewhere, merchants tried to avoid regulations and consequent taxation, especially in cases where they no longer obtained any substantial privileges (particularly rights of residence) through conforming to the system. Before 1248, Genoese merchants trafficking in Muslim Seville had ardently desired access to a *fondaco*, since this was their only opportunity to do business in the city. After the conquests of Ferdinand III, in the middle of the thirteenth century, this earlier necessity motivated their immediate request for an *alhóndiga* in newly Christian Seville. Soon, however, it became evident that access to a residential *alhóndiga* was no longer needed in a Christian city, and increasingly, *alhóndigas* became largely tools of royal and civic authority rather than mercantile convenience. By the fourteenth century, Genoese traders in Seville were actively seeking ways to avoid bringing their grain to the Alhóndiga del Pan, and data from 1467 show Genoese merchants carrying grain to the *lonja de los genoveses* rather than the Alhóndiga.⁹⁶ In 1469, grain merchants from Burgos also sought (and gained) exemption from Alhóndiga rules, asking in particular that its administrators (“los de la Alhóndiga”) be prohibited from claiming extra taxes and impositions.⁹⁷

In the late fifteenth century, Ferdinand and Isabella promoted legislation to reform and renovate the *alhóndigas* of Castile, and most particularly the Alhóndiga del Pan. In an ordinance of 1478, which may have expressed the needs of royal propaganda as much as the necessity to improve grain supplies, they stated their intention to reform laws governing the Alhóndiga in order that the people of Seville not be “gravely injured” by paying more for bread than was reasonable.⁹⁸ The Catholic monarchs’ attention to this matter followed a food shortage in Seville 1467–1469, and they were probably attempting to establish a more reliable bulwark against famine.⁹⁹ The reformed Alhóndiga was intended as a storehouse for grain, from which stocks could be distributed in times of need at set prices, and both flour and unmilled grain were to be sold through it. The administrators of the

⁹⁵ In 1467–1469, for example, it appears that only a quarter of grain imports actually came through the Alhóndiga (Rosario Marchena Hidalgo, “Economía sevillana en la baja edad media: una crisis de subsistencia,” *Archivo Hispalense* 54 [1971] 197).

⁹⁶ Rowena Hernández-Múzquiz, “The Alhóndiga of Seville and the Challenge of Recurring Food Crises in the late Medieval Period” (unpublished paper delivered at the Thirty-third International Congress on Medieval Studies, Kalamazoo, MI, May 10, 1998) 4–5. The Alhóndiga del Pan is also the subject of her dissertation, “Economy and Society in Late Medieval and Early Modern Seville (1391–1506): A Study of the *Abastecimiento* (Provisioning) of an Iberian Urban Center,” Ph.D. dissertation (New York: Columbia University, 2003). My thanks for her comments on this section.

⁹⁷ Marchena Hidalgo, “Economía sevillana,” 194.

⁹⁸ Hernández-Múzquiz, “The Alhóndiga of Seville,” 5–6; also Guichot *Ayuntamiento*, 354.

⁹⁹ Hernández-Múzquiz, “The Alhóndiga of Seville,” 2–3.

Alhóndiga del Pan kept detailed accounts of grain prices, purchases, supplies, suppliers, dealers, and distribution. The meticulous records of the Alhóndiga del Pan in Seville, like those of its contemporary, the Fondaco dei Tedeschi in Venice, provide information on these two late medieval *fondacos* that is unparalleled elsewhere in Europe or the Islamic world.

Despite the rhetoric of innovation in the 1478 ordinance, the clear parallels between the late fifteenth-century Alhóndiga del Pan and earlier versions, both Muslim and Christian, speak of renovation and reform rather than invention. There had been grain *alhóndigas* in Seville since the city's conquest in the thirteenth century, and these almost certainly succeeded earlier Muslim *funduqs*. Conscious continuity was indicated by the injunctions of Alfonso X, in a diploma of 1253, that Muslim muleteers should continue to bring their grain to the king's *alhóndiga* in Seville "just as they had done" under Almohad rule.¹⁰⁰ Evidence for grain *funduqs* in contemporary Ceuta and other Moroccan cities supports this connection.¹⁰¹ An official *alhóndiga* for flour or grain also existed in Seville in the fourteenth century, when city ordinances from 1344 legislated the proper royal weights and measures ("el peso del rey") to be used in the *alfondiga de la farina*.¹⁰² As with earlier versions, royal *alhóndigas* were commonly leased in the fourteenth and fifteenth century, with the tenant paying a fee to the crown in return for the right to collect a percentage of revenues.¹⁰³ The holders of these leases (*arrendadores*) were an important component of royal fiscal policy, and this system was convenient, though open to abuse.

In 1478, therefore, Ferdinand and Isabella sought to reestablish royal control of an institution that merchants and suppliers had become adept at avoiding. In many ways, their actions resembled those of Ferdinand's uncle, Alfonso the Magnanimous, in his efforts several decades previously to regain royal monopolies that had fallen into private hands in the kingdom of Naples. It is significant that these actions were taken in Castile, where grain *alhóndigas* were already well established, not in Ferdinand's own Aragonese realm, where the *fondech* took a different form.

Like the royal *fondacos* for iron and salt in southern Italy, and those for grain in North Africa and elsewhere, the Alhóndiga del Pan in Seville worked to supply both public need and the royal fisc. Its control of the grain

¹⁰⁰ Fernández Gómez et al. (eds.), *Privilegios de Sevilla*, 148.

¹⁰¹ Al-Anṣārī, "Description de Ceuta," 160. See the discussion in chapter 7.

¹⁰² Carande, *Sevilla*, 114.

¹⁰³ This rent (the *partido de la alhóndiga*) was set at 22 percent from 1441 to 1454, then at 11 percent from 1455 to 1458 (Miguel Angel Ladero Quesada, "Almojarifazgo sevillano y comercio exterior de Andalucía en el siglo xv," *Anuario de Historia Económica y Social* 2 [1969] 82–86).

trade prevented steep increases in price during times of scarcity, though it may have kept prices artificially high during periods of surplus. Prices in the Alhóndiga, as in *funduqs* and *fondacos*, were generally higher than those in an imagined “open market” owing to control of supply and the imposition of taxes and mark-ups on the products in question.

Royal *alhóndigas* for grain were also established in Málaga and Granada shortly after the conquest of these cities. This shows both continuity from the Naṣrid administration and the clear understanding by the Catholic monarchs that the *alhóndiga* was a useful tool of royal bureaucracy and largess. The *alhóndiga* in Málaga came under direct royal control, but in Granada, where the “New Funduq” (*funduq al-jadīd*, later the Corral del Carbón) had been the entrepôt for sales of grain, this facility was sold (or perhaps merely leased) to the count of Urueña in 1493.¹⁰⁴ Granada, perhaps, was less critical as a center for distribution than the port city of Málaga.¹⁰⁵

By the later thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, *fondacos* for grain and other foodstuffs were also common in Italy, as well as in towns along the eastern Adriatic coast, and in Hungary.¹⁰⁶ The critical importance of wheat and other staples, such as oil and vegetables, necessitated their regulation throughout these regions, and city administrators kept a close eye on the movement of agricultural products between the countryside and urban markets.¹⁰⁷ Sources mention a grain *fondaco* in Ragusa in 1272, a *fundicum bladi* in Padua in 1301, and a *fondacho del grano* in Naples in 1323.¹⁰⁸ Pisan statutes from 1324 and 1330 mentioned a *fundaci olei*, and Lucca, while under Pisan rulership in 1348, also had an official *fondaco* to monitor and tax transactions in grain, food, oil, wine, and vegetables.¹⁰⁹ In Venice, there may have been a warehouse for grain from as early as the twelfth century. According to the sixteenth-century Venetian chronicler Marino Sanudo, there had been a grain *fondaco* on the Rialto in 1172, during the dogeship of

¹⁰⁴ Torres Balbás, “Las Alhóndigas hispanomusulmanas,” 460–461. A document from 1494 also suggests that the Corral del Carbón served as a facility for lodging (*ibid.*, 448–449).

¹⁰⁵ Curiously, there is no evidence of a grain *alhóndiga* in Almería, the other main Naṣrid port now under Christian control.

¹⁰⁶ Concina, *Fondaci*, 115, 117, 120.

¹⁰⁷ Nicholas, *The Growth of the Medieval City*, 177.

¹⁰⁸ *Liber statutorum civitatis ragusii*, 135, 195; *Regimina Paduae*, in Muratori (ed.), *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, VIII, 427; Arrigo E. Castellani, “Una lettera pisana del 1323,” in *Saggi di linguistica e filologia italiana e romanza (1946–1976)* (Rome: Salerno Editrice, 1980) II, 310.

¹⁰⁹ Bonaini (ed.), *Statuti*, II, 531, 1167. Pisan regulations from 1305 also required that a *fundicarius* not accept or permit any fake saffron (“zaffaranum falsum”) to be sold in the *fondaco*, nor any that was adulterated or bad in other ways. If such saffron came into the *fondaco*, he was to detain it and denounce it to the consuls of the merchants (*ibid.*, III, 101–102). Lucca: Salvatore Bonghi (ed.), *Bandi lucchesi del secolo decimoquarto, tratti dai registri del R. Archivio di Stato in Lucca* (Bologna: Tipografia del Progresso, 1863) 196–199.

Sebastiano Ziani.¹¹⁰ This is the earliest citation of a grain *fondaco* anywhere in Latin Europe, but its twelfth-century date is not implausible given the close Venetian connections with both the Islamic world and Byzantium (where a grain *foundax* in Rodosto had been established in the eleventh century), and the foundation of the Fondaco dei Tedeschi only a few decades later. Certainly, there were several *fondacos* for foodstuffs in Venice by 1278, when the city's guild statutes listed a chapter devoted to the *fontegariis* who oversaw the buying and selling of wheat (*blavam*) and vegetables "in fontico et in cava fontici."¹¹¹

Textiles

Textiles were another commodity sold and stored in commercial *fondacos* in southern European cities. As early as 1203, a contract for a purchase of cotton in Genoa was written out "in the *fondaco* [where the goods] were stored," and *fondacos* for cloth had become ubiquitous in Italian towns by the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.¹¹² In contrast to the official facilities for salt and grain, however, the ownership and administration of *fondacos* for wool, linen, and other cloth was very variable. There are examples of official *fondacos* – administered by officers of the town – intended to control imports and exports of textiles to particular urban markets, but other *fondacos* belonged to guilds, merchant firms, or private individuals. Presumably, the importance, diversity and lucrative nature of the textile industry itself fostered this heterogeneous development.

In some Italian cities, textile *fondacos* functioned as points where undyed cloth was brought from regions outside the city, and transferred under controlled circumstances to local dye-shops. Non-local merchants may have stayed in these facilities, as indicated by the terminology of "hosts" (*hospes*) and "guests" (*hospites*) found in some urban statutes.¹¹³ Meanwhile, other

¹¹⁰ M. Sanuto, *Vite de' Duchi (Life of the Doges)*, in Muratori (ed.), *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, xxii, 508. Ennio Concina has observed that Sanudo's statement about the grain *fondaco* and its link to the city's interest in overseeing the grain trade may be the product of hindsight, especially in light of the building of a new grain *fondaco* in Venice in 1492 (Concina, *Fondaci*, 145–146).

¹¹¹ Giovanni Monticolo (ed.), *I capitolari delle arti veneziane sottoposto alla giustizia e poi alla giustizia vecchia dalle origini al MCCCXXX* (Rome: Tipografi del Senato, 1896) 1, 4, 181–182. The chapter itself was titled "Capitularis de starios," indicating the office's importance for the measuring and regulation of commodities. See also Alberti Tenenti and Ugo Tucci, "Magazzini, fondaci, dogane," in *Storia di Venezia temi. Il mare*, ed. Alberto Tenenti and Ugo Tucci (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1991) 789–817.

¹¹² Giovanni di Guiberto, *Giovanni di Guiberto (1200–1211)*, ed. M. W. Hall-Cole, H. G. Kreuger, R. G. Reinert and R. L. Reynolds (Genoa: Deputazione di Storia Patria per la Liguria, 1939) 342 (no. 717).

¹¹³ As in Pisa in 1305 (Bonaini [ed.], *Statuti*, III, 26, 101).

cities used *fondacos* exclusively for selling and storing textiles of local production, excluding imported textiles from their premises, or for separating items produced in different regions. In fourteenth-century Siena, for example, any broker (*sensaio*) in charge of a *fondaco* in the city for the guild handling wool from Radicondoli (in the Sienese *contado*) was not allowed “to receive or have in the said *fondaco* any cloth or remnant (*panno o scampolo*) except for those which were made in the *castello* of Radicondoli.”¹¹⁴ In this case, traffic through *fondacos* was closely supervised, but many other references were less specific. French cloth passing through Genoa on the way to Messina in 1346 was stored in a *fondaco* (perhaps a privately owned warehouse), as was French cloth sold in Savona in 1324–1325, but there is no evidence that this was according to mandate rather than simple convenience.¹¹⁵

City administrators in Pisa sought to ensure that textiles woven locally should not be confused with imported materials, and that the latter should not be sold freely in local markets. With this in mind, officers in charge of *fondacos* were required to keep careful records of the cloth brought to their establishments for storage, noting where these pieces came from, to whom they were sold, and what colors they were to be dyed. When woolen cloths were brought into Pisan *fondacos* by foreigner traders, the *fundicarius* had to be notified within eight days as to which dyer would be used.¹¹⁶ All textiles were to be meticulously measured and weighed when they entered the *fondaco*, using the official rods and weights approved by the city, nor was any *fundicarius* to “permit any textiles to leave the *fondaco* . . . until they have all been measured.”¹¹⁷ In 1305, a *fundicarius* in Pisa was required to swear that “if anybody else measures or weighs any things or goods in the said *fondaco* . . . being things or goods belonging to my guests, or anything else for which I receive and take [money], then I will not accept or permit this measuring and weighing until it has been done [again] by the broker using correct Pisan weights and public measures.”¹¹⁸ The rates

¹¹⁴ Luciano Banchi (ed.), *Statuti senesi scritti in volgare ne' secoli XIII e XIV pubblicati secondo i testi del R. Archivio di Stato in Siena* (Bologna: Gaetano Romagnoli, 1871) II, 187.

¹¹⁵ Léone Liagre-De Sturler, *Les Relations commerciales entre Gènes, la Belgique et l'Outremont d'après les archives notariales génoises (1320–1400)* (Brussels and Rome: Institut historique belge de Rome, 1969) 14 (no. 9), 21 (no. 15), 244 (no. 195). A later contract, drawn up in 1386, was made in the same *fondaco* and dealt with the hire of a ship from Genoa to Flanders. There is no mention of cloth, though the route suggests that this may have been the intended return cargo (*ibid.*, 645 [no. 490]).

¹¹⁶ Bonaini (ed.), *Statuti*, III, 101, also 35, 231–232.

¹¹⁷ Bonaini (ed.), *Statuti*, III, 99–100. The statutes routinely insist on the exclusive use of official weights and measures, and reiterate these requirements at many points (*ibid.*, 39, 107).

¹¹⁸ Bonaini (ed.), *Statuti*, III, 99.

of these impositions were regulated by the city, often with input from the guilds for warehouse-keepers and dyers, and no *fundicarius* was permitted to collect more than the statutory amount.¹¹⁹

Taxes were due on the storage and sale of textiles in Pisan *fondacos*, except in the case of exempt items, and merchants could also expect to pay other fees. When a Florentine cloth merchant arrived in Pisa in about 1320, he had to cover the costs of storing his goods (and possibly also of lodging) in a *fondaco*, and also make an additional payment to the custodian. Pisan regulations appear to have been particularly concerned with the regulation of *fondacos* and the receipt of their revenues, since there is less evidence of *fondacos* and their fees in other cities. On the same trip, for example, this Florentine merchant was charged *ostellaggio* (a fee for lodging, but probably also storage fees) in Caen and Paris, while he paid another parallel charge, this time under the title *casatico*, in Nice.¹²⁰

Unlike the *fondacos* for grain, salt, or iron, which functioned as single centralized depots, with no more than one for each product in a city, there could be many facilities for textiles in any given city. The Pisan statutes of 1305 referred to “the *fondaco* or *fondacos* in which textiles are sold in the city of Pisa.”¹²¹ In this case, there may have been a hierarchy of facilities, since contemporary Pisan legislation differentiated between the official *fondaco* in Porto Pisano, which was administered by the city, and other *fondacos* in the city proper, which may have been controlled by guilds and individual merchants.¹²² Chronicles also indicate multiple facilities. For example, the *Chronicon Parmense* described a battle in Florence in 1304 during which “all of the *fondacos* with merchandise, draperies, and other goods” were burned.¹²³ Giovanni Villani was more specific in his numbers, reporting that in the 1330s there were roughly twenty *fondacos* in Florence handling French and other transalpine textiles. He claimed that 10,000 pieces of cloth passed through these each year, with a value of 300,000 florins when they were sold in Florentine markets.¹²⁴ A century-and-a-half later, in 1472, the Florentine chronicler Benedetto Dei counted thirty-two *fondaco* shops (“botteghe di fondachi”) in the city “in which they clip and cut cloth of

¹¹⁹ Bonaini (ed.), *Statuti*, III, 231–232. The *Breve consulem curie mercatorum Pisanae civitatis* (1305) included a long list of rates for *rieva* and *casaticum* on goods, including textiles, foodstuffs, metals, and spices (*ibid.*, 103–106). Pegolotti also included a lengthy section on rates for *fondacaggio* and other tariffs levied in Pisa (*La pratica della mercatura*, 203–214).

¹²⁰ Armando Saporiti, *Una compagnia di calimala ai primi del trecento* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1932) 95–96.

¹²¹ Bonaini (ed.), *Statuti*, III, 26.

¹²² Bonaini (ed.), *Statuti*, III, 412.

¹²³ *Chronicon Parmense*, in Muratori (ed.), *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, IX, 850.

¹²⁴ Villani, *Cronica*, VI, 185.

many different colors.¹²⁵ Some of these *fondacos* would have been owned by textile guilds, such as the Arte di Calimala, while others were the property of merchant firms, including the Bardi and Peruzzi companies whose account books are filled with references to their *fondacos* for cloth and clothing.¹²⁶

The geographical distribution and administration of these *fondacos* for cloth, as well as their multiplicity, distinguishes them from their more regulated counterparts for grain, salt, and iron. They were found mainly in cities in northwestern Italy, particularly Tuscany, not in regions where the *fondaco* had been directly adopted from Muslim models, nor in Adriatic ports. They preserve distinct aspects of the regulatory function of commercial *fondacos* elsewhere, and they could be under the oversight of urban authorities, as can be seen in the promises of city administrators to reform the *fondacos* and investigate the actions of their *fundicarii*. On the other hand, there was often little to distinguish official facilities from the private *fondacos* and warehouses that also flourished in Florence, Pisa, Genoa, and other cities. Possibly these *fondacos* for cloth were a transitional form, bridging the gap between the early state-controlled *fondacos* that appeared in some European cities and the unregulated private warehouses, also called *fondacos*, that were becoming increasingly common.

Equally likely, however, is the possibility that textile *fondacos* represented another adoption from Muslim prototypes encountered by Tuscan traders in Tunis, Alexandria, and Spain. Unlike the large residential *fondacos* for foreign merchant communities, many of the Italian textile *fondacos* resemble the smaller (and usually unregulated) commercial and residential *funduqs* in Muslim cities. In the middle of the twelfth century, after all, the geographer al-Idrīsī had claimed the existence of nearly one thousand *funduqs* in Almería, a major center for textiles and other goods. Genoese and Pisan traders would have been perfectly familiar with the business life of Almería and other Muslim ports, where they had their own residential *fondacos* in this period, and may have imported the concept to their home cities.

THE OFFICE OF *FUNDICARIUS*

Urban statutes relating to *fondacos* in southern European cities make clear that the officials in charge of these buildings were subject to the scrutiny of

¹²⁵ Benedetto Dei, *La Cronica dall'anno 1400 all'anno 1500*, ed. Roberto Barducci (Florence: Francesco Papafava Editore, 1984) 83.

¹²⁶ Armando Saporì (ed.), *Libro giallo della compagnia dei Covoni* (Milan: Istituto Editoriale Cisalpino, 1970) 171, 174; A. Saporì, *La Crisi delle compagnie mercantili dei Bardi e dei Peruzzi* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1926) 281; A. Saporì (ed.), *Libri di commercio dei Peruzzi* (Milan: Treves, 1934) 85–87, 260, 269.

administrators working for the city, for merchant guilds, or for the crown. Although the keepers of state-run facilities were more closely regulated than their private counterparts, as is shown in the Pisan statutes relating to the *fundicarius* for the *fondaco* in Porto Pisano, any *fondaco*-keeper was subject to a fine – or ejection from his post – if he failed to abide by the laws relating to *fondacos*. Other data also testify to the presence of individual *fundicarii* in Christian Mediterranean cities. A Wilielmus Fundigarius turns up as a witness to a will in Genoa as early as 1191, and the title became more common in following centuries.¹²⁷ In 1301, Guido Fondegario appeared in several contracts from Famagusta, and a Michus de Lucha was noted as a *fundicarius* in Ragusa in 1358.¹²⁸ Like dyers, brokers, and other commercial workers, the keepers of *fondacos* had their own guilds, and were included among the *arte* in Venice (1278) and Pisa (1321).¹²⁹ A list of consuls of guilds in Montpellier noted one or two each year to represent the *fondeguiers de mercadiers* of the city between 1353 and 1393.¹³⁰

The reiteration of urban legislation concerning the office of *fundicarius* highlights the possibility of its abuse in the hands of greedy or unscrupulous office-holders, leading to tax losses for the city and exploitation of merchants. In order to avoid these evils, laws concerning the *fondacos* emphasized the protocol for the handling and weighing of goods, equity of fees, the meticulous keeping of records and accounts, and the necessary probity of the *fundicarius*. In 1286, for example, the keepers of *fondacos* in Pisa were required to be mature men, between forty and sixty years old, all of whom had prior experience in overseas trade. They were expected to reside in the *fondaco* buildings with their families (though a single man would also be allowed to serve), and the office was renewable annually at the will of the people and the *consul maris*.¹³¹ By 1305, this was still true for the *fundicarius* of the *fondaco* in Porto Pisano, but other candidates need only have attained the age of twenty-five, though they must have been resident in the city for at least ten years, could not be royal servants, and

¹²⁷ Guglielmo Cassinese, *Guglielmo Cassinese (1190–1192)*, ed. M. W. Hall-Cole, H. G. Kreuger and R. L. Reynolds (Genoa: Deputazione di Storia Patria per la Liguria, 1938) 185–186 (no. 467).

¹²⁸ Polonio (ed.), *Notai genovesi in Oltremare*, 554; *Monumenta Ragusina*, comp. Ivan Krstitelj Tkacic, Petar Budmani, and Josip Gelcic, *Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium* 13 (Zagreb: Academie Scientiarum et Artum, 1882) 222.

¹²⁹ Monticolo (ed.), *Capitolari delle arti veneziane*, 1, 4; Bonaini (ed.), *Statuti*, III, 225–226.

¹³⁰ Jean Combes, “Hôteliers et hôtelleries de Montpellier à le fin du xive siècle et au xve,” *Hommage à André Dupont (1897–1972). Etudes médiévales languedociennes* (Montpellier: Fédération historique du Languedoc Méditerranéen et du Roussillon, 1974) 57. In some years, the *fondiguiers* and *alberguiers* were listed together, perhaps indicating an ongoing residential character of the *fondacos*.

¹³¹ Bonaini (ed.), *Statuti*, 1, 188–189.

should know how to read and write.¹³² Urban statutes in Ragusa, dating from 1272, were equally clear that a *fundicarius* must remain resident in his *fondaco*: any office-holder who was absent from the city for more than fifteen days would lose his position.¹³³

Literacy, and more especially numeracy, were important skills required of *fondaco* officials. Urban legislation mandated literacy for the keeping of accounts, yet allowed that this task could be done by a notary rather than the *fundicarius* himself. Thus, in Pisa in 1305, the latter was required to promise that following

all sales which take place under my authority (*in mea custodia*), or other things under my oversight, I will write down (or cause a scribe who may be better trained to write down) in the ledger (*quaterno*) that I have and hold, or which somebody else has and holds for me, for the communal *fondacos* of the merchants (*pro communi mercatorum fundaci*), namely the [specific] quantities, measurements, weights, and prices; the day on which the contracting parties came to terms; the day of purchase and sale; and that the buyer and seller were present. If I do not know how to write, then I will have in the *fondaco*, for writing and having the above data written, somebody [who knows how to write] who is more than twenty years old and has been approved by the consuls of the merchants.¹³⁴

The importance of literacy is likewise evident in the frequent mention, in merchant documents, of account ledgers connected with *fondacos*, *fondaco* rents, and sums deposited with *fundicarii*.

A notary received a salary for his work in the *fondaco* (30 pounds a year in Pisa in 1286), and like the notaries in the Fondaco dei Tedeschi, he was required to live in the *fondaco* during his period of tenure in order to be available as needed.¹³⁵

After 1324, the *fundicarius* in Pisa paid a fee to the city in exchange for the right to collect the *cabella*, a shift suggesting ongoing readjustment in the financial arrangements for the *fondaco*.¹³⁶ Other than receiving a salary and collecting specific taxes, a *fundicarius* was not allowed to derive profit from the *fondaco* and its affairs. The officer in charge of the state-run *fondaco* in Porto Pisano drew a salary of 40 pounds a year in 1286.¹³⁷ In Pisa, the *fundicarius* was to facilitate commercial transactions in the *fondaco*, but could not himself participate in buying or selling goods, nor could he rent out areas of the building for personal income. Perhaps with

¹³² Bonaini (ed.), *Statuti*, III, 412, 25–26, 75–76. Most of these regulations were repeated in 1321 (*ibid.*, 275).

¹³³ *Liber statutorum civitatis ragusii*, 208.

¹³⁴ Bonaini (ed.), *Statuti*, III, 98–99.

¹³⁵ Bonaini (ed.), *Statuti*, I, 188–189.

¹³⁶ Bonaini (ed.), *Statuti*, II, 1162.

¹³⁷ Bonaini (ed.), *Statuti*, I, 188–189.

an eye to the potential mess and destruction caused by animals, or to avoid competition with local livestock dealers, he was prohibited from keeping chickens, doves, ducks, or pigs in the *fondaco*.¹³⁸

Evidently, *fondacos* provided an important tool for the official regulation of commerce, and particularly transactions in certain key items, in a number of southern European cities. In some cities, most notably Venice, Seville, Pisa, and Ragusa, they continued to play an important role in administering urban trade through the later middle ages. Officially sponsored *fondacos* continued – and augmented – regulatory functions established in the Islamic world. But this was by no means a uniform model, since there is no evidence of these official facilities in many other Mediterranean Christian cities. Instead, *fondacos* in most Italian and southern French cities evolved along quite different lines, becoming privately held warehouses and commercial firms. It was not uncommon for both varieties to exist in the same town, suggesting fluidity between the two forms and again reflecting Islamic precedents.

FONDACOS AS COMMERCIAL SPACE FOR GUILDS AND MERCHANTS

Urban statutes were not only concerned with the affairs of official *fondacos*, but also with a wide variety of other facilities that went by the same name. For example, regulations for the merchant consuls of Pisa in 1321 included a list of the many different *fondacos* in the city besides the one in Porto Pisano – those belonging to merchants from San Miniato and Siena, *fondacos* for the sale of cloth (*panni*), and many others listed in association with private individuals.¹³⁹ Both officially sponsored and private facilities could be subject to taxation and oversight, but they can be distinguished by their different administration, function, and beneficiaries. Official *fondacos* for grain, salt, or textiles delivered revenues to the city or ruler, and these were run by urban or crown appointees. In contrast, proprietary *fondacos* belonged to private people and groups, who used these commercial spaces for their own business activities and profit.

Many *fondacos* in Italian cities were in private or corporate hands. Important merchant families and business firms in Genoa, Siena, Florence, and

¹³⁸ Bonaini (ed.), *Statuti*, III, 100, 553. This contrasts with the pigs and other beasts observed in the *fondacos* of Alexandria.

¹³⁹ “Fundaco di casa Gaytani, et di Guido Marignani et dei consorti; et dei filioli Conchi, et dei filioli Ardecase; et quello dei Senesi, et dei filioli Turchi di Mercato, et Garfagnini” (Bonaini [ed.], *Statuti*, III, 226–228).

elsewhere often had their own *fondacos* during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. References to these buildings appear in their letters, account books, contracts, and in descriptions of urban topography and administration. Merchant guilds, such as the Arte di Calimala (cloth importers and finishers), the oldest guild in Florence, likewise owned or rented *fondacos* for their business activities.¹⁴⁰ These could be actual buildings or rooms, devoted to business and storage, but the word was also used less tangibly to apply to a mercantile firm or to an entity of account (as in “the money has been posted to his account in the *fondaco*”).¹⁴¹ Often the physical and conceptual meanings went in tandem, indicating both the partnership itself and its place of business.

Purchase or rental of commercial space and related expenses were standard costs for doing business both locally and abroad. A *fondaco* could be expensive, and in Pisa, any potential purchaser had to be willing to put up securities against its cost, or produce suitable people willing to secure the sale.¹⁴² Merchant account books very frequently include notation of rents paid for *fondaco* buildings, usually calculated in periods of six months or a year.¹⁴³ Payment was generally noted in coin, though rent on one *fondachetto* in Florence included a fat goose on All Saints Day as well as an annual sum in gold florins.¹⁴⁴ These commercial facilities might also be sublet, or leased to another tenant.¹⁴⁵ In Genoa, a building was rented in 1310 for use as a *fondaco* and residence (“pro fondico et domibus”), and rented again – at a considerably higher rate in the wake of renovations to the structure – in 1347.¹⁴⁶ A lessee often bore the cost of renovations and other corporate business expenses (including wining and dining the members or partners) on top of rent for commercial buildings. In 1319, the Arte di Calimala in

¹⁴⁰ Guilds in Pisa owned *fondacos* as early as the late twelfth century (G. Volpe, *Studi sulle istituzioni comunali a Pisa* [Florence: Sansoni, 1970] 264). On merchant company *fondacos*, see L. Grossi Bianchi and E. Poggi, *Una città portuale del medioevo: Genova nei secoli X–XVI* (Genoa: Sagep, 1979) 128, 236, 332; *Costituito del comune di Siena, volgarizzato nel MCCCIX–MCCCX* (Siena: Tip. e Lt. Sordmuti di L. Lazzeri, 1903) 43, 297; E. Poggi and P. Cevini, *Genova* (Rome and Bari: Editore Laterza, 1981) 59; Donato Velluti, *La Cronica domestica: scritta fra il 1367 e il 1370* (Florence: Sasoni, 1914) 141, 143.

¹⁴¹ This is a common usage in Italian commercial sources. See, for example, A. E. Castellani (ed.), *Nuovi testi fiorentini del dugento* (Florence: Sansoni, 1952) 604–617.

¹⁴² Bonaini (ed.), *Statuti*, III, 358.

¹⁴³ Documents recording the rental of *fondacos* are very common. As well as citations below, see Sapori (ed.), *Libro giallo*, 179, 185; *Libro del dare e dell'avere di Gentile de'Sassetti e suoi figli* in Castellani (ed.), *Nuovi testi fiorentini del dugento*, 294, 303.

¹⁴⁴ Bartolomeo Masi, *Ricordanze di Bartolomeo Masi, calderaio fiorentino dal 1478 al 1526* ed. G. O. Corazzini (Florence: G. C. Sansoni, 1906) II. This record is from 1485.

¹⁴⁵ Sapori, *Compagnia di calimala*, 46.

¹⁴⁶ Grossi Bianchi and Poggi, *Una città portuale del medioevo*, 222.

Florence rented a rather run-down *fondaco* in the city, and celebrated the event with a festive dinner for members of the guild. Subsequently, as well as paying an annual rent of 45 florins for the property, they had to fund its restoration.¹⁴⁷ When partners in the Datini firm needed to do business outside Florence or Prato, arrangements were made for the firm (*compagnia*) to cover

the expenses incurred by the partners or factors for eating, drinking, and the rental of houses or *fondachi* (*pigioni di case o di fondachi*) . . . but the expenses that any of the partners or factors may incur for himself are to be paid out of his own money. Further, the said partners agree that if they need to maintain a *fondaco* in Florence to conduct the business of the *compagnia*, the rent is to be paid out of the money of the *compagnia*.¹⁴⁸

In many cases, a *fondaco* ceased to be a separate building, becoming instead part of a larger structure or complex, often a locked storage room or warehouse attached to a business establishment, inn, or private house. This was probably the case with the Genoese property noted above, rented as “fondico et domibus” in 1310, which apparently served both residential and storage functions.¹⁴⁹ Later, an inventory of an inn (*albergo*) in Padua, made in about 1400, included a list of furnishings (chests, benches, and shelves) in its *fondichetto*. This equipment for storage contrasts with the items such as beds, bedding, tables, and chairs listed in other rooms (*camera*) for living and sleeping, and indicates a functional separation between the two spaces.¹⁵⁰ The fourteenth-century Tuscan author Franco Sacchetti recounted a comic story set in Venice, in which a group of Florentine merchants played a trick on friends by stealing a choice piece of meat while it was cooking “in the house of Giovanni Ducci” (one of the Florentines), and putting an old leather hat in the pot instead. In order to distract the cook and get her out of the kitchen while making the swap, they asked her for the key to the *fondaco* in order to check on some of their merchandise. She came to open the *fondaco* door and waited while they puttered about, turning over bales

¹⁴⁷ Saporì, *Compagnia di calimala*, 41–43.

¹⁴⁸ This example is from a 1367 contract; the differentiation of *case* and *fondachi* suggests distinct functions and a separation of living and business space: Enrico Bensa, *Francesco di Marco da Prato: notizie e documenti sulla mercatura italiana del secolo XIV* (Milan: Fratelli Treves, 1928) 289.

¹⁴⁹ Grossi Bianchi and Poggi, *Una città portuale del medioevo*, 222. *Fondacos* were generally locked. Thus, there is a reference to a key to the *fondaco* for textiles (“chiave del fondaco de la drapperia”) owned by a merchant firm in Florence in the fourteenth century (Saporì, *Crisi*, 281).

¹⁵⁰ Vittorio Lazzarini, “L’albergo del ‘Bo’ nel 1399,” *Archivio Veneto-tridentino* (Venice) 1 (1922) 300. Another inn in Modena also had a *fondigum* (Coulet, “Inns and Taverns,” 471–472). See also Coulet, “Les hôtelleries,” 194.

and pretending to examine them. Meanwhile, their colleague was making mischief in the kitchen.¹⁵¹

Sometimes, storage chambers might double as bedrooms, particularly when a factor was responsible for protecting the merchandise in his care. This overlap points out the dangers of trying to overly categorize the usage of space. Nevertheless, the occasional presence of a snoozing servant was very different from the regular and regulated housing of whole groups of merchants. The statutes of the Calimala, in Florence, suggested that a trusted factor should sleep in the *fondaco*, and with this in mind, this space should be furnished with a second-hand bed, two mattresses, three pillows, two blankets, and three sets of sheets.¹⁵² Paolo da Certaldo's fourteenth-century *Libro di buoni costumi* also noted the possibility that a traveling factor might stay overnight in a *fondaco* – in which case he must strive to conduct himself with the greatest propriety during his sojourn.¹⁵³ In general, however, lodging in *fondacos* was increasingly rare.

A *fondaco* could be the same as a shop (*bottega*), especially in Tuscany, though a *fondaco* might also be a building containing shops, as was common in Genoa, or a shop could have a *fondaco* for storage, as in Siena in 1343.¹⁵⁴ Pegolotti noted the two words as synonyms, and elsewhere they were frequently listed in parallel (“la bottega o’l fondaco”) or as alternatives (“fuori du buttiga, cioè nel fondaco”).¹⁵⁵ The provision of retail space is evident in renovations to a *fondaco* in Florence, in 1319, including new wooden floors, furniture, scales, measures, and an area outside for displaying goods.¹⁵⁶ Later, in 1357, regulations for the Florentine guild of linen merchants routinely linked *boteghas* and *fondachos* together as locations for the sale of cloth.¹⁵⁷ When a church in Florence needed repairs in 1331, the city sought various ways to raise the necessary funds, including placing a small collection box (*cassettina*) in every “fondaco e bottega,” “in order to collect offerings for God.”¹⁵⁸ Evidently, these were places where people

¹⁵¹ Franco Sacchetti, *Il Trecentonovelle*, ed. E. Faccioli and G. Einaidi (Turin: Giulio Einaidi, 1970) 254–260 (no. 98).

¹⁵² Saporì, *Compagnia di calimala*, 44.

¹⁵³ Paolo da Certaldo, *Libro di buoni costumi*, ed. Alfredo Schiaffini (Florence: Le Monnier, 1945) 141–142.

¹⁵⁴ Grossi Bianchi and Poleggi, *Una città portuale del medioevo*, 100, 136, 222; Q. Senigaglia (ed.), “Statuto dell’arte della mercanzia senese,” *Bollettino Senese di Storia Patria* 15 (1908) 137.

¹⁵⁵ Pegolotti, *La Pratica della mercatura*, 17; Certaldo, *Libro di buoni costumi*, 96; Banchi (ed.), *Statuti senesi*, 323.

¹⁵⁶ Saporì, *Compagnia di calimala*, 41–43.

¹⁵⁷ Giuseppe Mastursi (ed.), “Statuto dell’Arte dei rigattieri e venditori di panni lini e lino de Firenze del 1357,” *Bollettino dell’Opera del vocabolario italiano* 3 (1998) 358, 366, 374–376.

¹⁵⁸ Villani, *Cronica*, v, 244.

would be likely to pass by, including those who might have a bit of cash to spare for pious causes.

Fondacos also served as sites for recording mercantile business and keeping registers; they contained offices for writing accounts, and meeting-rooms for sales and other transactions. The closing clauses of a number of contracts indicate that notaries did business in *fondacos*. This first appeared in the early thirteenth century, when the *fondaco* was still a relatively new institution in southern Europe. In one early example, a contract engaging a baker for the Genoese *fondaco* in Alexandria was drawn up in a *fondaco* in Genoa (“actum Ianue, in fundico”) in 1200. A few years later, when two members of the Genoese Pedicula family made a partnership with another investor for a voyage to the Levant in 1203, the contract was written out the firm’s Genoese *fondaco* (“in Ianue in fundico Pedicularum”).¹⁵⁹ Notation of this sort was typical in overseas *fondacos*, both in Muslim cities and Genoese colonies in the Black Sea, but it was less frequent in Europe, where there were presumably many more locations suitable for notarial work. Nevertheless, the form continued sporadically into the later middle ages, indicating the continued presence of private commercial *fondacos* as work sites. In 1346, account records of the Florentine Peruzzi company included the cost of food, drink, and candles for the notaries in the company’s *fondaco*.¹⁶⁰

By the fourteenth century, *fondacos* in Florence and other Italian towns were frequently connected with banking, loans, and accounting. They became increasingly associated with the holding of money as well as the storage of actual commercial goods.¹⁶¹ There are innumerable references in late medieval merchant account books to sums “held in the *fondaco*,” “paid to the *fondaco*,” or “posted to the *fondaco*.” In some instances, it seems clear that the *fondacos* in question were still actual buildings in which money or goods could be deposited, transferred, and withdrawn. Thus, another tale told by Sacchetti concerned a trickster who tried to swindle money from one *fondaco* on the Porta Rosa in Florence by telling the cashier to look

¹⁵⁹ Origone, “Genova,” 312; Giovanni di Guiberto, *Giovanni di Guiberto*, 310–331 (no. 653). The same (or possibly another) *fondaco* belonging to a member of the Pedicula family appeared in 1186, when the *Codice diplomatico della Repubblica de Genova* noted the “fundici Oberti Pedicule” located near the market of St. George (Imperiale di Sant’Angelo (ed.), *Codice diplomatico*, 1, 293–295 (no. 151). Contracts from Marseille, dated 1219, 1227, and 1230 were also drawn up in private *fondacos*, one of which was held by a Genoese merchant (Louis Blancard [ed.], *Documents inédits*, 1, 15 (no. 11), 20 (no. 15), 31 (no. 23).

¹⁶⁰ Saporì (ed.), *Libri di commercio dei Peruzzi*, 181; Liagre-De Sturler, *Les Relations commerciales*, includes contracts made out in Genoese *fondacos* in 1346 and 1386 (244 [no. 195], 645 [no. 490]) and in Savona in 1324 and 1325 (14 [no. 9], 21 [no. 15]).

¹⁶¹ This was not a new development. In Muslim cities the security of *funduqs* led to their use for the storage of cash.

in his account (*region*) and take out 200 florins that were owed to him. When the cashier could find no record of this sum, the trickster kicked up such a fuss that an employee of a neighboring *fondaco* came over to see what was going on. Between them, the two *fondaco* employees managed to foil and punish the would-be thief.¹⁶² Evidently, there were a number of *fondacos* located in this area of Florence, in both fiction and fact, since Donato Velluti also mentioned a *fondaco* in this street, and accounts of the Bardi company show a partner depositing goods in a rented *fondaco* on the Porta Rosa in the early fourteenth century.¹⁶³

In other cases, the application of the term was less tangible, as when it indicated a banking account (such as a sum listed as “iscritte al nostro fondacho in dovere”),¹⁶⁴ or when it referred to a merchant partnership or branch of a commercial company outside the home city. The latter application often appeared in the context of a junior partner or factor being assigned to a particular *fondaco*, and was most common in late medieval Tuscan usage. Boccaccio, for instance, recounted the tale of a widow who sent her son to Paris in the service of a firm (“servigi del fondaco”), while, in another story, a Florentine merchant in Paris decided not to launch his son on a business career (“mettere ad alcun fondaco”).¹⁶⁵ In a further example, a Florentine treatise on arithmetic, written in about 1374, set a problem in which a factor was employed by a firm (*fondacho*) for three years at a different salary each year.¹⁶⁶ In the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, the Datini company established a number of *fondacos* in cities in Italy, southern France, and the realms of Aragón, each dealing in particular merchandise and staffed with Datini factors.¹⁶⁷ In the same period, the Medici apparently used a similar system, employing representatives in a number of branch offices, including facilities in Bruges, Venice, and Rome that were either known as *fondacos* themselves or incorporated *fondacos* as part of their establishment.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶² Sacchetti, *Il Trecentonovelle*, 501–506 (no. 174).

¹⁶³ Velluti, *Cronica domestica*, 141; Saporì, *Compagnia di calimala*, 31.

¹⁶⁴ Armando Saporì (ed.), *Libri degli Alberti del Giudice* (Milan: Garzanti, 1952) 168.

¹⁶⁵ Boccaccio, *Decameron*, I, 457–458; II, 206.

¹⁶⁶ Paolo Dagomari, *Trattato d'aritmetica*, ed. Gino Arrighi (Pisa: Domus Galilaeana, 1964) 149 (no. 187).

¹⁶⁷ Corsani, *I fondaci e i banchi* 35, 91–92, 102.

¹⁶⁸ Armand Grunzweig (ed.), *Correspondance de la filiale de Bruges des Medici, 1re. partie* (Brussels: M. Lamertin, 1931) 56; Raymond de Roover, *Rise and Decline of the Medici Bank*, 218, 240. Even de Roover was puzzled by the exact meaning of *fondaco* in this context. When he mentioned a merchant who “was active in the *fondaco*” in Rome, he added that this “means probably the merchandising department” (218).

Fondacos owned or rented by merchant companies and individuals also existed outside Italy, in both southern France and Spain, but there is less evidence for these facilities, perhaps owing to fewer merchant records or, in some areas, a less entrenched indigenous commercial culture. *Repartimiento* documents from Málaga, Almería, and other southern Spanish cities conquered by Ferdinand and Isabella show that *alhóndigas* were still granted out to individuals in the late fifteenth century, much as had been the case in the thirteenth century, though in smaller numbers. In contrast to the abundance of *fondechs* and *alhóndigas* mentioned in Valencia and Jerez after the conquests of James I and Alfonso X, a mere handful appear in the partitions of Málaga and Almería, and we know of only a few others from Granada. It appears that some of these were converted into non-commercial residences, as with two *alhóndigas* given as houses to canons of the cathedral of Málaga in 1495. Often, *alhóndigas* only appear in these texts as buildings defining the boundaries of property given in royal grants.¹⁶⁹ Perhaps because state-owned commercial *alhóndigas* were so important in Castile and the realms of Aragón by the late fifteenth century there was less attention given to smaller privately held facilities. It is likely, also, that aside from the *fondacos* housing Italian merchants in Naşrid ports, the strained economy of Granada in the late middle ages could not sustain the proliferation of *funduqs* that had been common in earlier centuries. Thus, there were fewer of these facilities to distribute after the conquest of Naşrid cities.

Although they bore some resemblance to their counterparts in the Islamic world, *fondacos* in southern European cities generally assumed new identities after their implantation within a Christian context. In most French and Italian cities, *fondacos* evolved to occupy new fiscal and commercial niches, serving as state warehouses, storage facilities, and spaces for private business affairs. Only in a few regions, where geography and politics supported the arrangement, did *fondacos* continue to house foreign traders during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

More than in other regions of the medieval Mediterranean world, the development of the *fondaco* in southern Europe owed a debt to contingency, commercial expediency, and human initiative. *Fondacos* did not grow up in European cities of their own accord, as though the seeds of this institution had been carried across the Mediterranean by the wind. In contrast to the

¹⁶⁹ Bejarano Robles (ed.), *Repartimientos de Málaga*, 138, 275; M. D. Aguilar García, "Dotación de casas de la mesa capitular: su proyección urbana," *Jábega: Revista de la Diputación Provincial de Málaga* 56 (1987) 12; Cristina Segura Graiño (ed.), *Libro del repartimiento de Almería* (Madrid: Universidad Complutense, 1982) 256, 317.

earlier evolution of the *pandocheion* and *funduq* in the eastern and southern Mediterranean, French and Italian *fondacos* were not discovered *in situ*, after a military conquest or other political shift; they did not simply continue to develop in the same region under a new cultural, religious, and linguistic regime. Instead, the concept of the *fondaco* was deliberately imported to Europe by merchants and other travelers. After the transplant, the institution subsequently developed according to the interests and ambitions of these men and their contemporaries.

By and large, the idea of the *fondaco* was brought to Europe by merchants, for the use of merchants. However, given the pervasive mercantile culture of Italian city-states in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (the period when *fondacos* began to appear in southern Europe), the interests of merchants were usually closely allied with those of their urban governments. In many cases, city administrators were merchants themselves, or were already familiar, through diplomatic channels, with the *fondaco* system in Alexandria, Tunis, and other Muslim ports. Aspects of the *fondaco* were therefore adopted in both the private and public sphere, wherever they could serve the fiscal, commercial, or regulatory goals of European and their governments. In conclusion, although the European understanding of *fondacos* originated in the roles that these facilities played in Muslim ports, only those aspects that were useful to Christian merchants and administrators, in a European context, survived their cross-Mediterranean transfer.

CONCLUSION

A changing world: new peoples and institutions in the early modern Mediterranean

Over the centuries – from the *pandocheion* in the Gospel of Luke to the *fondacos* in the *Decameron* of Boccaccio – one word evolved into many and one institution spawned an extended family of related institutions. As in any family, these institutions grew apart from each other over time and distance, and far-flung branches came to look quite different from one another. In most cases, however, their common ties remained recognizable, and were even acknowledged by the medieval merchants and travelers who encountered these hostels, colonies, and warehouses around the Mediterranean. *Funduqs* and *fondacos* thrived in all the major Mediterranean cities, in both Christian and Muslim regions (with the exception of Byzantium), throughout the medieval period. This institutional group always retained a fundamentally Mediterranean character. Despite its broad diffusion across political, religious, and linguistic frontiers, it only established firm roots in areas close to this sea.

A shared culture of trade and travel in the medieval Mediterranean world supported the ubiquitous distribution of these institutions. In their turn, *pandocheions*, *funduqs*, and *fondacos* facilitated the travel and business activities of merchants, pilgrims, and other wayfarers. *Pandocheions* took in guests from all walks of life, and were thus shared spaces familiar to pagans, Jews, and Christians throughout the eastern Mediterranean in late antiquity. After the seventh century, the presence of *funduqs* and *khāns* in cities throughout the *Dār al-Islām* came to define the very identity of these urban centers as “cities,” and these hostels promoted the development of an extensive commercial network linking all regions of the medieval Muslim world. Later, the evolution of *fondacos* for western Christian merchants in Muslim cities were instrumental in enabling the growth of European maritime trade in the Mediterranean. The system of residential *fondacos* in Muslim port cities made cross-cultural commerce possible by expediting the affairs of western merchants doing business abroad. Even in times of war, during the era of the crusades and Latin military expansion into Spain

and Sicily, Mediterranean trade continued and the *fondaco* system provided regulation, security, and profit to both Christian merchants and Muslim hosts. The utility and profitability of *funduqs* and *fondacos* led not only to their preservation in once-Muslim regions that came under Christian rule, but also to their importation to cities in southern France and northern Italy that had always been in Christian hands. The appearance of *fondacos* in Pisa, Venice, Florence, and other cities during the later middle ages is evidence of a perceived value of this institutional form.

Yet although this institutional family had flourished for well over a millennium in the Mediterranean world, the medieval *funduq* and *fondaco* became increasingly irrelevant to the needs and concerns of a rapidly changing world in the early modern period. Comparison between, on the one hand, the long centuries in which these two institutions flourished and, on the other, the period of their subsequent decline indicates a fundamental shift in economic and cultural norms in the Mediterranean world. Starting in about 1500, other institutions – including the *wakāla*, *khān*, *loggia*, and ghetto – began to assume some of the earlier functions of the *funduq* and *fondaco*. These other institutions evolved to meet the new social and commercial needs of their early modern context. Dramatic changes in trade practices went hand in hand with other changes that had profound consequences for preexisting institutions and commercial spaces. Among these were new perceptions of religious and political affiliation; a more rigid understanding of group identities that created new solidarities but also led to segregation and expulsion; technological developments in the areas of shipping and warfare; and the expansion of a European presence westward beyond the Mediterranean and eastern Atlantic rim to the Americas and eastward into the Indian Ocean and Pacific. Within the Mediterranean, the arrival of new political and economic interests changed the map of diplomatic and commercial relations across the sea. The earlier hegemony of Venetian, Genoese, and Catalan trade faltered in the face of Ottoman and Hapsburg political and naval power in the early sixteenth century. At the same time, French, English, and Dutch traders established a rapidly growing commercial presence in the Mediterranean, and they introduced northern commercial institutions and ideas to the region. For example, English and Dutch merchants who were familiar with the “factory system” in Hanseatic cities now encountered its functional parallel, the *fondaco* system.¹ These new northern European players on the Mediterranean stage may have had many of the same basic needs as their earlier counterparts, but

¹ Curtin, *Cross-Cultural Trade*, 4.

they also introduced very different economic expectations, maritime technologies, and commercial practices. They also brought with them their own political understandings of self and other.² Many European states gradually developed more politically aggressive and economically exploitative policies toward other regions of the world, a trend that would become apparent in the Mediterranean as well as in India, Asia, and the New World.

When I began work on this project, I assumed that the *fondaco* was an early expression of the movement that would eventually emerge as European colonialism. These western Christian colonies in Muslim cities appeared to be clear prototypes for later European expansion into and economic exploitation of foreign territories. Even medieval terms such as *consul* apparently had direct ties to more modern international relations and diplomatic practice. But as I pursued my research, and especially as this book took shape, I realized that the story of the *funduq* and *fondaco* was not the tale that I had once envisioned.

Indeed, I have become increasingly convinced that my data contradict a narrative of proto-colonialism. The *fondacos* were western colonies in Islamic cities, but they were colonies without the apparatus and assumptions of colonialism. Although their presence benefited both foreign Christians and local Muslims, and facilitated commercial interaction between the two, the physical buildings were usually under the control of indigenous authorities and western traders could only reside and do business in the *fondacos* at the pleasure of local rulers. Overall, this was not a relationship shaped by European military and technological dominance. Even in the Crusader states – a region often cited as an early expression of European colonial ambitions – *fondacos* did not take a form consistent with what could be dubbed “colonial.”

The decline of the *funduq* and *fondaco* in the Mediterranean world coincided chronologically with the first expressions of colonialism, as traditionally conceived. These two models of economic and political mediation between locals and foreigners may, in fact, have been largely incompatible. Apparently, modes of interaction between different peoples within the medieval Mediterranean world were not the same as those which would become characteristic of the early modern and modern periods. This is an

² On the impact of these new commercial players on the Mediterranean stage see Molly Greene, discussing the example of early modern Crete, in *A Shared World: Christians and Muslims in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000); also Molly Greene, “Beyond the Northern Invasion: The Mediterranean in the Seventeenth Century,” *Past and Present* 174 (2002) 44–71. On shifting perceptions of the religious “other” in the early modern Mediterranean, see Benjamin Braude, “The Sons of Noah and the Construction of Ethnic and Geographical Identities in the Medieval and Early Modern Periods,” *William and Mary Quarterly* 54 (1997) 103–42.

important observation, and it supports the theory that fundamental shifts occurred in European perceptions of self, other, and the state beginning in roughly the sixteenth century. At the same time, Ottoman attitudes toward these same issues were also taking on new form, generating theories about territory, power, and administration that were different from earlier Muslim thinking. As a result, and despite the concurrent reality of a Braudelian *longue-durée* in some of its aspects, the early modern Mediterranean world grew increasingly distinct from its medieval counterpart.

Even in regions where *fondacos* remained a tool for commerce and diplomacy into the early modern period, discontinuities prevailed over continuities. In Tunis, for example, although *fondacos* continued to exist in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, they served a new northern clientele. A French traveler in 1666 noted the existence of three *fondiques* in the city: one shared by English and Dutch traders, another serving as warehouse space for Jewish merchants (who lived in private houses elsewhere in the city), and a third inhabited by the French.³ The presence of merchants from northern European states, and the disappearance of the Venetian, Genoese, Provençal, and Catalan traders who had once dominated Tunisian traffic, marks a dramatic shift in the control of Mediterranean trade and trade routes. The Dutch and English were newcomers on the Mediterranean stage, and French (as opposed to Provençal) consuls were first established in Tunis by Henri III, over Hapsburg objections, after the Ottoman conquest of Tunisia in 1574.⁴ Initially, the presence of a French consul did not require the existence of a *fondaco*, although one traveler noted a French *oquee* (*wakāla*) in Tunis nearly a century later in 1659.⁵ In 1660, however, an official French *fondaco* was built inside the walls of the old city, just in time for the reopening of Tunisia to European trade under the Muradist beys in 1665.⁶ This building was structurally similar to earlier *fondaco* buildings, but its location marked a significant break from earlier protocol.⁷ The new French *fondaco* was sited within the city proper, whereas earlier Christian *fondacos* had always been located outside the walls near the port. Over the next two centuries, this *fondaco* facilitated a French diplomatic and commercial presence in Tunisia, and perhaps provided a segue to

³ Jacques Revault, *Le Fondouk des français et les consuls de France à Tunis (1660–1860)* (Paris: Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1984) 26.

⁴ Revault, *Le Fondouk des français*, 11–12.

⁵ Revault, *Le Fondouk des français*, 25.

⁶ Abun-Nasr, *History of the Maghrib*, 179.

⁷ Revault, *Le Fondouk des français*, 21; André Raymond has called this building the “most typical” among surviving *fondaco* buildings in Tunis (*Great Arab Cities*, 44–46).

colonialism, but it was replaced by a new consular building in 1859, two decades before the imposition of the French protectorate in 1883.⁸

In the eastern Mediterranean also, the *fondaco* system survived the establishment of Ottoman administration, which took place in Egypt in 1516. There was greater continuity here than in Tunisia. Greffin Affagart, a European traveler who came through Alexandria in 1533, counted four European *fundicques* in the city, two held by the Venetians, one by the Genoese, and another by the French (who had taken it from the Spanish).⁹ This must have been a fairly recent transfer, since there had still been a Catalan consul in Egypt in 1525.¹⁰ Later in the sixteenth century, another traveler, Carlier de Pinon, stayed in a Venetian *fontique* in Rosetta in 1579.¹¹ Two decades after this, when Christophe Harant visited Egypt in 1598, he described the *fondacos* and their consuls in much the same terms as those used by earlier European observers.¹²

Over time, however, the term *fondaco* gradually fell from use in Egypt. A German visitor noted in 1634 that the Venetian consul in Rosetta lodged in a building “which the Turks call a *Han*,” while a French traveler called it an *okelle* in 1647.¹³ These remarks echo those of earlier Muslim travelers, who noted the decline of the *funduq* as it lost ground to its old rival, the *khān*, and also to the *wakāla*. The latter had become the preferred commercial space in Mamlūk Egypt, and its dominance continued under Ottoman rule, as a plethora of new commercial *wakālas* were built in Cairo and Būlāq in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.¹⁴ By the time Napoleon arrived in Egypt, and commissioned a survey of the country in 1798, not a single *funduq* remained in Cairo.¹⁵ It appears that the *fondaco* followed a similar trajectory.

In Ottoman Syria and Anatolia, the vocabulary of trade and lodging already strongly favored the *khān* by the fifteenth century, and both the terms *funduq* and *fondaco* were rare. The increasing use of Turkish had something

⁸ Revault, *Le Fondouk des français*, 40. There were also regular Muslim *funduqs* in Tunis into the modern period, functioning as warehouses, workshops, and hostels; see Callens, “L’Hébergement à Tunis,” 257–271.

⁹ Greffin Affagart, *Relation de Terre Sainte (1533–1534)*, ed. J. Chavanon (Paris: Librairie Victor Lecoffre, 1902) 50. The same writer also described commercial *fundicques* in Cairo, but none of these belonged to western Christians (*ibid.*, 175).

¹⁰ López de Meneses, “Los consulados catalanes,” 123.

¹¹ Combe, “Inscription arabe,” 119–20.

¹² Christophe Harant, *Voyage en Egypte* (Cairo: Institut français d’archéologie orientale, 1972) 35–38, 260, 274–275.

¹³ Combe, “Inscription arabe,” 119–120.

¹⁴ Hanna, *An Urban History of Būlāq*, 29–32, 87; Hanna, *Making Big Money in 1600*, 128–131.

¹⁵ Raymond, *Artisans et commerçants*, 254.

to do with this, but the trend is also evident in Arabic. Under early Ottoman rule in Istanbul, Damascus, and Aleppo, western Christian diplomats and merchants did their business in *khāns* and other commercial spaces, not in *fondacos*. A 1453 treaty between Genoa and Sultan Mehmet II (Mehmet the Conqueror) included rights to houses, shops, warehouses, and other real estate in Galata, but made no mention of *fondacos*.¹⁶ As had been true in the Byzantine city, although there were commercial spaces that resembled earlier *fondacos* in form and function, they did not go by that name. Thus, when the Italian traveler Giovanni Maria degli Angiolello visited the new Ottoman capital in the second half of the fifteenth century, he compared the *bedestan* in the main bazaar (“luogo il quale si chiama bexestan”) to the Fondaco de Tedeschi in Venice.¹⁷ During the sixteenth century, the inauguration of new Ottoman commercial policies began to shift European trade in the eastern Mediterranean away from earlier patterns.¹⁸ This included a move away from the long-established medieval protocols for handling cross-cultural trade and traders.

In Syria, both Arabic and European sources make clear that most European merchant groups did business in *khāns*, not *fondacos*, by the early modern period. Increasingly, these *khāns* were spaces for commerce rather than residential enclaves. The jurist Ibn al-Ḥanbalī (d. 1564) lamented that “although the Franks used to only live in *khāns*, now some Franks live in [ordinary] houses” in Aleppo. Nevertheless, he also noted a *khān* given “to the Franks and their consul” in the city.¹⁹ This was probably the Khān al-Shaybānī, a building also known locally as the “*khān* of the Franks” (when the Franciscans came to Aleppo in 1570 they apparently stayed in or near this building).²⁰ European authors also generally used the term *khān* (or *han*) in reference to Syrian trade, except for the Venetians, who continued to prefer the term *fondaco* into the seventeenth century. This may show influence of the continued existence of the Fondaco dei Tedeschi back home in Venice.²¹ However, when a Venetian document from Syria in 1614 referred to merchandise “of the *fondaco*,” this usage probably reflects the contemporary Italian meaning of “merchant firm” or “warehouse” rather than “residence.”²² As elsewhere in the Mediterranean,

¹⁶ Sanguinetti (ed.), *Relazioni di Genova coll'Impero Bizantino*, 562.

¹⁷ Concina, *Fondaci*, 138.

¹⁸ Kate Fleet, *European and Islamic Trade in the Early Ottoman State: The Merchants of Genoa and Turkey* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999) 133.

¹⁹ Sauvaget, *Alep*, 173.

²⁰ Ibn al-Shihnah, “*Les Perles choisies*,” 193–194.

²¹ The Fondaco dei Tedeschi continued to exist until the fall of the Venetian Republic to Napoleon in 1797.

²² “Merci di fondaco”: G. Berchet, *Relazioni dei consoli veneti nella Siria* (Turin: G. B. Paravia, 1866) 158); Sauvaget, *Alep*, 201.

new merchant groups ensconced themselves in Syrian markets in the early modern period. By the seventeenth century, Dutch, English, and French traders shared consular space and offices in one large *khān* in Aleppo, but the growth of their business over time led them to move apart into separate *khāns* and residences²³ Even into the early nineteenth century, English merchants rented a building known in the 1830s as the *khān al-Inkliz*.²⁴

What happened to the *funduq* and the *fondaco*? This study has traced the presence, evolution, and continuity of these related institutions over a period of fifteen hundred years in the Mediterranean world, yet today they are only shadows of their complex and ubiquitous medieval forms. *Funduq* remains a standard term for hotel in modern Arabic, but it lacks the overlapping commercial, communal, and charitable connotations that once characterized this institution. During a recent night at a hotel in London, I noticed an Arabic sign in my room expressing the hope that I would enjoy my stay in this *funduq*. If Ibn Jubayr or Ibn Baṭṭūṭa had written this, would they have used the term *funduq*? Probably yes, for lack of a better. Yet although this modern *funduq* supplied beds to travelers (not unlike the late antique *pandocheion*), it offered no space to store or sell commercial goods, no sense of community among the guests, lax security, and little oversight from urban administrators.²⁵ Nor did it fill any benevolent function, as had medieval *funduqs*, by lodging indigent travelers or providing funds for other good works. The word *fondaco* underwent a similar process of deconstruction. Once applied to a facility that was critical in mediating commercial traffic between Christians and Muslims in Islamic cities, and which later was integrated into a southern Europe context, this word now only signifies a warehouse in modern Italian. Its cousin, the Castilian *alhóndiga*, simply refers to a granary. The institutions of the *funduq* and *fondaco* did not disappear in the post-medieval Mediterranean world, but they lost the richness of function, relevance, and recognition that they had enjoyed for many centuries.

²³ Sauvaget, *Alep*, 217–219.

²⁴ Abdul-Karim Rafeq, “Ownership of Real Property by Foreigners in Syria, 1869–1873,” in *New Perspectives on Property and Land in the Middle East*, ed. Roger Owen (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000) 229–230.

²⁵ Some modern *funduqs* still preserve the dubious reputation that had characterized *pandocheions* and many medieval *funduqs*. In 1927, a Polish traveler in Algiers described *funduqs* “crowded with women singers and dancers of all ages” (Judy Mabro, *Veiled Half-Truths. Western Travellers’ Perceptions of Middle Eastern Women* [London: I. B. Tauris, 1991] 209). Roger Le Tourneau has also observed that merchants in twentieth-century Fez often avoided staying in *funduqs* owing to their reputation for promiscuity, dirt, and discomfort. These *funduqs* were also used as warehouses or rented by craftspeople (*Fès avant le Protectorat. Etude économique et sociale d’une ville de l’occident musulman* [Casablanca: Publications de l’Institut des hautes études marocaines, 1949] 190–191, 317).

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